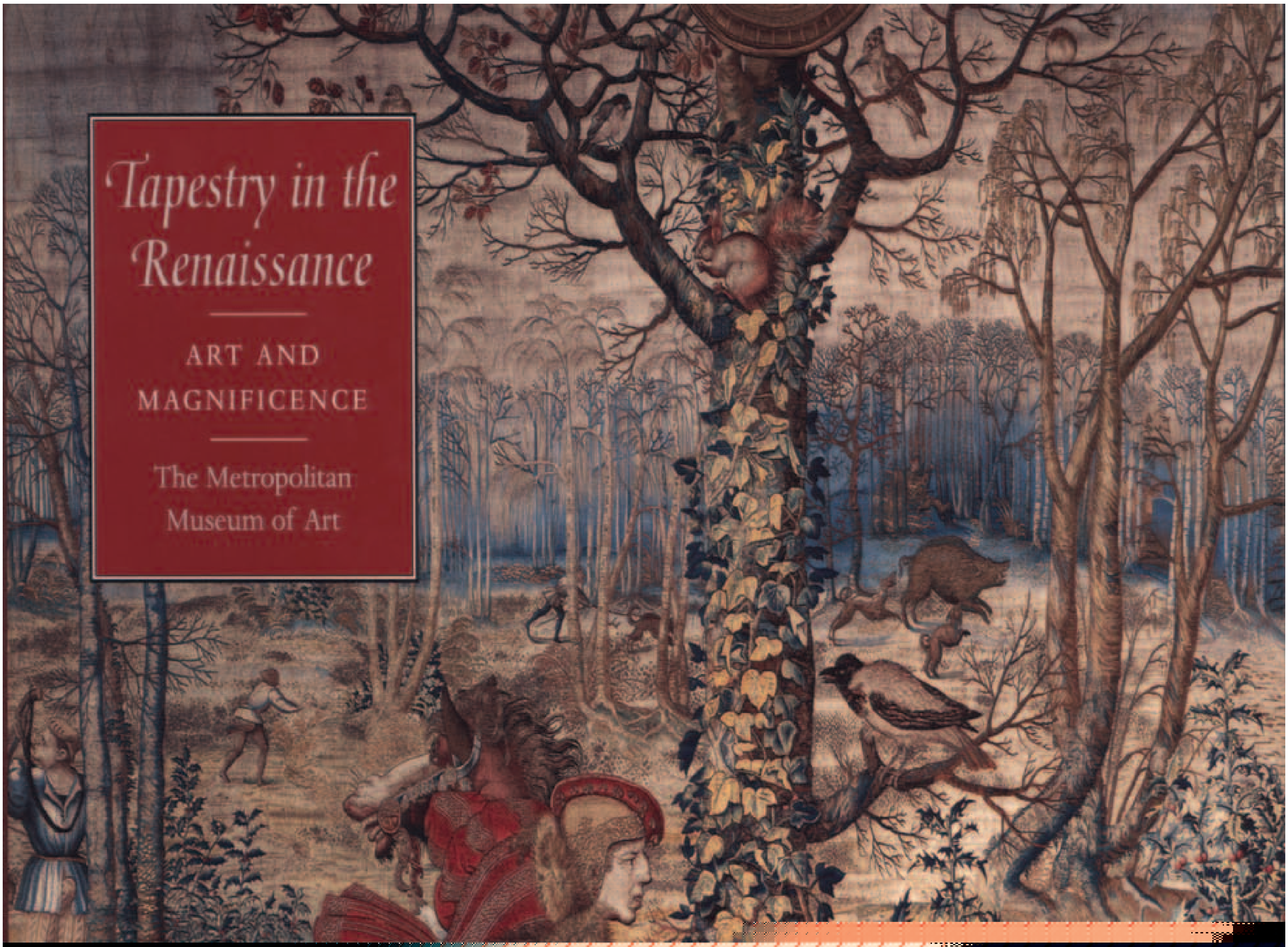

Tapestry in the Renaissance

ART AND MAGNIFICENCE

The Metropolitan
Museum of Art

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Director's Foreword

During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, tapestries were a principal component of the ostentatious "magnificence" whose display was de rigueur for a religious or secular person of any power or stature. Yet where medieval tapestries have enjoyed considerable esteem in the public consciousness, those of the Renaissance have received much less attention from both the general public and art historians. "Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence" fills this gap by presenting the first extensive survey of tapestry production between 1460 and 1560 and, indeed, the first monographic loan exhibition of tapestries in the United States in twenty-five years. Many of the most important tapestry cycles of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are represented in this exhibition by more than forty examples drawn from collections in Europe and the United States, resulting in what is probably the greatest massing of Renaissance tapestries since the famous summit meetings that took place in western Europe during the 1520s, 1530s, and 1540s. It was tapestries like these, in some cases these very tapestries, that formed the backdrop to historic events such as the meeting between Francis I and Henry VIII at Guînes in 1520 (the meeting of the Field of Cloth of Gold); the coronation of Charles V by Pope Clement VII in Bologna in 1530; the meeting between Francis I and Charles V at Fontainebleau in 1539; and the reception held for Charles V and his son, Philip (later Philip II), by Mary of Hungary at the castle of Binche in 1549. Designed by the finest artists, woven in lavish silk and gold by outstanding craftsmen, and acquired by the wealthiest, most refined connoisseurs and patrons, these magnificent works represent the pinnacle of aesthetic and technical achievement of this remarkable epoch. The tapestries still dazzle today as they did five hundred years ago in the cathedrals, throne rooms, council chambers, and palaces of Europe. Almost every tapestry in the exhibition comes from a crown or papal collection. Thus, quite apart from their artistic and material interest, the themes and iconography they embody provide an extraordinary insight into the ambitions and interests of the rulers whose actions played such an important part in the development of modern Europe.

This exhibition is the result of four years of international negotiation and cooperation. In this context it is appropriate for me to express our special gratitude to Professor Giuliano Urbani, the culture minister of Italy, and to the Duke of San Carlos, president of the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, for the generous manner in which they have dealt with our requests for an exceptionally large number of important loans. I extend my deepest thanks to the owners and the directors and staffs of the following institutions and collections that have lent important works to this exhibition: the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels; the Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees; The Art Institute of Chicago; the Galleria degli Uffizi and the Palazzo Pitti, Florence; the Teyler Museum, Haarlem; the Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków; the Prentenkabinet Universiteit Leiden; the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon; the Royal Collection and the Historic Royal Palaces Agency (Hampton Court and Windsor); the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid; the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano; the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua; the Castello Sforzesco, Milan; the Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Musée Jacquemart-André and the Musée du Louvre, Paris; the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; the Musées de Sens; the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart; the Vatican Museums, Vatican City; the Basilicas of Santa Maria della Salute and San Marco, Venice; the Graphische Sammlung Albertina and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; the National Gallery of Art, Washington; and Zamora Cathedral.

The exhibition and this accompanying publication were conceived by Thomas Campbell, associate curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts and the supervising curator of the Antonio Ratti Textile Center. The book not only documents the exhibition but also provides a significant contribution to a field in which there has been a remarkable paucity of survey publications. The value of the catalogue is greatly enhanced by the superb new color photography by Bruce White, which records the tapestries in all their sumptuousness.

Our sincere gratitude is extended to the William Randolph Hearst Foundation for its contribution toward the exhibition. We would also like to acknowledge the kind assistance provided by the Garen Family Foundation for the exhibition and this publication. The support given by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities is profoundly appreciated by the Metropolitan Museum. It was through the generosity of the Samuel I. Newhouse Foundation Inc. and the Doris Duke Fund for Publications that this exhibition catalogue was made possible. An additional grant from Furthermore, a program of the J. M. Kaplan Fund, also assisted in the publication of this catalogue.

Philippe de Montebello
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Acknowledgments

My enthusiasm for a show on tapestry in the Renaissance crystallized while I was the archivist of the Franses Tapestry Archive in London (1987–94). Many of the ideas embodied in the exhibition were developed during this formative experience and in conversation with Simon Franses. With my move to the Metropolitan Museum in 1995, I was privileged to join one of the few institutions in the world that has the resources to mount such an exhibition. General discussions about the subject with my dear friend and mentor the late Edith Standen were sharpened in a memorable encounter with the Renaissance art historians John Shearman and Arnold Nesselrath. Their interest in the project gave me the incentive to organize my ideas into a more focused plan. With the encouragement of Olga Raggio, then Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Chairman of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan, a proposal was submitted to Philippe de Montebello, director, and Mahrukh Tarapor, associate director for exhibitions, at the end of 1996. The form in which this exhibition will open to the public in March 2002 owes an enormous debt to Philippe and Mahrukh's personal support and guidance in its development. I am also grateful to Ian Wardropper, Olga's successor, for his support since his arrival at the Metropolitan in September 2001.

The first informal loan inquiries were mailed out in January 1998, and I am especially indebted to a group of colleagues and friends whose early enthusiasm for the project provided international momentum for the exhibition, particularly Maryan W. Ainsworth, Rotraud Bauer, Giorgio Bonsanti, Keith Christiansen, Guy Delmarcel, Nello Forti Grazzini, Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa, and Concha Herrero Carretero. Guy and Nello both reviewed my early plans for the show and made important suggestions. The subsequent task of formalizing the loan arrangements for so many precious and unique objects, the majority of great fragility and enormous size, has been a long and complex process. I owe especial gratitude to the following people, listed in order of the institutions with which their assistance was related: Pasquale Magro (Assisi, Basilica); Ronald de Leeuw and Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum); Elizabeth Anne Coleman (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts); Ingrid De Meûter and Alexandra de Poorter (Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire); Baudouin du Parc (Brussels); Zsuzsanna Vámos-Lovay, Emese Pástor, and Károly Simon (Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest); Peter Day (Chatsworth); Christa C. Mayer Thurman and Lorna Filippini (Chicago, Art Institute); Louise W. Mackie (Cleveland Museum of Art); Cristina Acidini Luchinat, Caterina Caneva, Giovanna Damiani, Loretta Dolcini, Clarice Innocenti, Antonio Paolucci, and Carlo Sisi (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi and Palazzo Pitti); Carel van Tuyll van Serooskerken (Haarlem, Teyler Museum); Jef Schaeps (Leiden, Prentenkabinet Universiteit); Jerzy T. Petrus, Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa, and Jan Ostrowski (Kraków, Wawel Royal Castle); Teresa Vilaça (Lisbon, Fundação Medeiros e Almeida); João Castel-Branco Pereira and Maria Fernanda Passos Leite (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian); Jenny Band and Lynsay Shepard (Hampton Court Palace, Textile Conservation Studio); Hugh Roberts, Jane Roberts, Caroline de Guitaut, and Theresa-Mary Morton (London and Windsor, Royal Collection); Sue Lambert, Linda Parry, and Janet Skidmore (London, Victoria and Albert Museum); Concha Herrero Carretero (Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional); Tomás Llorens (Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza); An Volckaert and Yvan Maes (Mechelen, De Wit Royal Manufactory of Tapestry); Luisella Angiari, Francesca Tasso, Carla Paggi, and Claudio Salsi (Milan, Castello Sforzesco); George R. Goldner, Laurence B. Kanter, and Peter Barnet (New York, Metropolitan Museum); Christopher Brown and Timothy Wilson (Oxford, Ashmolean); Violaine Courtin and Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André); Daniel Alcouffe and Françoise Viatte (Paris, Musée du Louvre); Nina Biriukova, Vladimir Matveyev, Mikhail Piotrovsky, and Tatiana Lekhovich (Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum); Lydwine Saulnier-Pernuit (Sens, Musées); Ulrike Gauss and Hans Martin Kaulbach (Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie); Michel Cathala and Bertrand Ducourau (Toulouse Cathedral); Lucio Cilia, G. Fioretti, Irene Galifi, Ezio Memo, Antonio Meneguolo, Giorgio Orsini, and Ettore Vio (Venice, Basilica di Santa Maria della Salute and Basilica di San Marco); Marian Bisanz-Prakken (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina); Rotraud Bauer and Sabine Haag (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum); Julia Burke, Alison Luchs, and Andrew C. Robison (Washington, National Gallery of Art); Enrique Rodriguez Cobreros, Pepa Garrido, Juan González, and Vitaliano Alfageme Sánchez (Zamora Cathedral).

We are particularly grateful to the Duke of San Carlos, president of the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, for making so many rare tapestries available for our exhibition. Special thanks are also due to Edward Impey (Hampton Court Palace, Historic Royal Palaces Agency); Giuliana Algeri (Mantua, Palazzo Ducale); Nicola Spinosa and Mariella Utili (Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte); and Francesco Buranelli, Cardinal Edmund Cszoka, Arnold Nesselrath, and Anna Maria De Strobel (Vatican City, Vatican Museums), whose loans to our exhibition raised particularly difficult issues regarding the rearrangement of their own exhibition halls.

In the course of the negotiations, certain friends and colleagues played a critical part in helping to open particular doors or circumvent problems of various kinds, namely Daniel Berger, Everett Fahy, Emily Rafferty, Barbara Fleischman, Eugene Clark, Elsje Janssen, Giovanni Morello, Benigno Mörlin Visconti Castiglione, Giovanna Nepi Sciré, Doralynn Pines, Doretta Davanzo Poli, Victoria Press, Philip Rylands, Santiago Samaniego Hidalgo, and Santiago Saavedra. Gratitude is also due to Leonardo Mondadori for his timely help in Milan. In a different respect, Yvan Maes (De Wit Royal Manufactory of Tapestry, Mechelen) and Nicole and Dominique Chevalier (Galerie Chevalier, Paris) made significant donations of time and labor to further the preparation of various tapestries for the exhibition. In addition to his generous financial contributions to the exhibition, Eric Garen provided enthusiastic and acute advice. Stefan Kist and Nancy Bialler kindly assisted with the preparation of the Federal Indemnity applications.

The planning and installation of the exhibition have taken place under the operational control of Linda M. Sylling, and I am greatly indebted to her experience and guidance. The days in which tapestries could be rolled up and transported by cart from one location to another are long since gone, and Aileen K. Chuk and the staff of the Registrar's Office have adroitly negotiated the complexities of international insurance, shipping companies, and customs. The design of the show has undergone a number of dramatic metamorphoses since my first, somewhat unrealistic plans: Daniel Bradley Kershaw, the designer of the exhibition, has responded to these changes with deftness and wit. Sophia Geronimus has provided the excellent graphics of the exhibition, and Pamela Barr edited the labels. Installation of such a show is extremely challenging, and here I am deeply grateful to Nobuko Kajitani and the staff of the Department of Textile Conservation, and Taylor Miller and the Museum workshops for accomplishing this task so smoothly. Physical installation of the objects has been undertaken jointly by Eric Peluso and William Kopp of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts and by the Rigging Shop under the direction of Franz J. Schmidt and William Brautigam.

Throughout the genesis of the exhibition, Melinda Watt has been my reliable assistant and aide. Many other Museum colleagues have been involved in one way or another in the preparation of the exhibition and its related features: Harold Holzer, Elyse Topalian, and Andrew Ferren of the Communications Department; Jeffrey L. Daly and Zack Zanolli of the Design Department; Kerstin Larsen and Christine Scornavacca of the Development Office; Kent Lydecker, Stella Paul, Rebecca Arkenberg, Elizabeth Hammer-Munemura, and Christopher Noey of the Education Department; Martha Deese and Sian Wetherill in the office of the associate director for exhibitions; Barbara Bridgers of the Photograph Studio; and Carol E. Lekarew of the Photograph and Slide Library. My thanks are due to all for their time and dedication to this project.

The preparation of the catalogue accompanying the exhibition has also incurred a broad range of debts to friends and colleagues both at the Metropolitan Museum and around the world. Foremost among these I must thank John P. O'Neill, editor in chief, for recognizing the need for a substantial publication on the subject and committing the necessary resources to the realization of such a large and beautiful book. Tapestries are difficult to photograph well, and it was John who took the initiative to engage Bruce White, whose exquisite photographs greatly enhance the catalogue's value as a long-term record. The stylish design was provided by Bruce Campbell, and the production has been accomplished with skill and expertise by Peter Antony, Megan Arney, Robert Weisberg, and Minjee Cho.

The catalogue was originally planned as a single-author work, but with uncertainty regarding the final content of the exhibition extending as late as spring 2001, a number of colleagues were invited to write entries to complete the catalogue in a timely fashion. Words are insufficient to express my gratitude to Maryan Ainsworth (cat. nos. 30–34), Rotraud Bauer (cat. no. 54), Pascal-François Bertrand (cat. no. 56), Iain Buchanan (cat. nos. 35–36, 51), Elizabeth Cleland (cat. no. 6), Guy Delmarcel (cat. nos. 37–40), Nello Forti Grazzini (cat. nos. 10, 57–59), Maria Hennel-Bernasikowa (cat. nos. 42, 53), Lucia Meoni (cat. nos. 60–63), Cecilia Paredes (cat. no. 49), Hillie Smit (cat. no. 13), and Andrea Stockhammer (cat. no. 55), whose contributions have ensured that this exhibition received the publication it deserved.

So far as my own text is concerned, the first acknowledgment must be to the twenty or so tapestry historians who have advanced the subject so much during the last twenty years. In many respects this catalogue is a synthesis of their pioneering work. In addition to the scholars mentioned in the paragraphs above, specific thanks are also due to a large number of people who have provided crucial information, including Josephine Barry, Birgitt Borkopp, Adolpho Cavallo, Kate Dimitroff, Gerlinde Gruber, Rhian Harris, Hans Hubach, Jane MacAvock, Scot McKendrick, Luke Syson, Laura Weigert, and Tristan Weddigen. My colleagues at the Metropolitan have also been a constant source of information, help, and encouragement. In particular I would like to thank Carmen Bambach, Andrea Bayer, Kathrin Colburn, Melanie Holcomb, Eileen Hughes, Giovanna Fiorino Iannace, Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, Marta Laguardia, Walter Liedtke, Constance McPhee, Elzbieta Myszczynski, Nadine Orenstein, Michiel C. Plomp, Marjorie Shelley, Perrin Stein, Catherine Voorsanger, Linda Wolk-Simon, and Florica Zaharia. The staff of the Antonio Ratti Textile Center, the Photograph Studio, the Print Study Room, and the Thomas J. Watson Library have been unfailing gracious and helpful in response to the multifarious inquiries that this project has generated. And my colleagues in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts have provided support and encouragement in all sorts of ways.

During the early development of the catalogue, I was ably assisted by a succession of volunteers—Anna Beth Martin, Jessa Krick, and Cecilia Paredes. Since November 2000 I have been aided by Lorraine Karafel, whose tenacious research skills have brought clarity to almost every page of this publication and who has undertaken many of the translations included in the text. Lorraine played a key role in helping me to edit the contributors' essays into conformity with the rest of the catalogue, and she has also written a number of excellent entries in her own right. Melinda Watt juggled administrative work on the exhibition with the gargantuan task of finding all the comparative illustrations that were required, and the fruits of her painstaking efforts are abundantly evident in these pages.

The defining force in the realization of this catalogue has been the editorial team that has shaped my often-ragged prose, under the direction of the primary editor, Margaret Aspinwall. This team has included, at different times, Jane Bobko, Carol Fuerstein, Joan Holt, Kathleen Howard, Ruth Lurie Kozodoy, Jennifer C. Bernstein, Mary Laing, Fronia W. Simpson, Jayne Kuchna, and Jean Wagner. My thanks to all of them for the improvement that they have brought to the text. In particular, I owe my thanks to Margaret. From the time I submitted the drafts for the first two-thirds of the book in May 2000, she coordinated the efforts of this changing team of editors and bibliographers with extraordinary sangfroid, always managing to balance the big picture with attention to the most minute details. Quite apart from the clarity and consistency that she has brought to the book, I also owe her an additional debt for giving me the moral support to persevere with the original scheme at a very critical juncture in the book's development.

Last, but not least, I must thank my family—my parents, Jean and Percy Campbell, and most especially, my wife, Phoebe, and children, Charles and Honor—who have provided continual encouragement and support, each in their own way, throughout the long genesis of this project.

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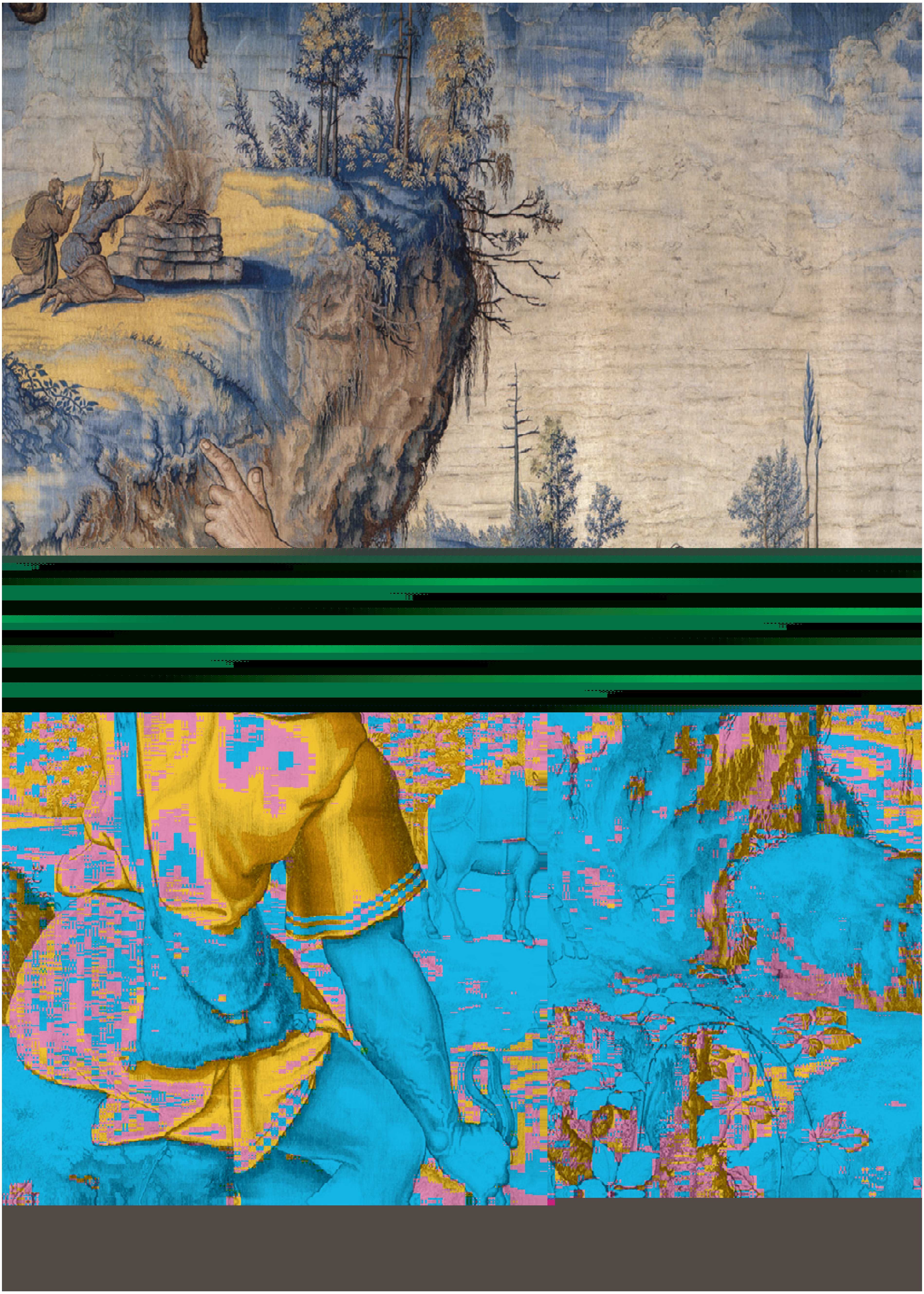
Tapestry in the Renaissance



The Art and Magnificence of Renaissance Tapestries: Introduction

In the months following the death of Henry VIII, king of England, in January 1547, the officers responsible for the furnishings of the royal palaces traveled around his various residences, laboriously compiling an updated inventory of the royal possessions. The result provides an informative glimpse of the material wealth and preoccupations of this notorious prince of the Renaissance, including everything from his most precious possessions and jewels to the chamber pots and closestools in his apartments.[1] One of the most remarkable things the inventory reveals is the extent to which the royal palaces were decorated from top to bottom with textiles and, in particular, tapestries depicting figurative compositions. Leaving aside the hangings of embroidery and precious woven materials, the inventory records more than 2,700 tapestries divided among fourteen palaces, lesser residences, and four Removing Wardrobes. Although this number was swelled by several hundred bed and window covers, the collection included more than three hundred sets of wall hangings made up of three or more pieces. While some of these were of modest dimensions, others covered hundreds of square meters. Assuming an average length of about 3 meters per panel, a conservative estimate, the tapestries would have measured more than five kilometers if placed end to end. They embraced every conceivable subject, and while many had long been in the royal collection, a large number were acquired by Henry himself, including about twenty gold-woven sets. Indeed, during the years of the Reformation it was in the medium of tapestry rather than painting, fresco, or engraving that Henry commissioned the figurative works of art that were designed to substantiate his new status as head of the Church of England (see cat. no. 48).[2]

Henry VIII's collection was extraordinary in size because it had been swelled by the appropriations he made from courtiers, ecclesiastics, and religious institutions that fell into royal disfavor during the English Reformation. But the ubiquitous presence of tapestry in his palaces was typical of the age (fig. 2). No complete lists have survived of the tapestry collections of his contemporaries Francis I, king of France, and Charles V, king of Spain (as Charles I) and Holy Roman Emperor, but partial inventories and purchase documentation demonstrate that tapestry was also the preeminent figurative art form at the courts of these monarchs. Francis, well known as a sophisticated connoisseur of the arts, spent much larger sums on tapestries designed by the Italian artists whose work he so admired, such as Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Primaticcio, than on any other medium by these same artists (see cat. nos. 24, 41–44, 55).[3] For Charles and his sister Mary of Hungary, tapestry was first and foremost a medium in which Habsburg power was glorified.[4] In some cases this took an indirect form, as in the nine-piece set of the *Honors* (see cat. no. 17), an allegorical celebration of the values of the Habsburg emperors.[5] In others it was more explicit, as in the seven-piece set of the *Battle of Pavia* (see cat. no. 36), woven in the late 1520s from designs by the leading Brussels artist of the day, Bernaert van Orley, to commemorate the decisive victory of the imperial army over the French at Pavia in 1525.[6] Twenty years later, the crusade that Charles led to Tunis against the Berber pirate Kheir-ed-Din (Barbarossa) was also illustrated in a set of twelve tapestries designed by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (see cat. no. 50).[7] Woven between 1548 and 1554, this was transported across the English Channel to provide a backdrop for the marriage of Philip II and Mary, queen of England, at Winchester Cathedral in 1554.[8]

The taste for tapestry was not confined to the northern courts. Pope Leo X, wishing to augment the splendor of the Sistine Chapel, commissioned Raphael in 1515 to design a set of tapestries depicting scenes from the lives of the apostles Peter and Paul (see cat. nos. 18–23).[9] Subsequently, he was to order at least two other large tapestry sets before his death in 1521 (see cat. nos. 26, 27), with imagery designed to celebrate the power of the church and the papacy at a time when its influence was threatened in the north by the rise of Lutheranism and around the Mediterranean by the strength of the Turks. Nor was Leo alone among Italian patrons in choosing tapestry as a medium of art and propaganda. When the *Acts of the Apostles* were first displayed in the Sistine Chapel on December 26, 1521, the Venetian connoisseur Marcantonio Michiel

Fig. 1. Detail of cat. no. 48: *The Sacrifice of Isaac* from the *Story of Abraham*

wrote that they were considered one of the finest things of their kind that had ever been made, surpassing the tapestries in the "anticamera" of the previous pope, Julius II; the ones woven for the Gonzaga from designs by Mantegna; and those made for the king of Naples.[10] Although these other ensembles are long since lost, along with all knowledge of their appearance and origins, documentation suggests that they were just the tip of the iceberg. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italian patrons lavished enormous sums on figurative tapestry. Most were woven from designs by Netherlandish artists, but some of the most innovative series were made from designs or cartoons that Italian patrons sent to the main weaving centers in the Netherlands. A smaller number of tapestries from designs by Italian artists were produced at workshops established in Italy by Netherlandish and French weavers under the direct control of such Italian Maecenases as the Este and the Gonzaga.[11] During the second third of the sixteenth century, this tradition was to be revived by the descendants of these families and other princes of the day. Important workshops were established in Ferrara and Mantua during the 1530s, which produced designs by Battista Dossi and Giulio Romano, among others. In turn, these workshops provided the inspiration, and some of the staff, for the most ambitious foundation of this kind in Italy, the manufactories established by Cosimo I de' Medici in the mid-1540s in Florence, where designs by Bronzino, Salviati, and Giorgio Vasari were produced (cat. nos. 60–63).[12]

If tapestry was the most widely commissioned figurative art form in the courts and chapels of the period, from Scandinavia to the Italian peninsula, it was also, in its finer forms, one of the most expensive. Leo X's *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries were reputed to have cost between 1,600 and 2,000 ducats each, so the set of ten must have cost some 16,000 ducats or more (more than five times the amount that, according to Vasari, Michelangelo was paid for painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel).[13] When Henry VIII purchased a large set of the *Story of David* in 1528, it cost just over 1,500 English pounds, equivalent to the price of a battleship or the annual income of all but the richest dukes of the kingdom.[14] At this level, tapestry was, along with jewelry and silver and gold plate, one of the most important ingredients of princely magnificence. Descriptions of the greatest court festivals invariably mention the sumptuous tapestries that were displayed. Such demonstrations were viewed as an index of a magnate's wealth and power—or lack thereof. During the visit that Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, paid in 1527 to Pope Clement VII, then in exile in Orvieto following the Sack of Rome, it was the absence of such trappings that was most indicative of the sorry state of his situation. Gardiner reported back to London: "Before reaching his privy chamber we passed three chambers all naked and unhanged, the roofs fallen down, and as we can guess, 30 persons, riff raff and other, standing in the chamber for a garnishment." Gardiner calculated that the furniture in the pope's bedchamber was not worth 20 nobles, bed and all.[15]

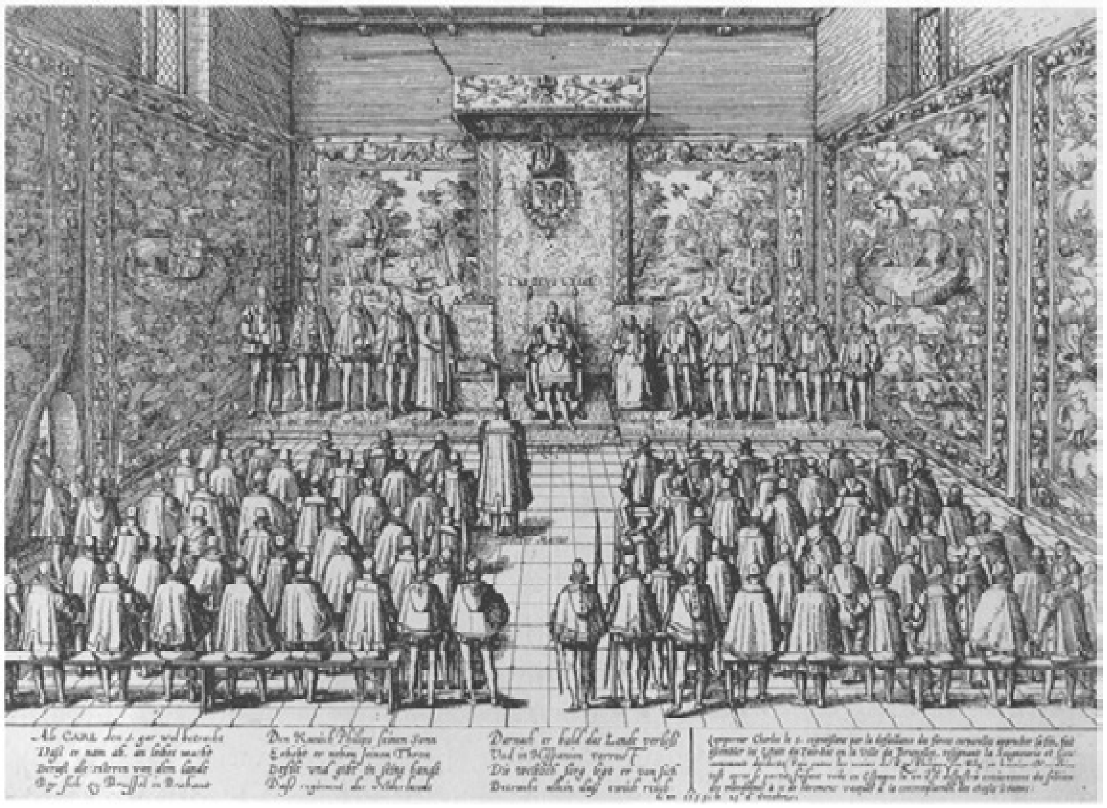


Fig. 2. *The Abdication of Charles V* from *Events in the History of the Netherlands, France, Germany, and England between 1535 and 1608*. Later impression of an engraving by Frans Hogenberg, ca. 1558. 19.8 x 27.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.570.200[11])

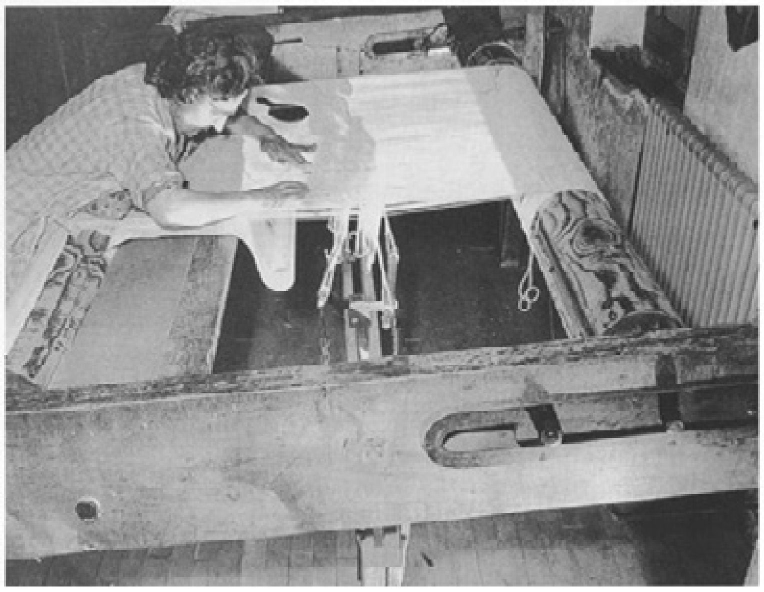


Fig. 3. View of a weaver working on a low-warp loom

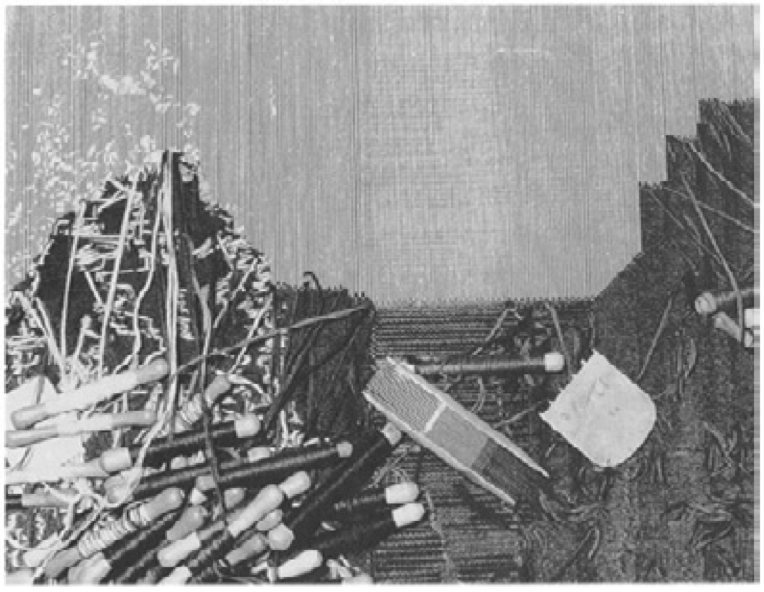


Fig. 4. View of the back of a tapestry being woven on a low-warp loom

Despite the central role that figurative tapestry played in the art, propaganda, and liturgy of the courts and churches of late medieval and Renaissance Europe, the medium has been largely overlooked in comparison to the attention that has been paid by both scholars and the general public to other art forms. A variety of factors have contributed to this neglect, of which the most significant is probably the unfamiliarity of a modern audience with the tapestry medium. It is therefore useful to discuss briefly the way tapestries were woven and the criteria by which they were judged.

How Tapestries Are Made

The word "tapestry" is now widely used to describe a range of textiles, including needlepoint and certain mechanically woven, ribbed fabrics, but historically and technically it designates a figurative weft-faced textile woven by hand on a loom.[16] In European practice, the loom consists of two rollers, between which plain warp threads (the load-bearing threads) are stretched. In the industrialized production of the large Netherlandish centers the warps were made of wool, although linen was also used in more artisanal production in Germany. Depending on the orientation of the loom, the warps are stretched vertically (on a high-warp loom) or horizontally (on a low-warp loom; fig. 3); in both cases the weaver works on the reverse side of the tapestry. The warps are arranged so there is a small space between the even and the odd warps, called the shed, through which the weaver passes the colored weft threads that are wrapped around a handheld shuttle (fig. 4). Alternate warps are attached to drawstrings with which the weaver can pull them forward (on the high-warp loom) or backward (on the low-warp loom) to create a second shed, through which the weft is then passed back again. By passing the weft back and forth through the two sheds, the weaver inserts the weft over one warp and under the next in one direction and then back in the opposite direction over and under the alternate warps (fig. 5). Periodically the weaver beats down the developing web so that the warps are completely covered by the weft (fig. 6). Nowadays, the weft threads are primarily made of finely twisted wool, but in the past finer tapestries also included silk and gilt-metal-wrapped silk. By varying the colors of the weft, the weaver creates a pattern or figurative image. Between 1400 and 1530, the Netherlandish weavers developed the ability to reproduce an extraordinary range of surface textures and painterly effects through the use of finer and finer interlocking triangles of color (hachures), the juxtaposition of different materials, and the use of different techniques to link the weft threads (some of which left slits between adjacent warps, providing added definition or texture).

In European medieval and Renaissance practice, the design was invariably copied from a full-scale colored pattern, known as the cartoon, a practice that continues to this day. Before starting work, the weaver traces the pattern from the cartoon onto the bare warps. With the high-warp loom, the cartoon is then hung behind the weaver; with the low-warp loom, it was traditionally folded or cut into strips and placed directly beneath the warp threads, creating a proximity that is especially useful for the weaver in the case of complex designs. An additional advantage of the low-warp loom is that the drawstrings used by the weaver to create the sheds are controlled by foot pedals, leaving both of the weaver's hands free to pass the weft. On the high-warp loom the drawstrings

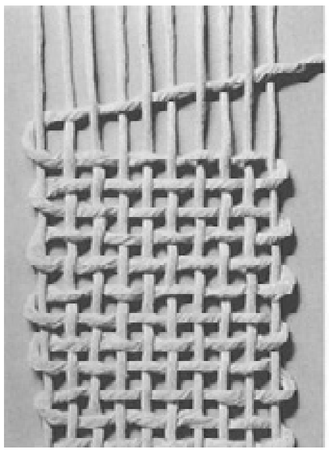


Fig. 5. Model of plain weave

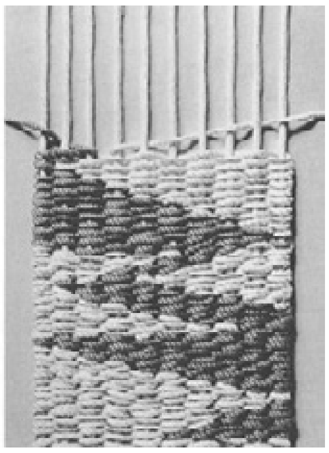


Fig. 6. Model of weft-faced tapestry weave

are manipulated by hand so the process is slower. The disadvantage of the low-warp technique is that it reverses the orientation of the cartoon, since the weaver is copying the front of the cartoon from the back of the tapestry. The designer therefore needs to create the cartoon to be used for the low-warp technique in the direction opposite to the one intended for the completed tapestry. There is otherwise little physical distinction between the product of the high- and low-warp looms. The low-warp technique was the predominant mode of production throughout the medieval and Renaissance period because of the advantages it offered in terms of speed of production and reproduction of complex designs.

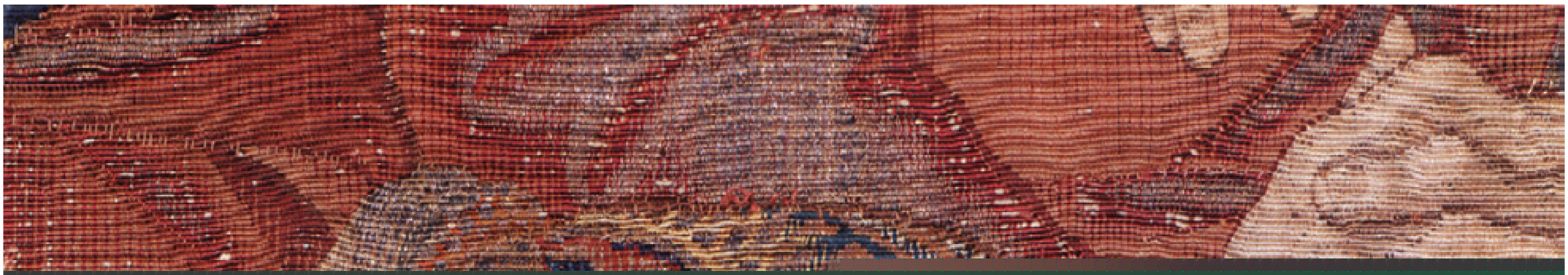
The quality of a tapestry depends mainly on four variable factors: the quality of the cartoon from which it is copied; the skill of the weavers at translating the design into woven form; the fineness of the weave (the number of warps per centimeter and the grade of the weft, which directly affect the precision of detail and pictorial quality of the tapestry); and the quality of the materials from which it is made. In the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the cost of a tapestry varied enormously in direct proportion to its quality. One of the key factors was the manpower involved. Production was a labor-intensive process requiring the participation of many skilled weavers for the execution of large tapestries. On the basis of both modern practice and documented production, it is generally estimated that weavers could produce up to one square meter of coarse tapestry per month. Higher-quality production, with a finer warp and weft count, was much slower, yielding perhaps half a square meter per month.[17] A large tapestry, 5 meters high by 8 meters wide, woven in wool alone, with a warp count of approximately five per centimeter, would have taken five weavers some eight months or so to weave. If finer materials were used, resulting in a higher warp count, it could take twice as long. Production of a set of six 5-by-8-meter tapestries would therefore have necessitated the equivalent of thirty weavers over a period of between eight and sixteen months, excluding the cost and time involved in the design and preparation of the cartoons and the setting up of the looms.

An even more significant factor than labor in determining the cost of a tapestry was the material from which it was made. Wool, generally from England or Spain, was the principal material used for warps and most of the weft. Finer-quality pieces also incorporated silk (from Italy or Spain), and the finest included silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped silk thread (from Venice or Cyprus). Documents relating to the levy charged for different grades of tapestry imported to England during the first half of the sixteenth century indicate that tapestry woven with silk cost four times more than that woven with coarse wool. The inclusion of metallic thread increased the cost by a factor of twenty over tapestry woven with coarse wool alone.[18] While such valuations are general and the prices would have been dependent on the circumstances in which tapestries were made and sold, documentary evidence confirms the extreme variation of price.

How Tapestries Have Been Perceived

If the unfamiliar nature of the tapestry process has impeded modern appreciation of the medium and obscured the criteria that distinguished good weaving from bad and high-quality products from low, the patchy nature (in both senses) of what survives has also played a part. Historically, the finest tapestries were only hung for special occasions, but with the passage of time and changing fashions of interior decoration, such observances were neglected in numbers of collections from the late seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century many of the grandest medieval and Renaissance tapestries ended up as permanent fixtures—hastening the fading of their colors and the deterioration of their silk—often overhung with paintings and mirrors. This happened to many of the finest sets in the British royal collection, which were installed under William III in the royal palaces, where they hung without interruption until they were taken down and presumably destroyed in the mid-nineteenth century.[19] Today, only thirty or so of the tapestries once in Henry VIII's collection survive in the royal collection. In other cases the destruction was less benign. Many of Francis I's most valuable tapestries survived until the end of the eighteenth century, only to be burned by the French Directory in 1797 to extract the metallic thread so the debts of the royal wardrobe could be settled.[20] The example of this state-sanctioned vandalism seems to have encouraged an equally pernicious destruction elsewhere. For instance, a number of the finest tapestries in the Vatican

Fig. 7. Detail of cat. no. 30: *The Last Supper* from the Alba *Passion*



from 1360) documents a collection of more than thirty large figurative panels and several large tapestry chambers.[7] While some of these tapestries were woven in wool alone, many others were executed in precious materials at a cost of thousands of francs. Quite apart from their richness, significant numbers of them were of enormous dimensions.

Motivating this patronage was a new awareness of the contribution that tapestries could make to the patron's magnificence. This concept, which can be characterized as the public demonstration of power and wealth through lavish and tasteful expenditure and generosity, derived from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics.* It received renewed attention in the medieval era through contemporary translations, including one of about 1370–77 by Nicolas Oresme, a councillor and chaplain to Charles V of France. Tapestry was the perfect medium of ostentation. Far more than any number of paintings or even sculptures, the scale and richness of tapestry provided a dramatic physical demonstration of the wealth and power of the patron, and as such, it was much more highly valued as a material possession. Tapestry also provided a monumental figurative medium on which the patron could parade images of ancestors, of military conquests, or of the historical and mythological heroes with whom he wished to be associated. In an age when pictorial images of any kind were, of necessity, handmade and therefore rare, an extensive display of high-quality tapestries must have been truly extraordinary, and it is little surprise that, again and again, contemporary documents record the amazement with which eyewitnesses reacted to such spectacles.

The majority of the tapestries acquired by the Valois princes were purchased or commissioned through a relatively small number of merchants, who acted as middlemen between the patrons and the workshops located in Paris, Arras, and elsewhere, negotiating contracts, providing financial advances for supplies and labor, and supervising progress.[8] The circumstances in which most of the designs were conceived are unclear. Armorials were obviously created as specific commissions, and with their repetitive heraldic and decorative elements they were relatively inexpensive to design. Less certain are the circumstances of the large figurative subjects, but the accounts of the duke of Burgundy suggest that in many cases tapestries were purchased from the merchant's stock or were commissioned from cartoons already in the merchant's possession.[9]

Equally, procedures existed for more elaborate custom-made commissions when the patrons were prepared to spend the necessary money. For example, the most remarkable of Louis of Anjou's acquisitions was a six-piece set of the *Apocalypse of Saint John,* which was designed for him by Jan Boudolf (fl. 1368–81), one of the leading artists at the court of his brother Charles V. The ease with which Louis was able to commission the design from such an important artist and the fact that Boudolf was allowed to borrow a thirteenth-century manuscript of the subject from Charles's famous library as one of his sources suggest the Valois princes' mutual interest in tapestry. Arrangements for production of this set were made by the Parisian merchant Nicolas Bataille, who had supplied Louis with tapestries since 1363 and who supplied him with many more during the 1370s and 1380s. Woven between 1373 and 1380 at a cost of 6,000 francs, the set comprised six panels, each 6 meters high and about 25 meters long, which survive in part at the château of Angers (fig. 15).[10] The location for which the *Apocalypse* tapestries were intended is unclear. It has been suggested that they may have been created as a portable stage set for the ceremonies of the Order of the Cross that Louis established as part of his campaign to be made emperor.[11] The scale was certainly unprecedented and must reflect a conscious decision by Louis to commission a work of art of a monumentality that had never been seen before. Remarkable as the *Apocalypse* tapestries are in size, they are woven only in wool, in contrast to many of the gold-woven tapestries purchased by the Valois dukes.

If Louis of Anjou's patronage is of note for the scale and grandeur of some of his acquisitions, the patronage of his brother Philip the Bold reflects an even more sophisticated vision of the potential of the tapestry medium.[12] From the mid-1380s, Philip committed enormous sums of money to tapestry acquisitions both for his own use and as gifts for family, friends, and allies. In part, this investment seems to have been intended to stimulate the portion of the industry that fell within the dominions of Flanders and Artois, which he had inherited at the death of his father-in-law, Louis II de Male, in 1384. These extravagant gifts were also meant to demonstrate Burgundian magnificence, and they helped cement the status of tapestry as an object of princely attention.

A list of the recipients of Philip's gifts reads like an international who's who of the rich and mighty of the day.[13] For example, prior to the betrothal of his six-year-old daughter, Catherine, to Leopold IV of Austria, she received five tapestries depicting hunting and pastoral scenes for her dowry, and when her marriage eventually took place to Leopold's brother Albert in 1387, the latter received a tapestry of *Charlemagne's Journey to Jerusalem and Byzantium.* The following year John, duke of Berry, received a *Story of the Passion.* During peace negotiations with the English in 1390, the duke of York, uncle to the English king, was presented with a *Story of Octavian* and a *Story of Percival,* and the following year Jehan Canard, the bishop of Arras, was presented with a set of the *Twelve Peers of France.* King Richard II and his uncles, the dukes of York, Lancaster, and Gloucester, received further tapestry gifts

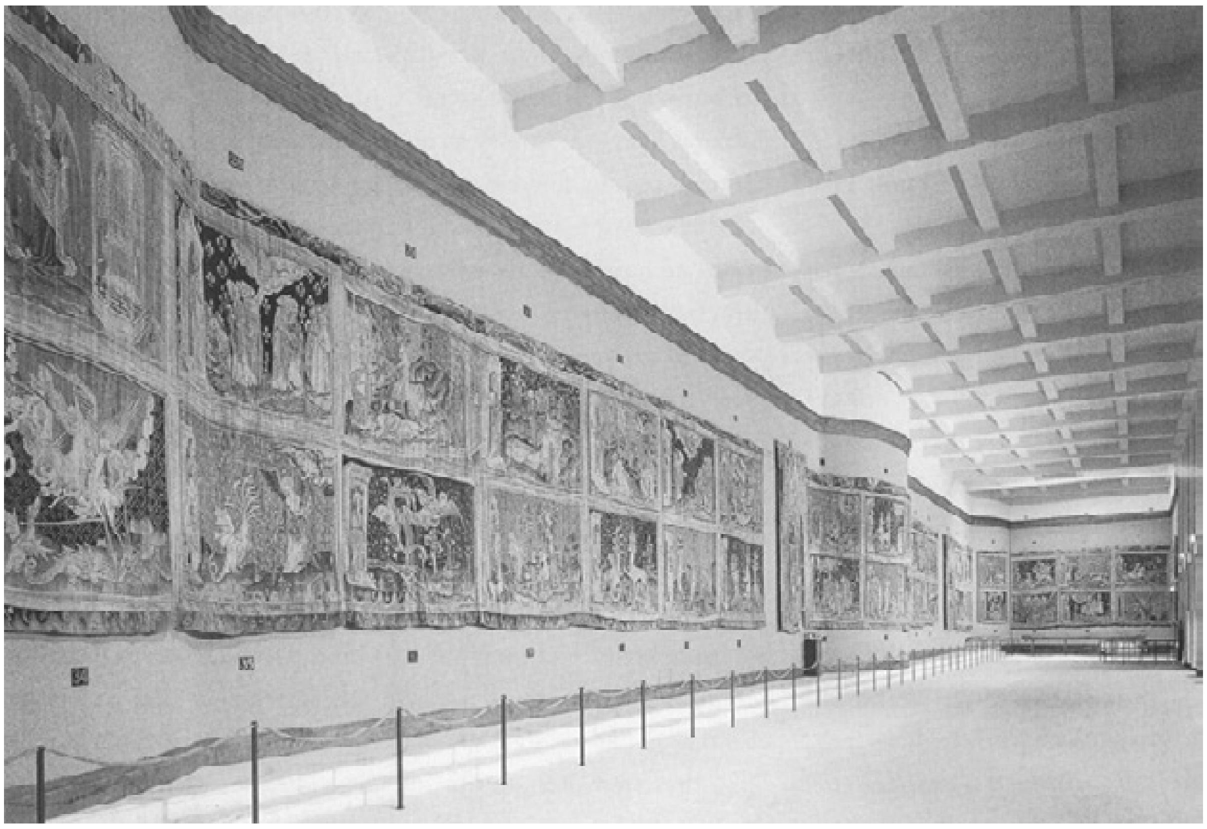


Fig. 15. *The Apocalypse.* Tapestries designed by Jan Boudolf, woven in the workshop of Robert Poinçon, Paris, ca. 1373–80. Wool. Château, Angers

during subsequent negotiations in 1392 and 1397. Other gifts in this period included a set of *Hector of Troy,* presented to Konrad von Jungingen, Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia in 1396, two tapestries of *Saint Antony* presented to Martin, king of Aragon, in 1397, and a number of pieces that were presented to Philip's cousin, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan, during the 1390s.[14] Finally, in one of the most telling gifts of all, Philip sent Sultan Bajazet I a gold-woven set of the *Story of Alexander* in 1399 as part of the ransom for his son John, who had been captured by the Turks at Nicopolis in 1396. This was in response to a specific request by the sultan himself for a fine set of arras.[15]

If Philip's patronage benefited the tapestry industry, it was also groundbreaking in terms of the subjects he commissioned. While many of the tapestries he acquired may have been speculative ventures on the part of the tapestry merchants, he seems to have been responsible for ordering custom pieces as well, such as a three-piece set of the *Story of Fame* (*Fama*) from Pierre de Beaumetz in 1399, paying the large sum of 3,000 *écus d'or.* The earliest rendition of the theme of Petrarch's *Trionfi* in the tapestry medium, the design was probably based on north Italian manuscripts such as those which Philip may have seen in the collection of Gian Galeazzo Visconti when he visited Italy in 1391.[16] He also appears to have been the first of the Valois princes to envisage and then commit the necessary capital for the development of designs depicting events in his own reign. Although there may have been a long-standing tradition on the Continent for commemorating historic events in embroidery and textiles—such as the famously misnamed Bayeux "tapestry" embroidery—Philip's commissions are the first certain evidence we have of the treatment of such subjects at the request of a living patron on the monumental scale of tapestry.

The most dramatic exercise in this respect was the tapestry of the *Battle of Roosebeke* that he ordered to commemorate the victory of his forces over the rebellious towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres in November 1382. Commissioned in 1384 through an Arras merchant, Michel Bernard, the tapestry was delivered two years later at a total cost of 3,600 gold francs, of which 300 were for the cartoon—the price of a lavish illuminated manuscript.[17] The tapestry was enormous, measuring 5 meters in height and over 41 meters long, and must count as one of the most important and influential works of political art of the Middle Ages. When the duke of Lancaster met Philip at Calais in 1393, he objected to the display of the set, insisting on replacing it with subjects that were more appropriate to the discussions of peace at hand.[18] Subsequently, Philip was to commission other propagandistic tapestries such as the *Victories of Bertrand Du Guesclin* and the *King of France and His Twelve Peers* (the latter woven at looms set up at Philip's castle of Hesdin).[19]

Although none of Philip's tapestries have survived, a vivid impression of the contribution that they made to the appearance of the ducal courts is provided by the famous image in the Limbourg brothers' *Très riches heures* (fig. 11) which shows a lord, possibly the duke of Berry, being served dinner on a textile-covered dais, with an elaborate battle tapestry draped on the wall behind him. The coats of arms of the protagonists are prominently displayed, and inscriptions in the top border provide an explanation of the images below.[20]

John the Fearless (1371–1419), duke of Burgundy from 1404, continued the practices established by his father. The major diplomatic negotiations of his reign were invariably accompanied by generous tapestry gifts such as those distributed to the ambassadors of Henry V, king of England, and Sigismund, king of Hungary, on the occasion of the 1416 treaty signed in Lille.[21] Most of the tapestries that John acquired on his own behalf appear to have been genre and hunting subjects, but he did augment the Burgundian collection with one major tapestry commission, a six-piece set of gold-woven tapestries of the *Battle of Liège* to commemorate the victory he achieved in 1408 (completed in 1411).[22]

The innovations and sophistication of the tapestry patronage of the Valois princes established a model that was widely followed. The French royal collection was expanded by Charles VI (1368–1422), king of France from 1380, with lavish heraldic suites and figurative ensembles. His most ambitious acquisition was arranged through Nicolas Bataille and Jacques Dourdin in 1397, a chamber of thirteen tapestries woven in gold and fine thread of the *Jousts of Saint Denis,* representing festivities held in 1389 to celebrate the knighthood of Louis of Orléans (who was to become an important tapestry patron in his own right) and his cousin, Louis II, duke of Anjou. Measuring 285 square French ells (about 325 sq. m), this enormous ensemble cost a total of 2,743 livres.[23] The size and splendor of the French royal tapestry collection are attested by inventories drawn up in 1422, which list several hundred more tapestries of which many examples included gold thread.[24]

The influence of the Burgundian and French courts was equally marked at the English court. Although the English royal wardrobe included several ensembles of decorative, heraldic, and figurative tapestries by the second third of the fourteenth century, and while there is some evidence that both the crown and the nobility were obtaining armorial tapestries from native workshops in the late fourteenth century, the gifts that Philip the Bold presented to Richard II and his uncles seem to have stimulated an entirely new level of interest in the medium, and it was under Richard, Henry IV, and Henry V that the English royal tapestry collection took shape. Between 1390 and 1430, the English royal collection appears to have grown to more than two hundred tapestries, and while half this number was composed of heraldic ensembles, many of the figurative tapestries included gold thread and were of enormous dimensions.[25] The English conquests in France during the early 1420s provided the English with remarkable opportunities for plunder. As Henry VI was still in his minority, the main advantage appears to have been taken by John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford (1389–1435), the king's regent in France, whose expropriations were recorded in the inventory of the French royal wardrobe.[26] Between 1422 and 1433 Bedford took receipt of more than two hundred tapestries from the French royal collection with an aggregate value of more than 9,000 *livres tournois.* Some of these ensembles eventually found their way into the English royal collection, such as the enormous set of heraldic hangings woven for Charles VI, which was hung on the walls of the chamber in which Henry VI received the French ambassadors in 1445, along with a dossal woven with the *Story of Clovis,* also looted from the French collection.[27] But the vast majority of the French royal collection, including many magnificent sets, such as the *Jousts of Saint Denis,* disappeared without trace after their acquisition by Bedford. Generally speaking, while most of the tapestries acquired by English patrons during the fifteenth century appear to have been duplicates of designs recorded in Continental inventories, there is evidence that some resulted from specific commissions, such as the tapestries of *Guy of Warwick* in the collection of the earl of Warwick in 1397, or those of the *Siege of Falaise* recorded in the collection of Sir John Fastolf in 1459.[28]

With the occupation of northern France and Paris by the English in 1422 and the political and financial instability of Charles VII during the early years of his reign (1422–61), the French crown ceased to be a major center of tapestry patronage during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, leaving the splendor of the Burgundian court with little close rival. Philip the Good (1396–1467) became duke of Burgundy following the assassination of his father, John the Fearless, in 1419.[29] Employer of artists like Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, Philip is renowned as one of the greatest patrons of the arts and letters of his age. Having spent much of his early reign in territorial disputes with the French king, Charles VII (who had been responsible for Philip's father's assassination), and constantly preoccupied during the 1430s and 1440s with rebellious districts in Holland and Flanders, particularly Ghent, he combined a keen artistic sensibility with a sophisticated sense of the potential of public spectacles and major artworks to promote the stature of the Burgundian house. The most significant demonstration of this instinct was his establishment in 1430 of the Order of the Golden Fleece, a chivalric brotherhood of European rulers and nobles whose regular meetings under Philip's leadership were intended to strengthen emotional and political ties to his sovereignty. With regular income generated by taxes on the principal towns under his rule, Philip was able to embark on extensive building programs at his properties in Bruges, Lille, and

Brussels, and to commission numerous paintings, illuminated manuscripts, and tapestries, many celebrating the biblical and mythological heroes associated with his chivalric order.[30]

An inventory of 1430–32 records some sixty-three sets in the ducal collection, including such important inherited pieces as the *Battle of Roosebeke* and the *Battle of Liège,* and these sets continued to play a key role in the spectacle and diplomacy of the day.[31] For example, during negotiations with England and France in 1435, the abbey of Saint Vaast was hung with the *Battle of Liège* tapestries as a somber reminder of what was at stake.

Like his father and grandfather, Philip also used tapestry as a form of diplomatic gift. Following the 1435 treaty, he rewarded his supporters with tapestries purchased from the Arras-based merchant Jean Walois, and each of the popes elected during his reign were thus favored. Martin V was presented with six tapestries with scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* in 1423—"so that his holiness would maintain the duke in his favor, as well as his friends and servants and all his lands"; Eugenius IV received an allegory of the pope, the emperor, and the nobility in 1440; and Paul II received a six-piece set of *Hannibal* with Philip's arms in 1466.[32]

But the most remarkable aspect of Philip's patronage was undoubtedly his new acquisitions. At the time of his death, Philip had increased his collection to almost one hundred sets, some of which numbered ten or more pieces. While some pieces were evidently intended purely for decorative use, many of the most valuable were closely related to dynastic claims and political aspirations. The most important of his acquisitions was a set of the *Story of Gideon,* which Philip commissioned in 1449 to provide a backdrop to ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[33] Patron saint of the order, Gideon's victory over the Mideonites provided a resonant model for Philip and his ambition to liberate the Holy Land from the Turks. The design was provided by Bauduin (Baudouin) de Bailleul, the leading artist in Arras at that date, at a cost of 300 *écus d'or,* and the production was arranged by two Tournai-based tapestry master weavers, Robert Dary and Jehan de l'Ortie. The tapestry, comprising eight pieces with a height of 5.6 meters and a total length of 98 meters, was completed by 1453. It was richly woven in silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, wool, and silk, and cost the enormous sum of 8,960 *écus d'or.* As such, it appears to have been the most expensive artistic project of the era. (The tapestries survived in Brussels until the end of the eighteenth century; they were transported to Vienna in 1794, after which they disappeared.) Philip took a close personal interest in the project, paying Bailleul to bring the completed cartoons to Bruges in 1459 for his inspection and subsequently taking the unusual step of purchasing the cartoons to prevent duplication of the design.

The *Gideon* set appears to have been truly outstanding and drew universal admiration. It was exhibited at all the meetings of the brotherhood and at other significant ducal ceremonies, such as Philip's visit to Paris following the coronation of Louis XI at Reims in 1461. The chronicles of Georges Chastellain vividly convey the richness of the Burgundian duke's lodgings at the Hôtel d'Artois and the extent to which they outshone those of the French king. Never in living memory had people seen such opulence, in France or elsewhere, and Parisians of all ranks lined up from morning to night in a long procession throughout the duke's stay in Paris to see the splendors of his residence (and perhaps to enjoy the wine that was liberally dispensed by his aides). According to Chastellain, the Parisians were impressed above all by the *Story of Gideon* tapestries, which he described as the richest and largest that had ever been made, and by a sumptuous pavilion of embroidered velvet that was erected in the central courtyard.[34] Nobody could visit the Hôtel d'Artois without witnessing this glittering demonstration of the occupant's immense wealth and the models with whom Philip identified.[35]

The *Alexander* set with which the *Gideon* tapestries were displayed was purchased in 1459 from a Tournai-based merchant, Pasquier Grenier, who became Philip's principal tapestry supplier during the 1460s, providing him sets of the *Passion* (1461), the *Story of Esther and Ahasuerus,* and the *Story of the Swan Knight* (1462), and chambers with "figures and orange trees" and with "Woodcutters" (1466).[36] Although none of these have survived, an impression of their richness and possibly even of their appearance may well be provided by contemporary weavings of the *Story of Alexander* (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome; see fig. 25) and the *Story of Esther and Ahasuerus* (cathedral collection, Saragossa).[37]

Although Grenier enjoyed a privileged role during the 1460s, Philip acquired tapestries, both decorative and political, from other sources as well. Purchases from the Lille-based merchant Jehan de Haze in the final years of his life included the famous sequence featuring Philip's cipher and heraldic device against a millefleurs ground of which a large fragment is extant (figs. 16, 26).[38]

The wealth and splendor of the Burgundian collection by the late 1460s are demonstrated by descriptions of the marriage of Philip's son Charles to Margaret of York in 1468 at Bruges. According to one chronicle, never before had so many rich tapestries been displayed together: the *Story of Gideon* was hung in a temporary hall erected in the courtyard, the *Battle of Liège* in the Great Hall, the *Story of Clovis* in the Hall of the Chamberlains, the *Story of Begyne and Garin* (dukes of Beline and Lorraine) in the hall before the chapel, and a *Story of Esther* in another hall. The chapel was hung with a gold-woven *Passion* set, while Margaret's chamber

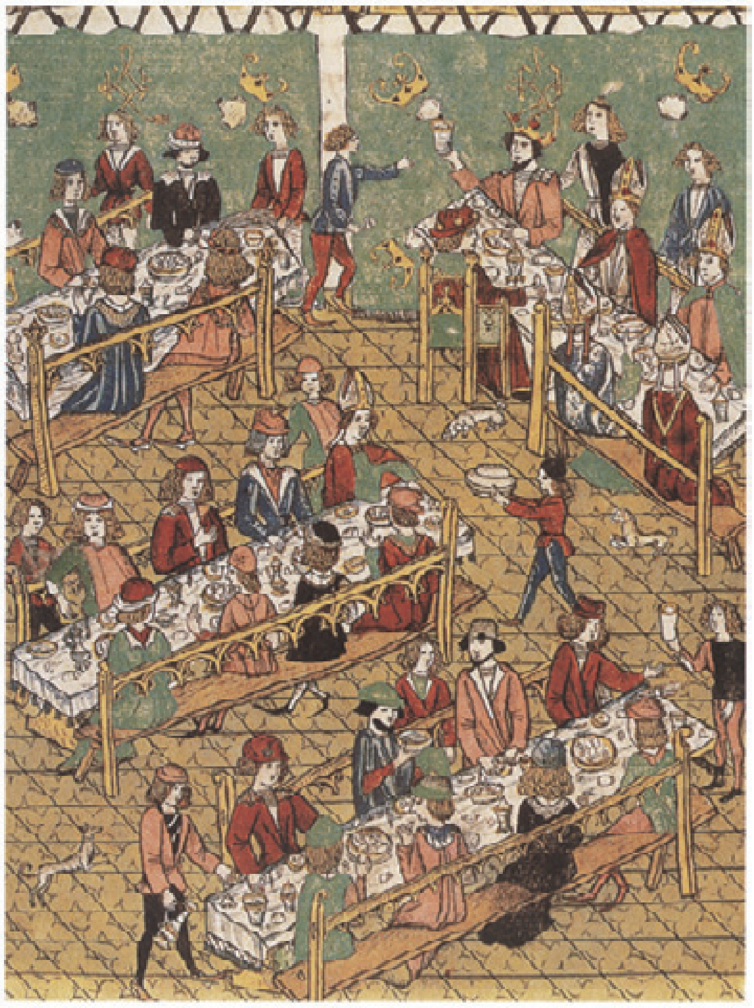


Fig. 16. *The Banquet of Charles the Bold and Frederick III at Trier.* Manuscript illumination in Diebold Schilling, *Chronik der Burgunderkriege*, 1480. Zentralbibliothek, Zurich (MS A5, fol. 121). The walls are hung with Philip the Good's heraldic millefleurs tapestries

was hung with a suite of textiles with her heraldic colors of white, green, and red.[39]

The lead that Burgundian patronage had set for European courts under Philip the Good faltered under his son, Charles the Bold (1433–1477), duke of Burgundy from 1467, whose aggressive policy to expand the Burgundian domain drained his resources for artistic patronage and ultimately resulted in his death in battle at Nancy in 1477. Charles shared his ancestors' love of the tapestry medium, demonstrating a preference for classical subjects celebrating feats of arms. Contemporary awareness of this interest is reflected in the gift with which he was presented in 1472 by the town and franc of Bruges. This, an eleven-piece set of the *Story of the Trojan War*, was purchased from Pasquier Grenier, the merchant who had supplied so many tapestries to Charles's father, and is the earliest documented weaving of a design that was subsequently duplicated at least six times for other European patrons, including Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino (1476), Henry VII, king of England (1488), Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary (before 1490), and Charles VIII, king of France (before 1494).[40] The splendor of the textiles and tapestries with which Charles was surrounded in his military campaigns is attested by the vestiges of the loot that the Swiss captured from his camp following the defeat of the Burgundian forces at Granson in 1476, of which a small part survives at Bern in the Historisches Museum.[41]

With Charles's defeat and death at Nancy the tradition of Burgundian tapestry patronage was temporarily arrested. The Burgundian ducal collection passed into the possession of the Habsburg family, in the person of Maximilian I (1459–1519), Holy Roman Emperor from 1493, who had married Charles's daughter Mary of Burgundy in 1477. Not much is known of Maximilian's tapestry patronage during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, but considering his youth and the troubled circumstances of his accession to the Burgundian territories he probably wielded little influence over the Netherlandish industry, at least in the early years of his rule. Yet, if the death of Charles the Bold interrupted the leading role that the Burgundian dukes had played as patrons of the local industry, the loss was more than compensated for by the number of European magnates who wished to emulate the traditions of Valois and Burgundian display. Indeed, the example of the Burgundian court continued to exercise a power over the imagination of other European rulers for decades (for discussion of Italian patronage, see pp. 85–101).

In England, the Burgundian concept of magnificence was propagated by the close links between the courts (Edward IV's sister, Margaret of York, had married Charles the Bold in 1468, as noted above) and codified in such works as Sir John Fortescue's *The Governance of England* (ca. 1460–70). This described the necessary expenditure that the king should make on buildings, hospitality, and "rich hangings and other apparal" without which a king lived, not according to his rank, but "rather in miserie and in more subgeccion than doth a private person."[42] As if following this prescription, Edward made large purchases from Pasquier Grenier in the late 1460s, including a four-piece set of the *Story of Nebuchadnezzar*, a nine-piece set of the *Story of Alexander*, and a six-piece *Passion* set, subjects that may have been duplicates of designs already supplied to the Burgundian court.[43] Subsequently, Henry VII followed a similar route following his accession in 1485. In September 1486 Pasquier and his son Jean were granted safe conduct and protection for themselves and their servants to import cloths of arras and tapestry to England. We can conjecture that a representative of the family traveled to England to present available designs, and that this resulted in a commission that came to fruition one and a half years later with the delivery by Jean of two tapestry altarcloths

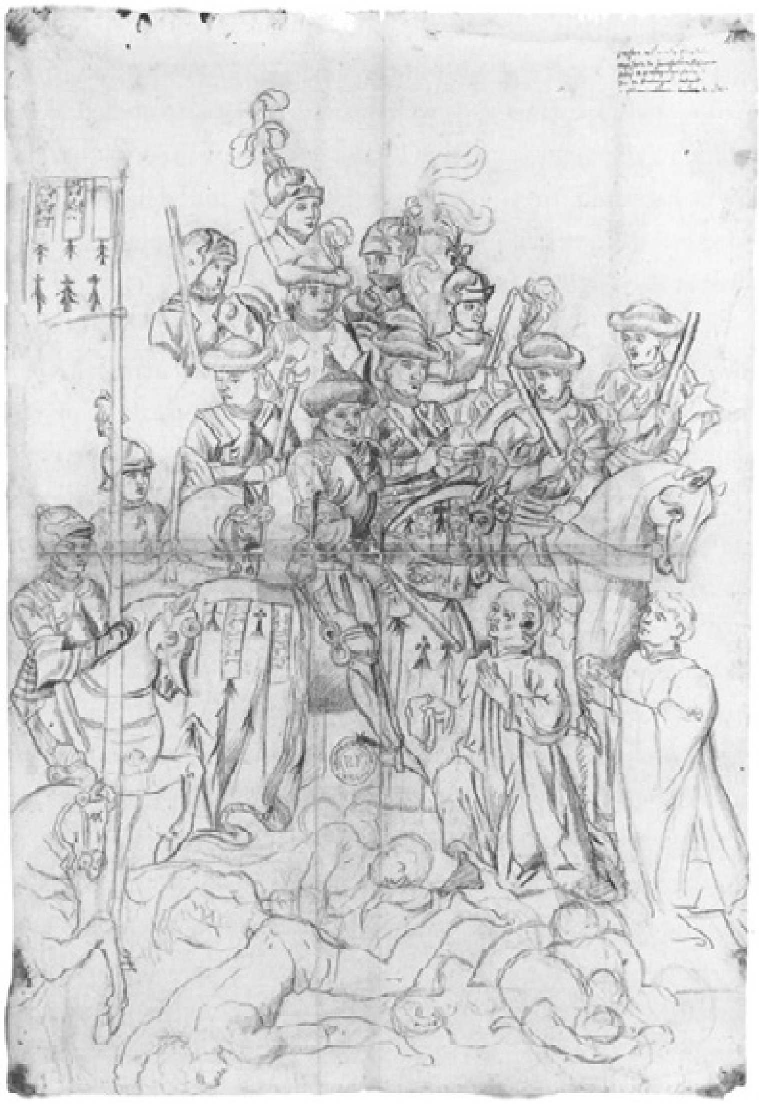


Fig. 17. *The Constable of Richemont Paying the Clerics to Bury the Dead.* Drawing by Jean Gobert, 1621, of one of a lost set of 15th-century tapestries depicting the battle of Formigny. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

and an eleven-piece set of the *Story of the Trojan War,* of which Charles had received the editio princeps (first weaving) in 1472.[44] Descriptions of Henry's palaces at Richmond on the occasion of the marriage of his son Arthur, prince of Wales, to Catherine of Aragon in 1501 suggest that he had also acquired other sets from Grenier, depicting a variety of romance and "historical" subjects. Of especial interest are two large, gold-woven tapestries that are recorded in later royal inventories. One represented *Henry's Defeat of Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth,* while the other showed a royal marriage, probably that of Henry and Elizabeth of York, the union that had finally resolved the Wars of the Roses in England.[45] Whether or not these tapestries were woven by Grenier, they show that Henry was just as aware of the potential of tapestry as a tool of propaganda as were his Continental counterparts. Fragments of armorial tapestries woven for his son Arthur also survive in Winchester Cathedral.[46]

The French court and nobility were equally keen on tapestry. With the gradual expulsion of the English from northern France during the 1440s and the decisive defeat of the English army at the battle of Formigny in 1450, Charles VII regained control of their northern territories. The victory over the English (of whom 4,000 were killed) was commemorated in a six-piece set of tapestries possibly after designs by Jean Fouquet. Long since lost, the appearance of two sections, one depicting the constable of Richemont ordering of the burial of the dead (fig. 17), is recorded in two seventeenth-century drawings.[47] An impression of the splendor of Charles VII's court is provided by an illumination of the king sitting in judgment at the trial of the duke of Alençon in 1458 surrounded by tapestries depicting heraldic beasts and coats of arms (fig. 18).[48] This set has also disappeared, but a fragment from another armorial ensemble with stags holding Charles's banners and insignia does survive.[49] Descriptions of court festivals and triumphal entries during the reigns of Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII demonstrate that the medium played an important part in court spectacle during the second half of the fifteenth century, while the subjects of the tapestries involved suggest the extent to which the French royal collection was similar in content and appearance to the Burgundian ducal and English royal collections.[50] For example, when Philip the Handsome visited Blois in 1501, the main rooms of the château were hung with scenes from the *Story of the Trojan War,* while the duke's apartments were hung with scenes of the *Story of Alexander.* The king's dining room was hung with the *Battle of Formigny.* These heroic subjects were in contrast to the decorations of the chambers of the queen and her ladies. Those of Claude, daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany (subsequently wife of Francis I), were hung with "bucolic scenes with small figures and inscriptions"; the queen's chambers were hung with tapestry "depicting wild beasts and exotic natives."[51]

The Spanish kings had long been patrons of the Netherlandish industry. Martin, king of Aragon (r. 1395–1410), had received tapestries as a gift from Philip the Bold, and the inventory of his goods taken in 1410 lists other pieces that he must have purchased. Subsequent Spanish kings were equally enthusiastic about the medium, placing orders through Spanish merchants. In the course of their long reigns, the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand V (1452–1516), king of Aragon and Castile, and Isabella (1451–1504), queen of Castile and Aragon, amassed a sizable number of tapestries, partly through gifts, but primarily through purchases and commissions placed with merchants, such as Matías de Guirla, at the annual fairs held in Medina del Campo. By the time she died in 1504, Isabella's collection numbered 370 tapestries, which, according to current Spanish custom, were mostly sold in the town of Toro in 1505.[52]

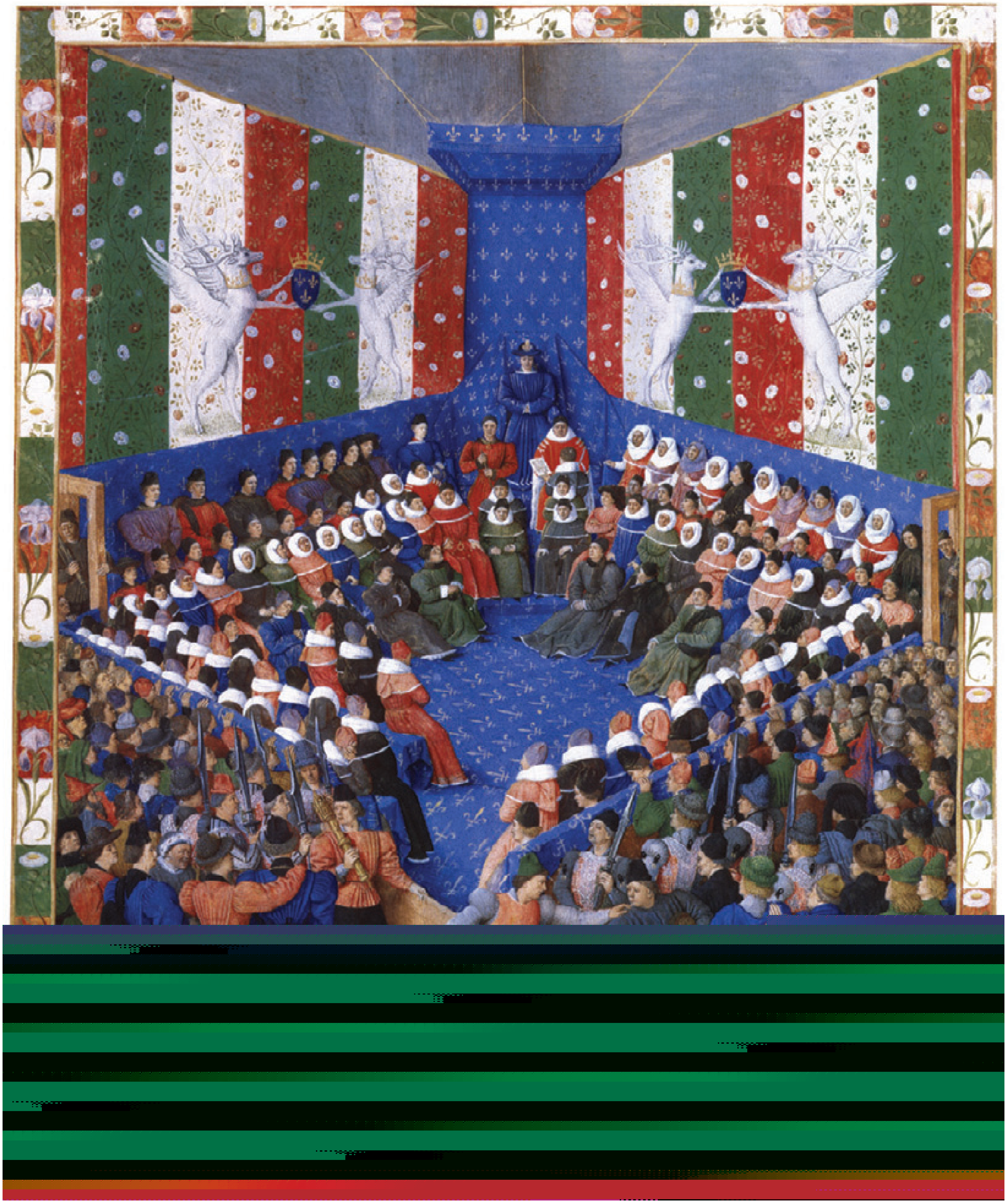


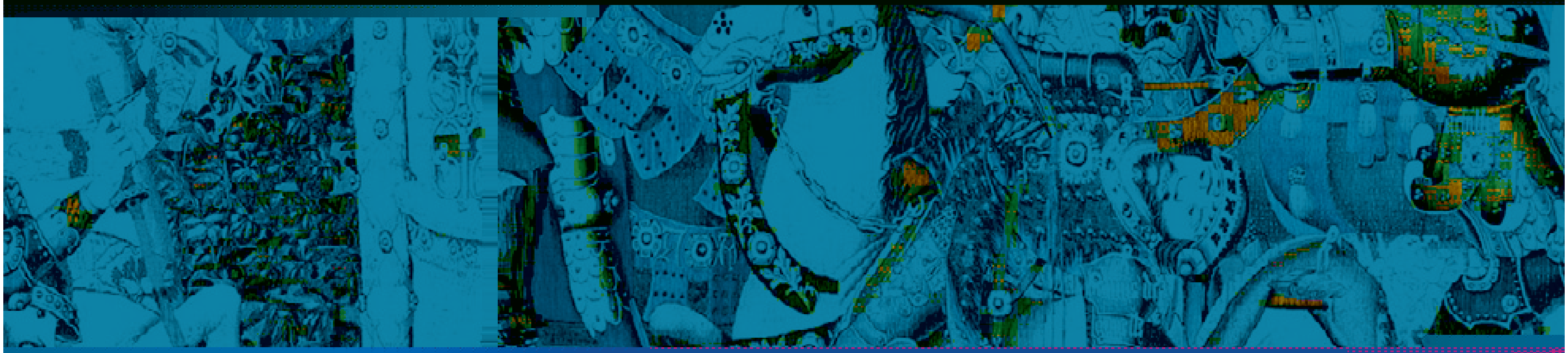
Fig. 18. *The Trial of Jean, Duke of Alençon.* Miniature painting attributed to Jean Fouquet, in Laurent Girard's French edition of Boccaccio's *De casibus vivorum illustrium*, 1458. 34 x 28 cm (miniature). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Cod. gall. 6, fol. 2v)

the earliest extant examples is the *Story of Saint Peter* woven about 1460 for Guillaume de Hellande, bishop of Beauvais, of which various fragments are extant.[81] The place of manufacture of these sets is generally unknown, but the number that survive or are documented suggests the relative ease with which French ecclesiastics and institutions were able to commission custom designs, probably from a variety of Netherlandish centers. The subject matter of these sets is generally derived from Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend.*

One of the most splendid examples of this choir tapestry genre is the *Story of Saint Stephen,* commissioned by Bishop Jean Baillet, about 1500–1505, for the cathedral of Auxerre (fig. 35).[82] Once again, the place of manufacture of this and other related sets is unknown, although the style of the figures has led to suggestions that the designs may have been provided by the Brussels artist Colyn de Coter or an artist in his circle. Although such donations evidently occurred in other countries—for example, the set of the *Life of Christ* which was donated to Canterbury Cathedral by the prior Thomas Goldstone and the almoner Richard Dering in 1511 (cathedral of Saint-Sauveur, Aix-en-Provence, and location unknown)—the vast majority of such documented commissions were made by French ecclesiastics to French churches, especially in Burgundy, Champagne, and Picardy.[83]

1. For general introductions to medieval and early Renaissance tapestry patronage, see Cavallo 1993, pp. 26–80; Joubert in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 9–75; and Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 25–85.
2. Göbel 1923 and Göbel 1928 cite many early inventories and documents.
3. Joubert 1981.
4. Jubinal 1840, pp. 25–28; Labarte 1879, pp. 62–66.
5. Ledos 1889; Joubert 1981.
6. De Winter 1976, pp. 134–59.
7. Prost 1889–90; Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 2, pp. 206–24.
8. Lestocquoy 1978, passim; Joubert 1990b.
9. Joubert 1990b, p. 602.
10. Cailleteau et al. 1987.
11. Cailleteau in ibid., p. 32.
12. De Winter 1976, pp. 134–59; Joubert 1990b.
13. For the context of these gifts, see Vaughan 1962.
14. Dehaisnes 1886, vol. 2, pp. 651, 668; De Winter 1976, p. 157.
15. De Winter 1976, p. 157.
16. Dehaisnes 1886, vol. 2, p. 778; De Winter 1976, p. 151; De Winter 1985, p. 24; Joubert 1990b, p. 602.
17. De Winter 1976, p. 152; Brassat 1992, p. 164.
18. Pinchart 1878–85, p. 11.
19. De Winter 1976, pp. 151–55.
20. Meiss 1974, pp. 63–64; McKendrick 1991, p. 67, n. 163.
21. Pinchart 1878–85, p. 19.
22. Brassat 1992, p. 164.
23. Guiffrey 1878–85, pp. 15–16.
24. Guiffrey 1887.
25. McKendrick 1995, pp. 48–50; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 32–41.
26. Guiffrey 1887; Stratford 1993, pp. 86–89.
27. Stratford 1993, p. 89.
28. W. G. Thomson 1973, p. 83; McKendrick 1995, p. 51.
29. J. C. Smith 1979, pp. 332–46; J. C. Smith 1989.
30. J. C. Smith 1979; J. C. Smith 1989; Ainsworth in New York 1998, p. 24.
31. Laborde 1849–52, vol. 2, pp. 267–75; J. C. Smith 1979, p. 334.
32. Vaughan 1970, p. 206; J. C. Smith 1979, pp. 335–36.
33. J. C. Smith 1989.
34. Chastellain 1863–66, vol. 4, pp. 93–94.
35. J. C. Smith 1989, p. 125.
36. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 71–80; McKendrick in Grove 1996, vol. 13, p. 634.
37. McKendrick 1987, p. 522, n. 17; Rapp Buri and Stucky-Schürer 1998; Franke 1998.
38. Schneebalg-Perelman 1976, p. 166; Deuchler 1984.
39. Pinchart 1878–85, p. 67.
40. McKendrick 1991.
41. Bern 1969.
42. Fortescue 1885, p. 125; Thurley 1993, pp. 11–18.
43. McKendrick 1987.
44. McKendrick 1991, pp. 51–52.
45. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 65–68.
46. Tournai 1970, no. 5; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 64–65.
47. Paris 1981, pp. 35–38, nos. 11a–d; Brassat 1992, pp. 164–66.
48. Brassat 1992, pp. 68–69.
49. Joubert in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 21, 66.
50. Guiffrey 1878–85, pp. 66–69; Cavallo 1993, p. 29.
51. Guiffrey 1878–85, p. 67.
52. Sánchez Cantón 1950, pp. 89–150; Junquera de Vega 1970, pp. 16–17; Junquera 1985, pp. 22–25.
53. Tournai, Brussels, and Rijkhoven 1985, pp. 140–45.
54. Cavallo 1993, p. 67.
55. Tournai 1967, pp. 20–21.
56. Souchal in Paris 1973, pp. 166–68; Freeman 1976, p. 53.
57. Cavallo 1967, pp. 56–61.
58. J. C. Smith 1979, p. 343.
59. For example, for the English royal collection, see McKendrick 1995, pp. 47, 55–56, n. 33; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 54–57, 106–19.
60. J. C. Smith 1979, p. 344.
61. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 54–56; J. C. Smith 1979, pp. 342–43.
62. Thurley 1993, p. 74.
63. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 55–57; J. C. Smith 1979, pp. 343–44.
64. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 58–61, 85–87, 129–30, 200–205.
65. Roblot-Delondre 1917–19; Göbel 1923, pp. 55–99; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 30–44.
66. Souchal in Paris 1973, pp. 122–26; Cavallo 1993, pp. 272–77.
67. Cavallo 1993, pp. 94–124.
68. Göbel 1923, pp. 58–65; Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 134–37.
69. Turin 1952, pp. 14–15; Wingfield Digby 1980, pp. 18–19.
70. McKendrick 1988; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 36–38.
71. Brussels 1967.
72. Mechelen 2000, p. 39.
73. McKendrick 1991, p. 43; Mechelen 2000, p. 36.
74. Franke 1998; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 60.
75. Cavallo 1993, pp. 33–34.
76. Wardwell 1975; Cavallo 1993, pp. 334–46.
77. Delmarcel in Mechelen 2000, pp. 24–27.
78. Cavallo 1993, pp. 421–45.
79. Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 78, 82.
80. Cavallo 1993, p. 31.
81. Cavallo 1967, pp. 52–54.
82. Joubert 1987b.
83. Aix-en-Provence 1977.

Vint achilles dervé et enragie · Sus troillus qui grans cōfusions ·
Faisoit des grecz pour estre vēgie · Sur mirmidons les gr̄s conclusiōs
Print ce jour neussent intencions · Qua troillus en durée egeant tempeste
Son heaume casse de horions · Vint achilles qui luy coppa la teste ·
Entre les pies des chevaulx ce hault chief Vill
Le noble corps par oultrageux meschief · Ma
Roy menon sur achilles frappa · Dont les tro
Soubz bastiāce que ce roy non trouva · retourn
TROIENS
troilus
paris
le roy menon



in Paris during the late fourteenth century, for example, because it mistook the merchants who handled the trade for local weavers—and misleading: it masked the volume of trade and production in both these and other towns, such as Lille and Bruges, during the supposed ascendancy of one center or another.[25]

In a recent survey of the state of current knowledge Cavallo argued that the geography of production was more fluid than previously recognized. In support of his position he adduced the proximity of the principal centers of production to one another; the practice of prominent merchants from one town of trading tapestries produced in another center—often through depots or agents in yet a third town; weavers' mobility, both within the Low Countries and farther afield; and the occasional provision of cartoons for workshops in one center by artists from another. He concluded that medieval production was a "diverse activity [that] took place simultaneously in many different weaving centers and tapestry markets and that . . . transcended regional boundaries."[26]

Cavallo's reappraisal was a healthy challenge to the traditional view and is unquestionably relevant to the vast majority of medieval production, which, being of a mundane and mediocre character, could indeed have been produced more or less anywhere. His vision of a diversified and relatively undifferentiated production throughout the Low Countries does not apply entirely, however, to the part of the industry that produced large numbers of big, high-quality tapestries. Productions such as Philip the Good's *Gideon* tapestries or the *Story of the Trojan War* sets that Pasquier Grenier supplied to leading patrons between 1472 and 1493 were not the product of an ad hoc cottage industry. Even if one assumes that such commissions were customarily divided between two or three different ateliers, the production of these tapestries required sizable workshops with big looms, good management, a dependable workforce of highly skilled weavers, a demonstrated ability to produce in a timely and consistent fashion, and secure storage for valuable raw materials. Furthermore, while Cavallo is correct that rich merchants traded tapestries made in a variety of centers, those who specialized in tapestry production and commissioned new cartoons on speculation had considerable economic incentive to place commissions with workshops in their own vicinity: doing so allowed them to keep an eye both on production and on the valuable materials that they supplied. (That Bataille, Beaumetz, and Dourdin, who all resided in Paris, commissioned high-quality tapestries from Arras is probably to be explained by the rapidity with which the high-quality industry had developed in Arras during the 1380s and 1390s. Most of the major tapestry entrepreneurs of the fifteenth century appear to have lived close to the workshops that provided the majority of their high-quality products.) Thus, while the traditional paradigm of the successive rise and fall of Paris, Arras, Tournai, and Brussels may be simplistic, certain weavers and merchants do appear to have played a significant role in production and trade at different points in the fifteenth century, and the fortunes of production in different centers were linked to the careers of these merchants. In the future a more nuanced reading of the available documentation, and a more careful contextualization of this information in the socioeconomic circumstances of the merchants and master weavers, may reveal more about the rise and fall of high-quality production in different centers.

The Arras workshops continued to play a major part in high-quality production through the first half of the fifteenth century.[27] Visiting Arras in 1438, the Spanish traveler Pero Tafur described it as a very rich town, "especially by reason of its woven cloths and all kinds of tapestries, and although they are also made in other places, yet it well appears that those which are made in Arras have the preference."[28] Again, ducal patronage must have played a role in this esteem and prosperity. Just as the merchant Jean Cosset had enjoyed close links with Philip the Bold, Jean Walois (Jan, Jehan; fl. 1412–45, d. before 1452) became the leading supplier to John the Fearless and Philip the Good, Philip's son and grandson. Like Cosset, Walois was a member of one of the richest and most powerful families in Arras. He sold tapestries to the duke of Burgundy from 1413 until 1445, providing, among many others, the tapestries that Philip the Good presented to the delegates at the 1435 congress that established peace between Burgundy and France. Walois evidently owned a number of cartoons, including large hunting scenes that were enormously popular during the second quarter of the century, designs that probably resembled the four *Devonshire Hunts* (see fig. 24).[29]

The volume of trade passing through the hands of Arras-based merchants was steady until the mid-fifteenth century, when Tournai-based merchants and production gained favor. The reasons for this shift are unclear,[30] but the eclipse of the Arras workshops by those of Tournai may, in part, have been a consequence of the death of Jean Walois, whose relationship with Philip the Good had guaranteed the placement of many prestigious commissions with the former; after Walois's death Philip started placing substantial commissions with Tournai merchants and weavers. A certain amount of production is recorded in Arras until the late fifteenth century, but there was little activity after 1477, when the sack of the town by the French dealt a serious blow to the local economy.

Although Philip the Good had acquired the Hainaut region in 1423 and become count of Hainaut in 1433, Tournai had remained a French enclave within the Burgundian territory. In the early 1420s

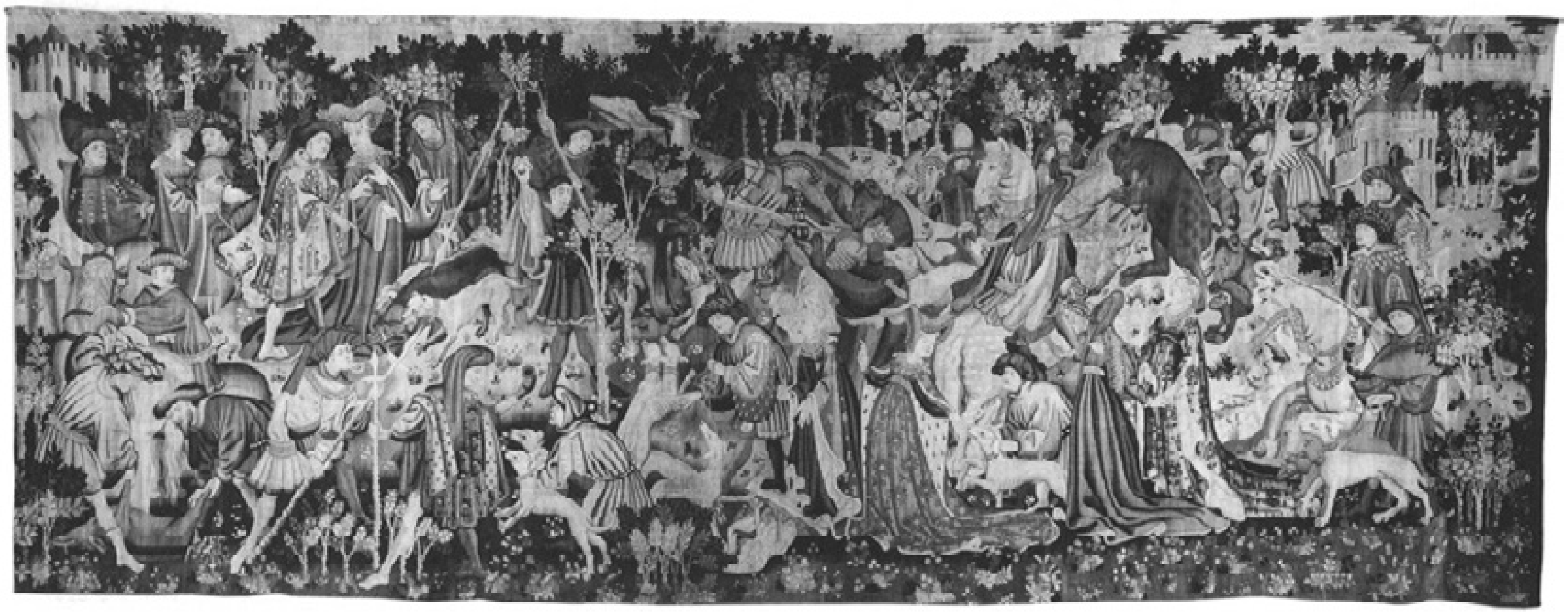


Fig. 24. *Boar and Bear Hunt* from the *Devonshire Hunts*. Tapestry woven in the Southern Netherlands, possibly Arras, ca. 1430. Wool, 407 x 1021 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Philip had granted it favorable trade terms (in return for annual payments), and during the 1430s and 1440s the town had prospered.[31] So had the tapestry industry: twenty-eight tapissiers are recorded in Tournai between 1350 and 1400, but by midcentury there were more than one hundred masters involved in the trade (of whom about seventy were described as "tapissiers," and about forty as "marcheteurs").[32] Since all would have been attended by journeymen and apprentices, these numbers indicate a sizable industry. The Tournai tapestry weavers and *hautelisseurs* (in this case, weavers of fine cloth) broke from the Mercers' Guild in 1423 and formed their own association. In turn, the tapestry weavers eventually separated from the *hautelisseurs,* establishing their own guild in 1491.

In 1448 Philip the Good consigned the production of the costly *Gideon* set to two Tournai workshops, those of Robert Dary and Jehan (Jean) de l'Ortie. Philip's contract with the master weavers stipulated that they were to obtain the cartoon from Bauduin de Bailleul or an equally competent artist and that the work was to be completed within four years. It also specified that where the cartoon was painted in yellow the weavers were to use Venetian gold thread, and where it was white they were to use Venetian silver thread; the rest of the tapestry was to be woven in well-dyed silk and *sayette* (a type of fine wool).[33] Philip agreed to provide the weavers with a considerable advance and to pay their expenses on an annual basis. It is unclear why he dealt directly with the weavers rather than with a merchant; he may have done so because of the recent death of Walois, or because a middleman was irrelevant in a commission in which Philip was so immediately involved. Besides its financial rewards, the commission must have had an important impact on the reputation of local production and sent a signal to other potential patrons.

In the same year Dary and de l'Ortie were appointed as two of three Tournai representatives for the powerful Truye brothers, Arras-based merchants of high-quality textiles and tapestries. While little is known of Dary's and de l'Ortie's activity after 1448, the third of the Truye Tournai agents, Pasquier Grenier (fl. 1447–93), is well documented. Indeed, Grenier's career provides remarkable insight into the character and importance of the tapestry trade of the day.[34]

A patrician of Tournai, Grenier was the principal wine importer to the town. The first mention of independent activity as a tapestry merchant dates from 1449, when as a *marcheteur* Grenier was selling tapestries through agents in Le Puy (in the Auvergne) and Lyon. In later transactions he utilized an agent in Reims.[35] He also had depots in Antwerp and Bruges, and from the late 1450s he was one of the principal suppliers to the Burgundian court. In 1459 he sold Philip the Good a chamber of tapestries of the *Story of Alexander,* comprising six wall hangings and matching bed furnishings. During the following years he supplied sets of the *Passion* and *Shepherds* (1461), the *Story of Esther and Ahasuerus,* and the *Story of the Swan Knight* (1462), and chambers of pastoral scenes and woodcutters (1466).[36] Grenier also provided the *Story of the Trojan War* purchased in 1472 by the town and franc of Bruges as a gift for Charles the Bold. The circumstances in which these design series were conceived are undocumented, but it seems almost certain that, like the great late fourteenth-century merchants, Grenier actively commissioned new cartoons that he hoped would appeal to the great patrons of his day.

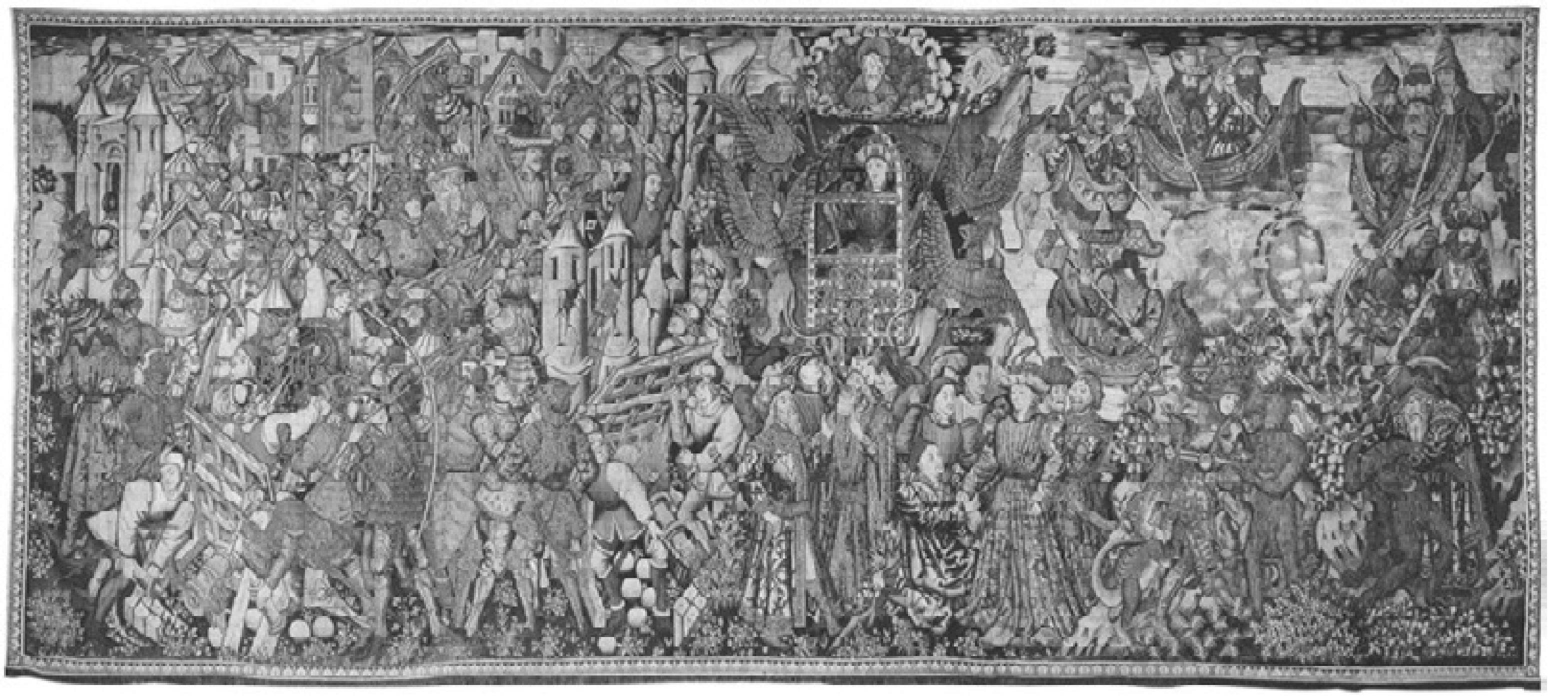


Fig. 25. *The Military Exploits and Fabulous Deeds of Alexander* from the *Story of Alexander.* Tapestry woven in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1455–60. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 415 x 985 cm. Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome

Grenier's activity was not limited to the Burgundian court. Eight months before the *Alexander* set was sold to Philip the Good, Melchior and Guillaume Grenier, a son and a nephew of Pasquier, had transported the designs for the *Alexander* tapestries, along with various unnamed tapestries, to Milan at the request of the duke Francesco Sforza.[37] Whether this resulted in an order is unknown, but it has been suggested that the two *Alexander* tapestries now in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome (fig. 25), derive from a Sforza commission.[38] The entrepreneurial trip to Italy in 1459 was not an isolated instance, and from the 1460s the Greniers were in regular contact with many of the leading courts of Europe. A set of *Alexander* was supplied to the English monarch Edward IV during the late 1460s, while another duplicate may have been among tapestries delivered to the French court. In 1476 Federico da Montefeltro paid Pasquier's son Jean Grenier for an eleven-piece set of the *Story of the Trojan War* (a duplicate of that presented to Charles the Bold in 1472), and another set was sold to the French court before 1494, perhaps even before 1484. Jean Grenier traveled to the English court in 1486 to arrange for a similar sale to Henry VII, and another version of this design was sold to Matthias Corvinus, the king of Hungary, before his death in 1490. The wealth and status that this international trade brought Pasquier Grenier are reflected both in the donation he made to the church of Saint Quentin for the construction of an ambulatory and family funerary chapel in 1474, followed in 1475 by a gift of a set of the *Story of the Seven Sacraments,* and in the high civic offices he occupied in Tournai—in 1481, for example, he was sent as a deputy to negotiate with the French king on behalf of Tournai.[39]

Each of the *Trojan War* sets alone comprised eleven pieces measuring some 9 by 5 meters, and Pasquier Grenier must have subcontracted these commissions to large, well-established workshops that could guarantee fast, efficient production. Although Cavallo has argued that there is no certainty that the tapestries that passed through Grenier's hands were woven in Tournai, it seems unlikely that he would have advanced money and material too far afield. If nothing else, it would not have been in the interest of Tournai and the local guild, of which Grenier was such an important member, if he had procured too large a percentage of his wares from workshops other than those of his townsmen. Indeed, Grenier's international dealings may have played a large part in promoting and developing the prestige and success of the Tournai tapestry ateliers during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. In his will Grenier asked that "all my cartoons" (*tous mes patrons*) be divided among his four sons, a clear indication of the commercial importance of the cartoons.[40] His sons maintained a flourishing business, though the scale and quality of their products seem to have been more modest than those of their father's signature series.

Soil's research in the Tournai archives (now destroyed) demonstrated that if the Greniers' firm was the most successful in the town, there were several others of considerable size. The prosperity of Tournai's workshops appears to have suffered, however, from the prolonged hostility between Charles VIII of France and

Maximilian I of Germany during the 1480s and early 1490s, and from competition from other centers, especially Brussels, during this period. In 1497 the magistrates of Tournai ordered six chambers of tapestry from Jean Grenier as a gift for Philip the Handsome, to persuade him to annul the ban that he had imposed on the sale of Tournai products in his dominions.[41] Philip must have been impressed, because he made substantial purchases from Jean between 1502 and 1506.[42]

During the fifteenth century several distinguished workshops also operated in Lille. The town was a regular port of call for the Burgundian household from 1369, and local tapestry production flourished in the late fourteenth century. Robert Poinçon (fl. 1373–99), weaver of the Angers *Apocalypse,* became a burgher of Lille in 1397, and six other master weavers, all originally from Arras, are recorded there in the following decade or so.[43] Evidence that workshops of great distinction existed during the third quarter of the century is also provided by documentation relating to orders filled in Lille for both the duke of Burgundy and other clients. Under Philip the Good, Lille continued to be the center of Burgundian financial administration for Flanders, Artois, and Burgundian Picardy, and it was Philip's principal place of residence during the 1450s, when he built a new palace there.[44]

The first Lille weaver of international reputation was Pierre de Los (fl. 1448–66), who in 1448 was named as one of the Lille agents for the Truye brothers of Arras. His activity is known largely through correspondence between the Medici and their agent in the Low Countries, Gierozzo de' Pigli. As such it will be considered below in the context of fifteenth-century Italian patronage. Like the Greniers, de Los apparently owned a stock of quality tapestry cartoons painted on cloth. He lent the cartoons to the sheriff's hall in Lille every year between 1460 and 1466, as decorations for the annual celebration of the Feast of Behourt.[45]

Other Lille workshops also enjoyed a high reputation. In 1458 Philip the Good commissioned one Jean Lecoq of Lille to weave a *Baptism of Clovis* tapestry, probably part of the *Story of Clovis* tapestries displayed at Bruges in 1468 (these were, perhaps, a duplicate of the tapestries of the subject that survive at Reims).[46] Another master weaver named Camus Dugardin (fl. 1450–70) is documented sending tapestries to England in 1466 and making sales to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1468), and to his cousin Charles II de Bourbon (1469).[47] In the 1460s Philip also placed a number of commissions with a Lille master called Jehan (Jan, Jean) de (le) Haze (fl. 1462–72), including that for the famous millefleurs armorials (before 1466) of which a section survives in Bern (fig. 26).[48] In 1469 the magistrate of Antwerp purchased another set from de Haze as a gift for Charles the Bold, who had inherited the dukedom in 1467.[49] Charles bought more armorials from him in 1470, and in 1472 de Haze was described as a "valet de chambre" and "ayde de la tapisserie" to Charles.[50] According to the Burgundian accounts of 1466, de Haze was a resident of Brussels, a description that has prompted claims that he must have relocated his workshops to Brussels by this date and that the Bern millefleurs is therefore a Brussels product.[51] This is not certain, however. De Haze held high municipal appointments in Lille between 1462 and 1469, indicating that he continued to be resident primarily in that town; this may be a case of a rich merchant having residences in two towns so that he could trade in both centers.[52] De Haze does not appear, moreover, in the lists of the bourgeois of Brussels. It is nonetheless significant that from the 1460s he had a Brussels base, because at this date Brussels was becoming an increasingly important center of trade and production.

Tapestry weaving had evidently taken place in Brussels from early in the fourteenth century.[53] There, as in Arras, Tournai, and other Netherlandish centers, the development of the local tapestry trade appears to have coincided with the decline of the quality-cloth industry. At first the Brussels tapissiers were affiliated with the woolworkers' guild, and between 1417 and 1447 the registers of this corporation list about five hundred master weavers, journeymen, and apprentices, including members of the city board of magistrates. In 1447 the tapestry weavers formed an independent guild.

During the second third of the fifteenth century Brussels assumed increasing importance to the Burgundian court. The town was absorbed into Philip the Good's territories in 1430 following the death of Jean de Saint Pol (himself the owner of an important tapestry collection), and the reconstruction of the old Coudenberg Palace was begun during the 1430s, largely at the town's expense, in order to encourage Philip to move to Brussels. A great hall was added in the 1450s and from 1459 the palace became the duke's principal residence. The resulting prosperity of the town is reflected in the enormous amount of construction that occurred after 1430, including the town hall (completed in 1455) and the church of Notre-Dame du Sablon.

Given the proximity of the Burgundian court as patrons and the presence of merchants as financiers, it is hardly surprising that the Brussels tapestry industry flourished during the late fifteenth century. Despite the large number of weavers recorded in Brussels during this period, however, and the volume of tapestries that they must have produced, it is difficult to attribute any specific weavings to these workshops.[54] On becoming duke of Brabant, Philip inherited a number of tapestries subsequently listed in his inventory as "de Brabant," but there is no certainty that they were woven in Brussels. A large tapestry of the *Justice of Trajan and*

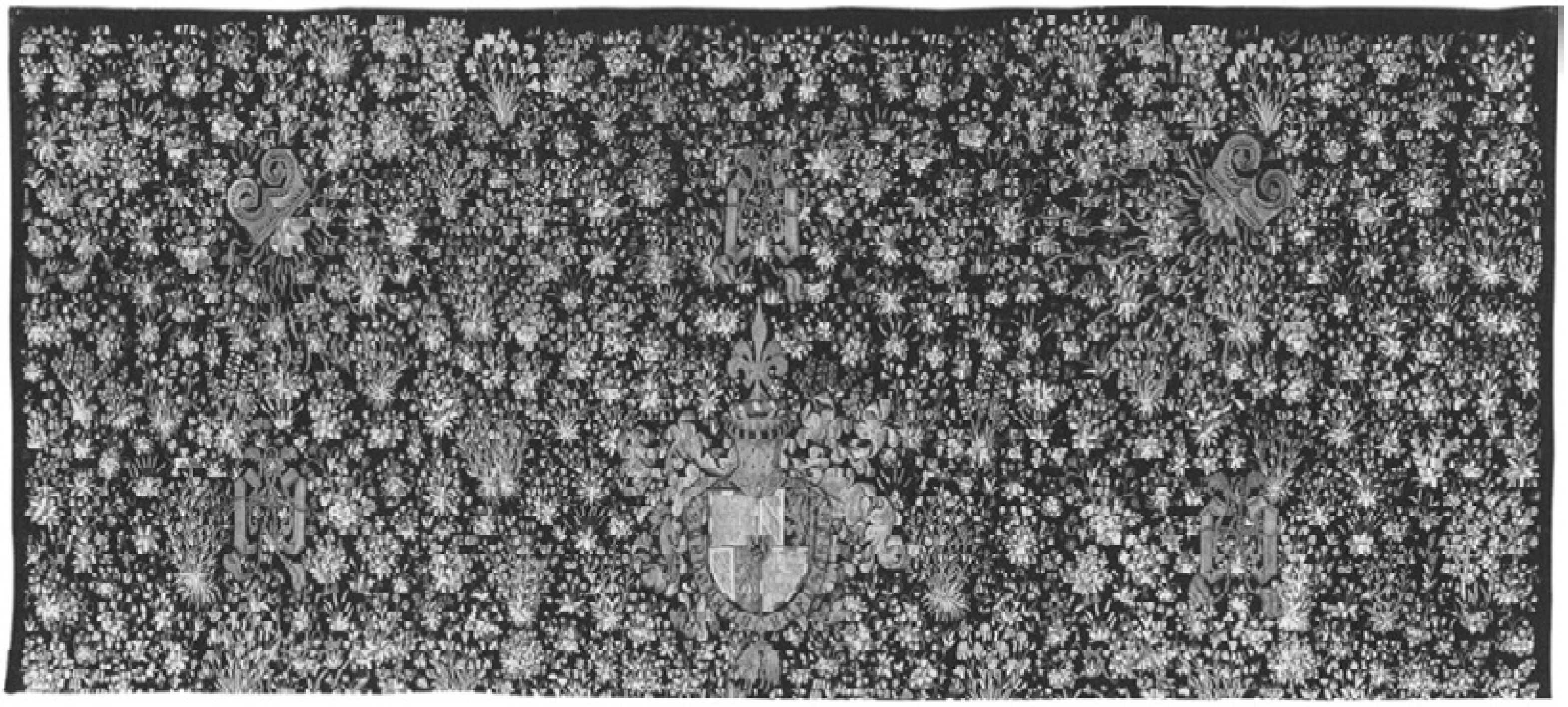


Fig. 26. *Millefleurs with the Arms of Philip the Good.* Tapestry woven in the Southern Netherlands, in the workshop of Jehan de Haze, before 1466. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 306 x 687 cm. Bernisches Historisches Museum

Herkinbald (fig. 27), thought to be based on the wall paintings of these subjects executed by Rogier van der Weyden (1399–1464, town painter from 1435) in the Brussels town hall between 1432 and 1445, has often been cited as one of the earliest identifiable products of a Brussels workshop; considering Rogier's status as town painter, the assertion has merit but is still open to question. An antependium with scenes from the Passion of Christ, woven for Stefano Nardini, archbishop of Milan, in the late 1460s (cat. no. 1), may also derive from Brussels, as Nardini is known to have visited the town in the year before the hanging was delivered to Milan; again, however, a Brussels attribution is not certain. A scene of the *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 6) woven as an antependium for Charles de Bourbon has been identified—but only tentatively—as a Brussels product owing to the affinity of its style with that of the Master of the View of Saint Gudule. One can only assume that by the mid-fifteenth century there were a number of workshops in Brussels capable of producing large, high-quality tapestries.

The prominence of Arras, Lille, Tournai, and Brussels as centers of tapestry trade and production during the fifteenth century should not overshadow activity in other towns during the same period. In Antwerp the *legwerkers,* who had once belonged to the same corporation as the linen weavers, formed an independent association in 1415.[55] A tapestry guild was established in Oudenaarde in 1441, and tapestry weavers were resident in Bruges from the late fourteenth century (though not, apparently, in sufficient numbers to justify the creation of an independent guild; they belonged instead to the corporation of *lissekleedwevers*) and in Louvain.[56] Archival evidence indicates that tapestries were produced in Enghien (located between Tournai and Brussels) from early in the fifteenth century, and from 1469 a tapestry market appears to have been held there.[57] Documents relating to the sale of tapestries through Bruges suggest that by the mid-fifteenth century the town's merchants were also procuring a considerable volume of tapestries from Ghent.[58] Little is known of the weaving activity in Antwerp, Oudenaarde, Bruges, or Ghent during the fifteenth century. There are no records of commissions for large, high-quality tapestries from workshops in these centers, and it seems likely that their production was of a more modest quality than that of the renowned workshops in Tournai, Lille, and Brussels.

It should be briefly noted that there has been much debate about the origin of the many late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century tapestries depicting figures on a millefleurs ground. In the early twentieth century it was assumed, without documentary evidence, that they were produced in itinerant workshops in the Loire valley (where proportionally large numbers of the tapestries have survived). More recently scholars have recognized that these weavings were probably made in workshops in the Low Countries.[59] The numerous surviving tapestries with French coats of arms indicate the relative ease with which medium-quality tapestries could be obtained from the Netherlandish workshops, woven either from existing cartoons—adapted to various dimensions and with the addition of heraldic devices—or from cartoons supplied by the patrons.

Distribution of Tapestries

Much of the finest-quality production of the fifteenth century resulted from direct negotiation between patrons, merchant financiers, and the leading masters of the day. A much larger volume of good-, medium-, and low-quality tapestry was traded or negotiated at annual and biennial fairs in centers such as Bruges, Bergen op Zoom, and Antwerp, where masters and merchants hired booths to display existing stock and where commissions could be placed for special orders.

Bruges had prospered as the center of the English wool trade during the fourteenth century. During the fifteenth century it was a flourishing international port with communities of Italian, Spanish, Scottish, English, and German merchants playing an important role in channeling Netherlandish products to patrons in their home countries.[60] With so many rich merchants resident in the town, it is hardly surprising that it became one of the most important centers of the tapestry trade. In 1438 Pero Tafur compared it favorably with Venice, citing tapestry among the luxury commodities that were traded there.[61] As noted above, both Pasquier Grenier and Pierre de Los had depots in Bruges. It was in Bruges that Philip the Good purchased from the Italian merchant Giovanni Arnolfini (subject of the famous portrait by Jan van Eyck) a six-piece set of the *Life of the Virgin* as a gift for Martin V; it was also in Bruges that he purchased a set depicting an allegory of the pope, the emperor, and the nobility as a gift for Eugene IV in 1441.[62] When Alfonso V of Aragon (Alfonso I of Naples) sent agents to the Low Countries in the early 1450s, they based themselves in Bruges and purchased more than forty tapestries on his behalf. These and numerous other transactions demonstrate the town's importance as a point of display, contract, and sale.[63] Bruges declined as a center of the tapestry trade from the early 1480s, partly because the Zwyn (the outlet to the North Sea) silted up and partly because Maximilian I banished the foreign merchants to Antwerp as a punishment for their role during the uprising of Bruges in 1488 against his authority.

A biennial fair was held at Bergen op Zoom, where many English patrons made purchases and placed orders.[64] The ongoing, flexible relationships that developed through such fairs are revealed in the documented transactions between the London merchant Jan Pasmer (fl. ca. 1477–93) and the Brussels weaver Gielis van de Putte (ca. 1420–1503) at the Bergen op Zoom market. In 1477 Pasmer commissioned van de Putte to weave a tapestry measuring 3.59 by 15.07 meters, according to a design in which the central scene of the Last Supper was to be replaced by a scene of Saint Gregory delivering mass before the doctors and bishops of the church. Two years later van de Putte received an order from Pasmer and an associate for two more tapestries, one measuring 3.25 by 12.5 meters and the other 3.25 by 13.23 meters, both to be woven from cartoons supplied by the patrons.[65]

In the long term the most important center of trade was Antwerp. Tafur described the Antwerp fair when he visited in 1438 as "the largest in the whole world, and anyone desiring to see all Christendom, or the greater part of it, assembled in one place can do so here. The Duke of Burgundy comes always to the fair, which is the reason why so much splendour is to be seen at his

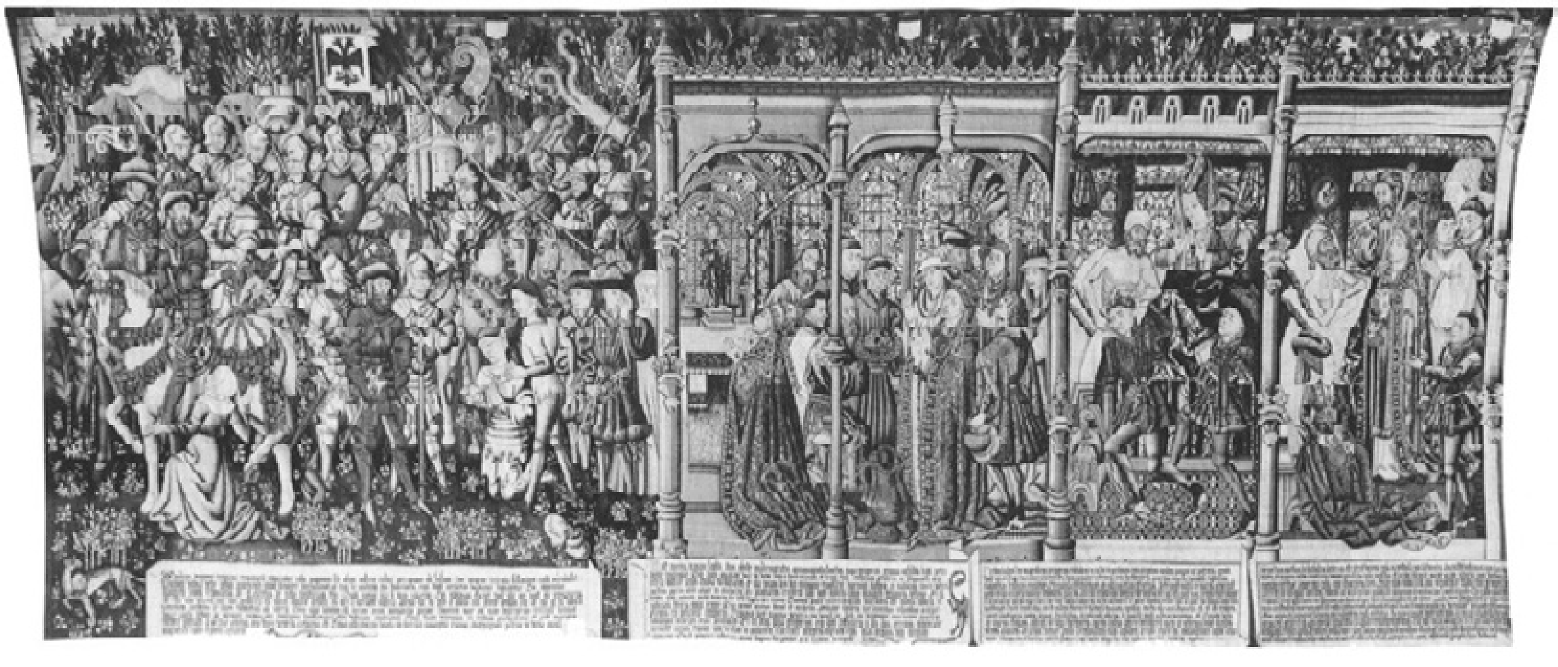


Fig. 27. *The Justice of Trajan and Herkinbald*. Tapestry woven in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1460. Wool and silk, 461 x 1053 cm. Bernisches Historisches Museum

court." He noted that "pictures of all kinds are sold in the monastery of St. Francis," while "in the church of St. John they sell the cloths of Arras."[66] Apparently frustrated by restrictions imposed on them by the Bruges authorities, the tapestry weavers of Brussels, Louvain, Enghien, and Ghent formed the Saint Nicholas Guild to establish a permanent presence in Antwerp. In 1481 the guild signed an agreement with the Dominicans allowing them to use part of their monastery as a marketplace during the biennial fairs and as a depot in the interim. Despite attempts by Bruges to attract the tapestry merchants back in 1494, they renewed their contract with the Antwerp Dominicans and continued to do so until 1553, when a new building was constructed specifically as a tapestry market.[67] The Portuguese made Antwerp the European center of the spice trade about 1500, and with the evolution of the town as the locus of finance and trade in northern Europe, other centers of tapestry distribution rapidly declined in significance.

Workshops and Guilds

The Netherlandish tapestry industry of the fifteenth century comprised numerous independent workshops, some large and some small, which, for reasons of expediency and practicality, were largely clustered in the main trade and population centers. These workshops operated sometimes at the direction of merchant-financiers, sometimes according to ad hoc arrangements made between the workshops themselves. (Detailed documentation of ad hoc collaboration by the smaller workshops is lacking for fifteenth-century Netherlandish production, but a vivid impression of the mechanisms of such collaboration can be gleaned from documents relating to the functioning of small workshops in Paris during the second two-thirds of the sixteenth century.)[68]

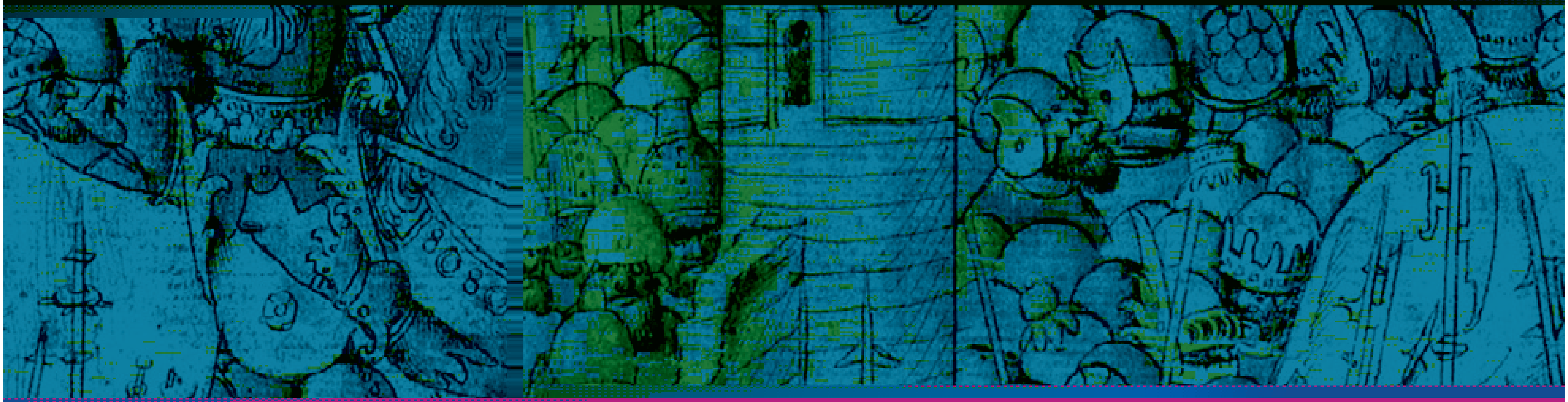
The growth of the tapestry industry in the fifteenth century was paralleled by the development of tapestry guilds in the principal centers of production; the guilds sought to promote local industries and to limit external competition.[69] In order to manufacture and trade a particular product in the chief Netherlandish cities, a master had to be a member of the local guild. The guilds were hierarchic, governed by elected officials who enforced guild regulations and often played an important part in local politics. In Tournai, masters were required to locate their workshop within the city, for ease of guild supervision. According to a regulation of 1476, a master was allowed to have only four looms, while a regulation of 1479 stipulated that workshops were to be located in a room giving onto the street—again, for supervisory purposes.[70] Similar rules probably applied in other centers, though it is not clear how strictly such regulations were enforced. Regulations stipulated that weavers could work only by daylight and specified the festivals they had to observe. Masters had to submit to regular visits by the officers of the guild to ensure compliance with guild regulations. When a tapestry had been completed, the officers of the guild applied a mark to the border signifying that the weaving had been approved. During the fifteenth century the marks were presumably in wax or lead. It was not until 1528 that Brussels tapestries were required to carry a mark woven into the selvage, a stipulation that was extended to other Netherlandish centers in 1544. A weaver found to be using inferior materials or producing substandard tapestries was in danger of having his products confiscated and destroyed. Guild regulations also imposed fines and other penalties on masters who left their towns to practice elsewhere.

Membership in the guilds was strictly controlled, and during the fifteenth century masters were generally restricted to employing one or two apprentices (who could be women). Apprentices were normally taken on from the age of eight. Their term of training varied from center to center during the fifteenth century, but the standard was three years (in Tournai it was two years in 1408, but by 1472 it had risen to four; it was scaled back to three in 1496).[71] On the completion of their training the apprentices became journeymen. Children of masters did not have to serve an apprenticeship, but if they wanted to become masters they, like any other apprentice, were required to produce a "masterpiece" and to pay a fee to the guild. These conditions inevitably ensured that most guilds were dominated by self-perpetuating family dynasties. In most towns masters who had served their apprenticeship elsewhere had to pay a higher entry fee to the guild than did natives of the city.[72]

Many early historians took references to haute-lisse weavers in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century sources as evidence that medieval tapestry production was largely undertaken on high-warp looms. Research by Salet, Joubert, and others has indicated, however, that the term "haute lisse" was often applied to high-quality goods in general. As the faster and more efficient production tool, and as the predominant production technique of the sixteenth century, the low-warp loom was probably also used for the majority of fifteenth-century production.

Likewise in need of vigorous correction is the misconception—propagated by William Morris in the late nineteenth century and developed by Jean Lurçat and other French weavers in the twentieth century—that medieval weavers were designer-craftsmen. Medieval and Renaissance weavers worked to produce designs as fast as possible, and they therefore utilized detailed cartoons that freed them from the time-consuming invention of new elements. The weaver's essential role, and skill, lay in interpreting the image as woven material. The notion that weavers invented and added decorative motifs during the course of weaving, much as a jazz musician might improvise on a theme, is at odds with the economic circumstances in which tapestries were produced. Of course weavers could, and did, adapt cartoons before work began and even draw their own cartoons, practices that became the subject of heated disagreement in Brussels in the mid-1470s.

1. Heinz 1963, pp. 15–27; Rutschowscaya 1990.
2. Heinz 1963, pp. 28–43; Cavallo 1993, pp. 73–74.
3. Joubert 1993, pp. 24–28.
4. Basel 1990.
5. For overviews of and further bibliography on the origins and development of medieval tapestry, see, especially, Heinz 1963, pp. 29–86; Lestocquoy 1978; Cavallo 1993, pp. 26–81; Joubert 1993; Joubert in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 10–75; and Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 25–44.
6. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 9–17.
7. Salet 1988; Joubert 1993, pp. 24–28.
8. Joubert in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 28–29.
9. Lestocquoy 1978, passim (with bibliog.); Joubert 1990b; Joubert 1993, pp. 26–28. See also entries in Saur 1992– and Grove 1996.
10. Lestocquoy 1978, p. 23; Joubert 1990b, p. 602.
11. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 36–37; Joubert 1990b, pp. 602–4.
12. Prost 1902–13, vol. 2, nos. 1449, 1641.
13. "[I]l estoit trop grant et trop pesant a manier, a tendre et a mectre a l'air et ploier, et aussi qu'il n'estoit pas convenable a tendre en plusiers lieux"; Joubert 1990b, p. 603.
14. Lestocquoy 1978 provides the most accessible recent summary.
15. Prost 1902–13, vol. 1, pp. 262–63; De Winter 1976, p. 139.
16. De Winter 1976, pp. 134–59.
17. Lestocquoy 1978, passim; Joubert 1990b; Salet in Cailleteau et al. 1987, p. 10.
18. Laurent 1935; Bautier 1966.
19. Salet in Cailleteau et al. 1987, pp. 12–13.
20. Lestocquoy 1978, passim.
21. Ibid., pp. 27–28, 37.
22. Cavallo 1993, p. 67.
23. Wright 1848, p. 371; W. G. Thomson 1906, p. 96; Göbel 1933–34, vol. 1, pp. 152–53; Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 55–56.
24. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 69, 98–114.
25. Ibid.
26. Cavallo 1993, p. 64.
27. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 39–66, esp. pp. 51–53.
28. Tafur 1926, pp. 201–2.
29. Wingfield Digby 1971; Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 49–54.
30. Guesnon 1884, pp. 7ff., 32–35.
31. Vaughan 1970, pp. 19–20, 254.
32. Soil 1892, pp. 15, 37. Soil's study of the Tournai archives distinguishes between the activity of "tapissiers"—tapestry weavers—and that of "hautelisseurs"—weavers of fine cloth. This distinction, which is clearly supported by contemporary purchase and guild documentation, has not been observed so strictly by subsequent authors, however, with the consequence that a variety of misleading statistics and unfounded assumptions have crept into the literature.
33. Ibid., pp. 173, 374–75.
34. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 71–80; McKendrick in Grove 1996, vol. 13, p. 634.
35. Soil 1892, pp. 24, 213, 376–77; Cavallo 1993, p. 66.
36. J. C. Smith 1979, pp. 339–41.
37. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 73, 82, 100.
38. Rapp Buri and Stucky-Schürer 1998.
39. Soil 1892, p. 316.
40. Ibid., pp. 210, 316.
41. Ibid., pp. 35, 246–47.
42. Ibid., pp. 36, 248–50.
43. Cavallo 1993, p. 66.
44. Vaughan 1970, pp. 136, 242.
45. Lestocquoy 1978, p. 90.
46. M. Sartor 1912, pp. 58–64.
47. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 84, 89.
48. J. C. Smith 1979, p. 340.
49. For the possibility that this was a set of the *Story of Alba* (*Foundation of Rome*), see Schneebalg-Perelman 1976, pp. 175, 178. A single panel of the *Story of Tarquin,* which may derive from a set of *Alba* cartoons, survives in the cathedral of San Salvador in Zamora, Spain; see Tournai, Brussels, and Rijkhoven 1985, pp. 147–49.
50. Cavallo 1993, p. 68.
51. Schneebalg-Perelman 1976, pp. 166–67.
52. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 95–96.
53. Cuvelier 1912; J. Duverger 1934; Schneebalg-Perelman 1978; E. Duverger 1986; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 45–53; Smolar-Meynart 2000, pp. 89–90.
54. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 41.
55. E. Duverger in Antwerp 1973, p. 17.
56. Van Uytven 1959–60; Van Uytven 1972; E. Duverger in Bruges 1987, pp. 20–30; De Meûter in Oudenaarde 1999, pp. 26–27.
57. Mons 1980, p. 7; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 168–76.
58. E. Duverger in Bruges 1987, p. 46.
59. Schneebalg-Perelman 1976, pp. 168–75.
60. Blockmans 1992.
61. Tafur 1926, p. 199.
62. E. Duverger in Bruges 1987, p. 47.
63. Ibid., pp. 35–52.
64. McKendrick 1987, p. 522, n. 19.
65. Donnet 1896, p. 272; J. Duverger 1971.
66. Tafur 1926, p. 203.
67. Schneebalg-Perelman 1976, pp. 180–81.
68. Grodecki 1985.
69. For the Brussels guild, see Wauters 1878, esp. pp. 32–49, and Schneebalg-Perelman 1976, pp. 164–65; for Tournai, see Soil 1892, passim; for Bruges, see Bruges 1987, pp. 20–28; for Oudenaarde, see Oudenaarde 1999, pp. 26–47; for other centers, see Göbel 1928, passim.
70. Soil 1892, pp. 116–17.
71. Ibid., pp. 120–21.
72. Ibid., p. 117.



stylistic links between design series such as the *Story of Saint Peter* and the *Story of Alexander,* or between the *Story of the Trojan War* and the *Conquest of Jerusalem,* intimate that in different centers at different times particular cartoon workshops played an important role in defining the characteristic traits of at least some of the production. In like manner, the remarkably similar compositions and figures of several groups of choir tapestries from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries suggest that the designs were produced by the same teams of designer and cartoonist (though the commissions evidently derived from geographically diverse sources).

Character and Stylistic Development of Fifteenth-Century Tapestry Design

The requirements of tapestry design were in general markedly divergent from those of other figurative media. Tapestry was a large-scale medium, and medieval tapestry designers needed to make the whole surface interesting and decorative, while allowing for the likelihood that the tapestries would be draped around corners and partly obscured by furnishings. Technical difficulty and the cost of labor and materials discouraged medieval patrons and weavers from expecting or attempting the gradations of color available to the artist working in paint. From an early date tapestry designers opted instead for designs that emphasized ornament, line, pattern, and richness over perspectival or atmospheric effects.

The early development of medieval tapestry design is obscured by the paucity of surviving weavings and by the evidently divergent approach to composition by artists and cartoon workshops in different centers. The Angers *Apocalypse,* with two-dimensional figures represented in shallow picture planes and with the emphasis on expressive line within a rhythmic framework of alternating colored grounds, is closely linked to a contemporary style of manuscript design at the French court. The same appears true of the *Life of Christ* (ca. 1380–1400), of which a fragment survives in Brussels (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire). Whether these works were typical of the monumental figurative tapestries commissioned by the Valois princes in the late fourteenth century is uncertain. They stand in marked contrast to the somewhat haphazard structure of the *Nine Worthies* (ca. 1380–1400; Metropolitan Museum)

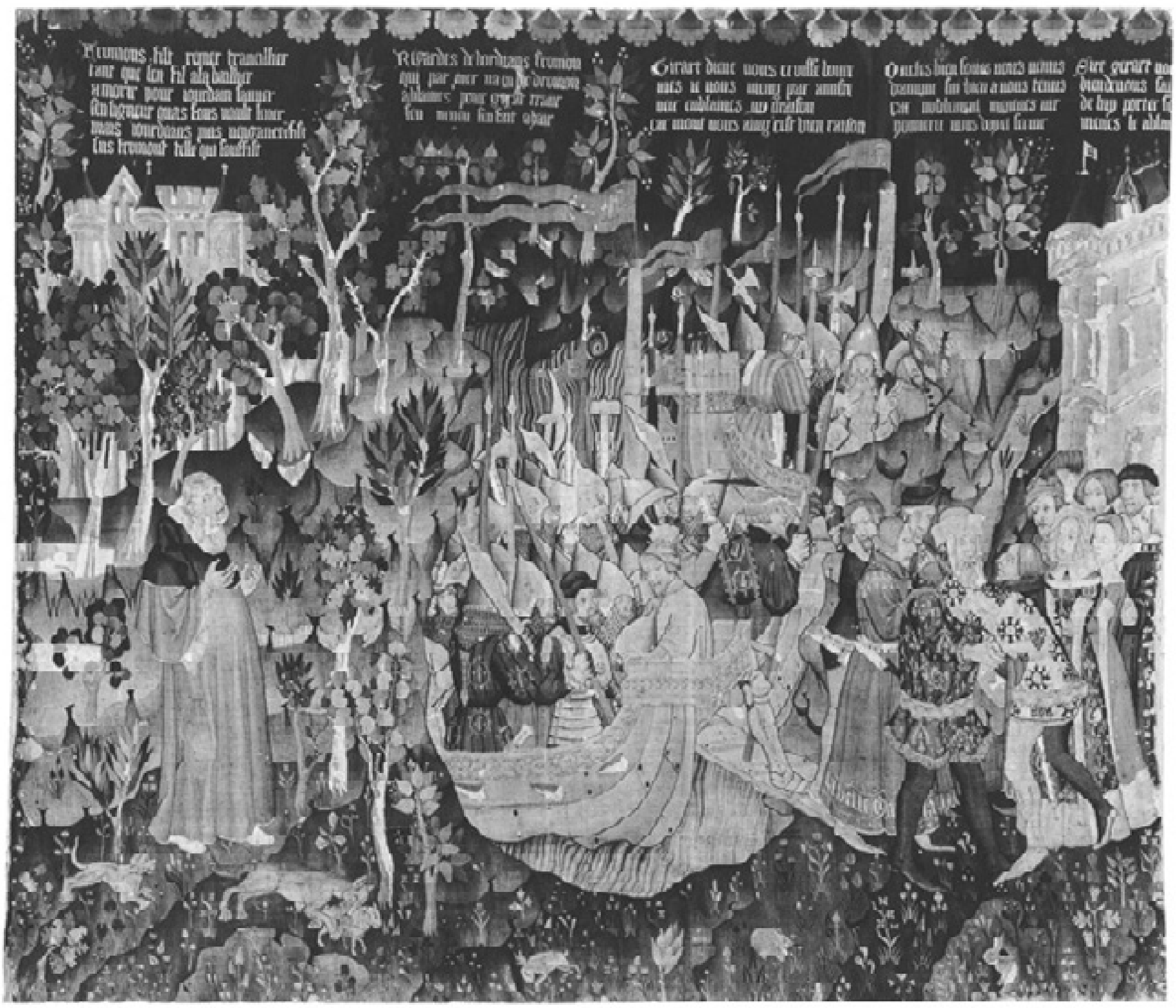


Fig. 36. *The Story of Jourdain de Blaye* (fragment). Tapestry woven in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1380–1400. Wool, 328 x 380 cm. Museo Civico, Padua

and the more sophisticated panel of the *Story of Jourdain de Blaye* (fig. 36). As Joubert and others have commented, the *Jourdain de Blaye* panel's avoidance of blank space, use of architectural and landscape components to frame and link narrative episodes (and simultaneously to fill and enliven the surface of the tapestry), predilection for decorative and magnificent costumes, and emphasis on narrative and anecdotal detail at the expense of coherent visual structure or representational concerns became staples of tapestry composition during the following century.[28] These components, framed by a narrow strip of sky at the top and by a strip of grass and flowers in the foreground, appear in the *Annunciation* (ca. 1410–30; fig. 32), the *Devonshire Hunts* (ca. 1430; fig. 24), and the *Story of Alexander* (ca. 1455–60; fig. 25). From the early fifteenth century a sense of depth was introduced to tapestry design by the superposition of foreground over background figures. Throughout the fifteenth century, however, Netherlandish tapestry designers continued to avoid complex perspectival settings, opting instead for friezelike decorative compositions with episodic narratives spread across the surface of the tapestry. The eye is held to, and moved across, the tapestry by silhouetted forms that appear parallel to the picture plane.

Tapestry designers also eschewed the ever more sophisticated atmospheric and chromatic effects achieved by Netherlandish painters during the second quarter of the fifteenth century. They concentrated instead on increasing the intricacy of the surface pattern of the tapestry, whether through costume and textile ornament or landscape and architectural details. During the late 1450s and early 1460s high-quality tapestry design was dominated by such complex pattern and narrative detail that one suspects the cartoonists intentionally created an almost baffling surface. In designs such as Pasquier Grenier's *Trojan War* or *Vengeance of Our Lord,* the eye is engaged first by a vast jigsaw pattern and begins to discern the narrative only as it explores the lines and shapes of the tapestry. The horror vacui of these designs stood in marked contrast to the more open compositions of the 1440s and 1450s.

These abbreviated comments on the character and stylistic evolution of medieval tapestry design are primarily concerned with high-quality designs, whether commissioned by individual patrons or by tapestry merchants as entrepreneurial ventures. This high-quality production was evidently paralleled by a large, diversified lower-quality production characterized by the use of old or second-hand cartoons and by millefleurs designs to which weavers had added figures copied or cut from other cartoons. The rapid growth of the industry during the second third of the century must have encouraged a variety of improvisational practices by entrepreneurial weavers. During the early 1470s the Brussels painters' guild took steps to stop weavers' creating lower-quality designs and to assert its control over all production of tapestry cartoons. According to a settlement reached in 1476 the artists obtained a monopoly on the production of storiated cartoons and designs on paper made with charcoal and crayon. Thenceforth the tapestry weavers were allowed to design only fabrics, trees, animals, and plants for their verdures; they were permitted to complete or correct existing cartoons only with charcoal, crayon, and ink.[29] This development had an important influence on the character of subsequent tapestry design in Brussels.

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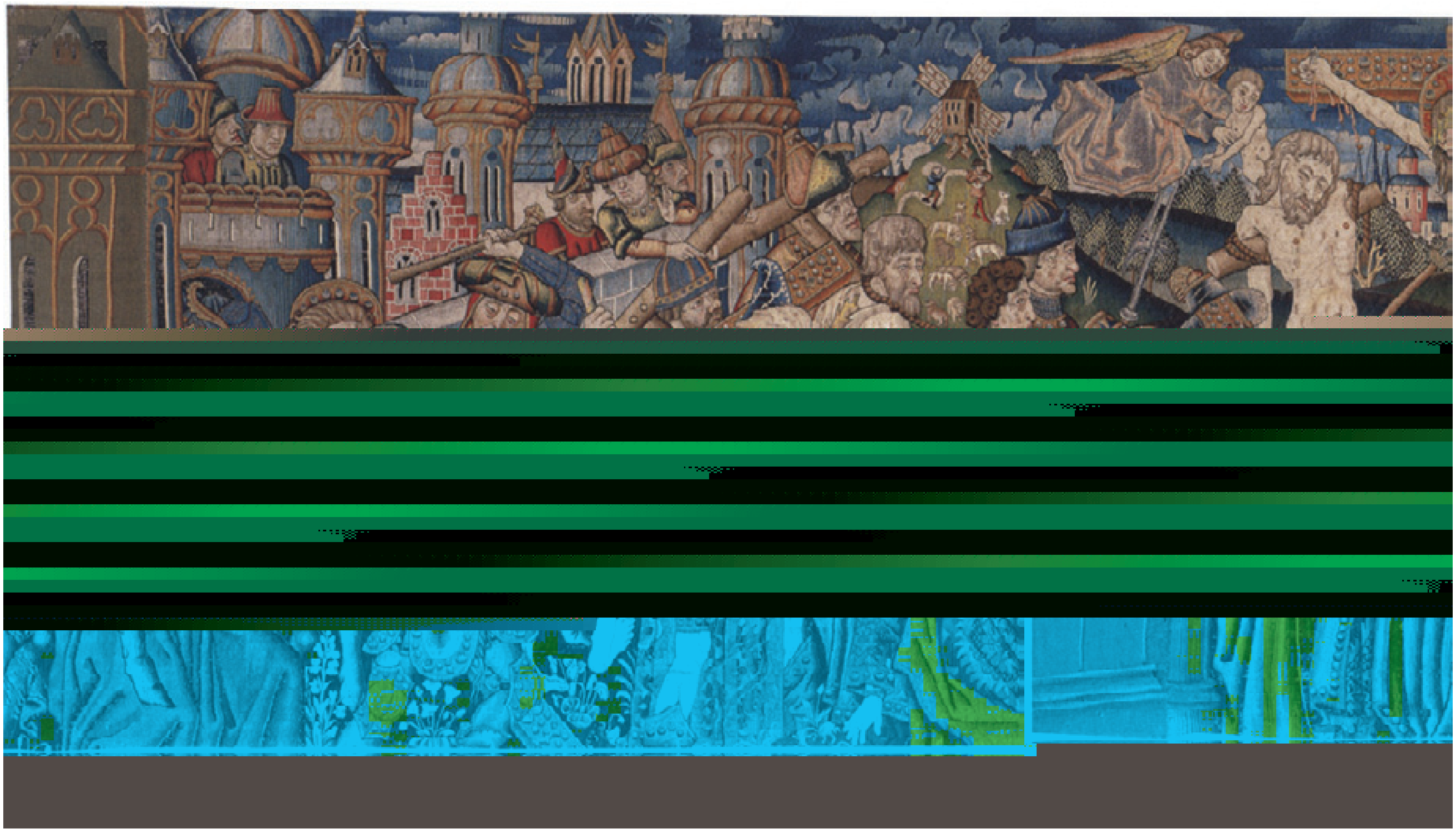
1. Rapp Buri and Stucky-Schürer 1998.
2. Haverkamp-Begemann in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, pp. 116–23.
3. Grunzweig 1931, pp. 98–100; Lestocquoy 1978, p. 93.
4. McKendrick 1991, pp. 76–77.
5. Wolfthal 1989.
6. Ibid., pp. 3–4.
7. Cavallo 1993, p. 68.
8. De Farcy 1875, pp. 8–9, 64–65; Göbel 1928, p. 25.
9. Wolfthal 1989, pp. 14–15.
10. Cavallo 1993, pp. 139–44.
11. Joubert 1990a; Joubert in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 48–51.
12. Henderson 1985.
13. Joubert 1990b, p. 606.
14. De Winter 1976, p. 152; Brassat 1992, p. 164.
15. "[D]e faire faire par Bauduin de Bailleul ou par autre meilleur paintre qu'ilz pourront finer, tous les patrons"; Soil 1892, pp. 374–75.
16. Cavallo 1993, p. 36.
17. Guignard 1851; Joubert 1993, p. 41.
18. Bruges 1987, pp. 172–79.
19. Guignard 1851, pp. ix–xiii.
20. Delmarcel 1982.
21. Cavallo 1993, pp. 42–43.
22. Wolfthal 1989, p. 14.
23. Gilbert 1980, p. 110.
24. Souchal 1973.
25. Soil 1892, p. 211.
26. Rolland 1932, p. 59.
27. Cavallo 1993, p. 61.
28. Joubert in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, p. 46.
29. Wauters 1878, pp. 48–49; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 47.



I.

Scenes from the Passion of Christ

Antependium
Designer unknown, ca. 1467
Woven in the Southern Netherlands, possibly Brussels, ca. 1467–68
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
102 x 368 cm (3 ft. 4⅛ in. x 12 ft. ⅞ in.)
7 warps per cm
Museo del Duomo, Milan (171)
(not in exhibition)

PROVENANCE: October 1468, donated to Milan Cathedral by Archbishop Stefano Nardini; in continuous use in the cathedral; 1953, deposited with the Museo del Duomo; continues to be displayed in the cathedral for Holy Thursday and Good Friday.[1]

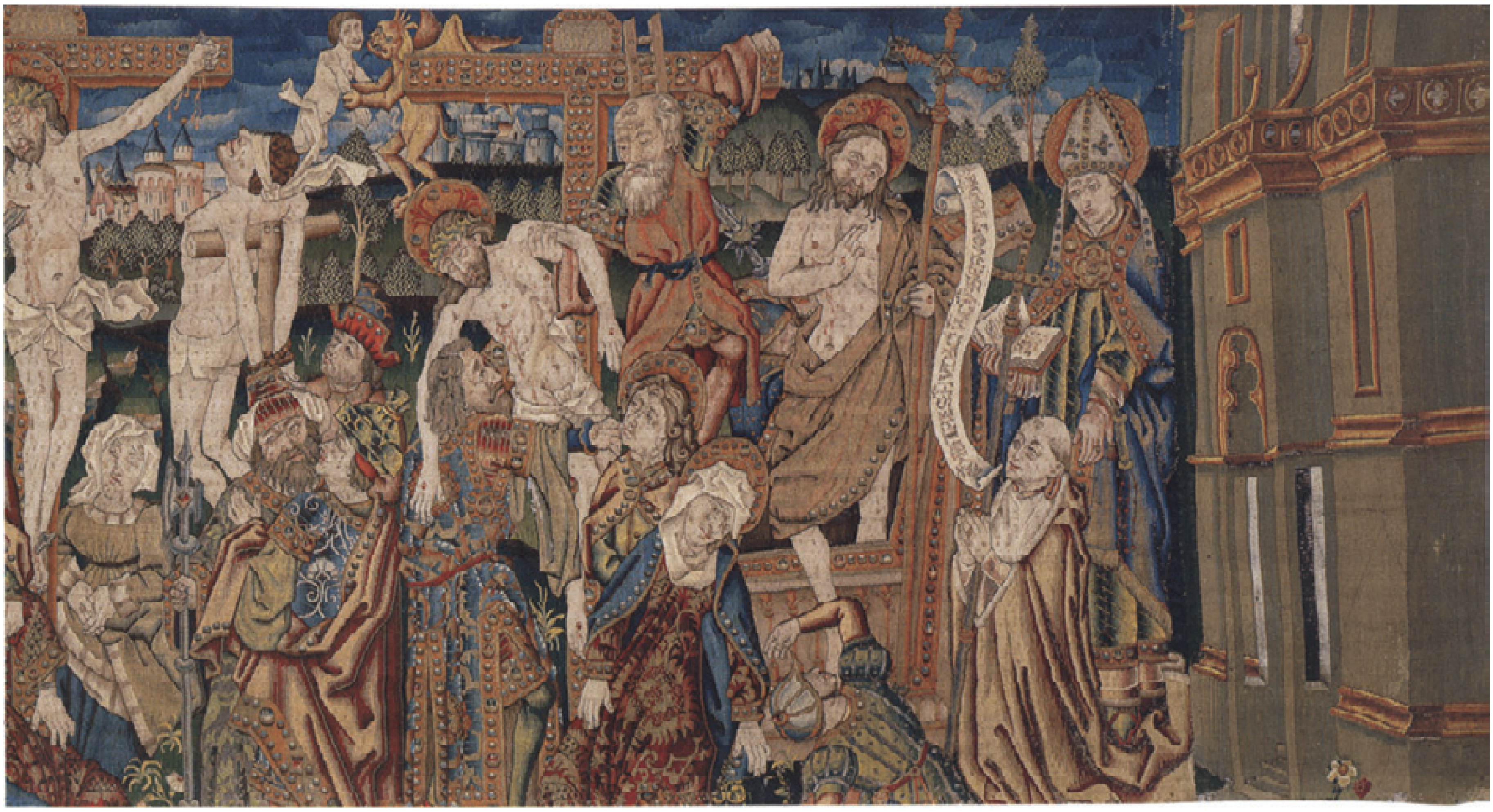
REFERENCES: Biscaro 1916, pp. 191–94; Bossaglia and Cinotti 1978, pp. 87–88, no. 179 (with bibliog.); Forti Grazzini 1984–86, pp. 97–130; Forti Grazzini 1988, pp. 12–13, 74 nn. 6, 7, 94; Forti Grazzini 1990a, pp. 38, 64–65.

CONDITION: When adapted to hang in Milan Cathedral on new altar designed by Pellegrino Tibaldi, ca. 1567,[2] tapestry was reduced at top and bottom and widened at both sides. Result was loss of a section of sky and lower legs and feet of the foreground figures; and addition of tapestry-woven strips at each side, which depict buildings with windows and tracery evidently intended to blend with those in original tapestry. Tapestry's general condition is good despite abrasion to surface and a number of exposed warps, especially in inscription. Original tonal balance is well preserved, and colors are remarkably fresh for a tapestry of this age.

Documentary evidence indicates that considerable numbers of Netherlandish tapestries were being imported to the Italian states by the middle of the fifteenth century, but few contemporary examples have survived and even fewer can be related to a specific context. The Milan Cathedral's *Passion* antependium is the earliest imported tapestry whose context is well established. It is also important because it is the earliest extant tapestry with a donor portrait. Although it has suffered alterations in its shape and size, this small antependium is also remarkable for its condition and color.

Description

The tapestry depicts four scenes from the Passion of Christ; these read from left to right, against an extensive landscape with hills and castles visible in the distance. The sky is rendered in a distinctive fashion of undulating waves, while the foreground that is visible between the figures is decorated with small flowers and tufts of grass. The first scene, Christ on the Road to Calvary (Matthew 27:31, Mark 15:21, Luke 23:26), appears at the left of the panel, below the stone walls of a town whose spires and Gothic tracery are northern European in character. Spectators look down



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from the walls as a crowd emerges from the town gate in the left foreground, preceded by a guard who leads by ropes around their necks the two thieves condemned at the same time as Christ. They are clothed in short white smocks, their hands tied behind their backs. Behind them, two other guards carry the crosses on which they are to be crucified. Christ appears in the foreground of the group, bowed by the weight of the cross over his left shoulder. He is wearing a brown habit and a crown of thorns. A guard drags him by a rope tied around his waist, while two other guards kick him and strike him with short staves. All the guards wear elaborate tunics and turbans. The Virgin watches the procession from the left foreground, her hands clasped in anguish. Veronica is visible immediately behind her, showing Saint John the miraculous impression that, according to medieval legend, appeared on the cloth with which she wiped Christ's face. The Virgin's cloak, the cuffs of Christ's robe, the armor of the guards, and the cross that Christ carries are richly embellished with pearls and jewels. The violence of the foreground scene contrasts with the rural idyll in the distance, where a shepherd and his flock appear on the lower slopes of a hill, probably an allusion to Christ as the Good Shepherd (John 21:4–17). Behind them, a man carries a sack toward a windmill on the summit of the hill.

The center of the tapestry represents the moment during the Crucifixion when Christ's side was pierced with a spear (John 19:34). According to medieval texts such as the *Golden Legend* this act was perpetrated by a blind centurion called Longinus, the spear guided by a servant. Longinus wears a turban decorated with pearls and a tunic of cut and brocaded Italian velvet. Christ is represented frontally, his arms stretched out on a cross that is also encrusted with pearls, blood dripping from his wounds. He is flanked by the two thieves, whose crosses differ from Christ's in that they are made from unfinished logs. Their postures also differ in that their arms are bound over the beams and behind their backs. To the left, an angel receives the soul of the repentant thief, while at the right a devil receives that of the unrepentant thief, who is blindfolded (Luke 23:43). In the center right foreground, three richly costumed figures look on. The foremost of these, with raised arms, may represent the Roman centurion who recognized Christ as the Son of God at the moment he was pierced by the spear (a conflation of Matthew 27:54 and John 19:35). The Virgin collapses into the arms of Saint John at

2.

The Death of Troilus, Achilles, and Paris

Eighth tapestry from an eleven-piece set of the
Story of the Trojan War
Design attributed to the Coëtivy Master, ca. 1465
Woven in the Netherlands, probably Tournai,
between ca. 1475 and ca. 1495
Wool and silk
481 x 942 cm (15 ft. 9⅜ in. x 30 ft. 10⅞ in.)
6–7 warps per cm
Museo Catedralicio, Zamora

Provenance: Before 1515, in the collection of Don Iñigo López de Mendoza, second count of Tendilla and first marquis of Mondéjar; 1515, possibly purchased at the public sale of Mendoza's goods in Granada by an ancestor of the count of Aliste and Alba; by descent in the Aliste and Alba family; 1619, given to the cathedral of Zamora by Antonio Enríquez de Guzmán, sixth count of Alba and Aliste (whose arms were still applied over those woven into the tapestry at the beginning of the 1900s); at the cathedral since then and displayed at the Museo Catedralicio since 1926.[1]

References: Gómez-Moreno 1919; Gómez Martinez and Chillón Sampedro 1925, pp. 21–31, 63–68, 113–20; Asselberghs 1972, pp. 5–94; Souchal in Paris 1973, pp. 55–57; Wingfield Digby 1980, pp. 14–19; McKendrick 1991 (with bibliog.); Cavallo 1993, pp. 229–49 (with bibliog.); Reynaud in Paris 1993, pp. 64–66; Asselberghs 1999, passim, esp. pp. 77–93.

Condition: Almost complete in size. Armorial devices in upper center between third and fourth inscriptions probably added later than initial weaving because they include a crimson wool of a hue different from that of the rest of the tapestry. Least well preserved of the four Zamora *Trojan War* tapestries, with numerous exposed warp threads, particularly in areas that were formerly dark brown. Underwent conservation in Madrid for this 2002 exhibition.

Inscriptions: Transcribed from left to right, the French verses are across the top of the tapestry and the Latin verses are across the bottom.

Vint Achilles derue et enragie · sus troillus qui grans confusions / faisoit des grecs pour en estrie vengie · Aux mirmidons ses gens conclusions / Print quen ce jour neussent intencions · qua troillus en cloire en grant tempeste / Son heaume casse de horions · vint achilles qui lui coppa la teste ·
(Achilles advanced, deranged and enraged, upon Trolius, who was unleashing great destruction / on the Greeks to take his revenge on them. To the Myrmidons, his own people, Achilles resolved / that on that day they should have no intentions other than to conclude it with Troilus in fierce combat. / His helmet shatters, red like wine—[and] Achilles advanced to behead him.)

Entre les pies des chevaulx de hault chief · villainement achilles delessa / Le noble corps par oultrageux meschief · a la queue de son cheval lya · / Roy merion sur achilles frappa · dont les troiens par viriles vertus / Soulx vaillance quen ce roy on trouva · recouvrerent le corps de troillus ·
(At the feet of the high chief's horses, Achilles shamefully abandoned [him]. / Outrageously, he tied the noble body to the tail of his horse. / King Merion attacked Achilles, and thus the Trojans—with acts of manly prowess, / following the valiance that one found in this king—recovered the body of Troilus.)

Achilles fut par hecuba mande · au temple vint pour avoir par contrait / Polixenne avec tres renomme · archilogus qui lors fut amort trait / Paris estroit en secret en agueit · avingt hommes sus achilles ruans / Sept en tua, paris dun mortel trait · tue achilles des grecs fleur de vaillans ·
(Achilles was summoned by Hecuba. He came to the temple to claim / Polyxena with the famous Antilochus who was slain at that time. / Paris was watching secretly—rushing with twenty men upon Achilles. / He killed seven of these, but Paris with a deadly stroke kills Achilles of the Greeks, flower of the valiant.)

Treves faillies en la bataille entra · Puissant paris qui bon archier estroit · / En ce conflict ayax il rencontra · Sus les troyens grant deluge il faisoit / Paris tirs une flesche aledroit · Dentre deux costes ayax la mort senti / Fiert sus paris par force quil avoit · De son espee les bagoies fendit ·
(The truces expired, he entered the battle—Paris, strong and a good archer. / He met Ajax in this conflict, who was massacring the Trojans. / Paris shot an arrow adroitly—Ajax felt death enter between his ribs / He struck down on Paris with the strength he had, and with his sword split Paris's brow.)

Sicut hector troillus inclitus · Vascat grecos achilles instruit / Mirmidones . . . penitus . . . troillū destruit
(Like Hector, the celebrated Troilus routs the Greeks. Achilles falls into line for battle / The Myrmidons . . . deeply . . . Troilus is destroyed.)

Sine cine troillus trahitur · Equi cauda turpiter ligatus / Per aquillē, merion uehitur · Contra grecos troillē lucratus
(Besides death, Troilus is dragged shamefully tied to the tail of a horse / by Achilles. Merion goes against the Greeks and recovers Troilus)

Polixenā per hecuba[am] . . . · Achilles archilogus milles / Illos du . . . . . . it septem troianos achilles
(Polyxena by Hecuba . . . Achilles Antilochus soldier / To that place . . . . . . Achilles . . . seven Trojans)

In aiacem cum fest[in]um irruit · Pace fracte paris fortissime / Cum sagittis ayax neceruit · Dū paridem necat acerrime
(Against Ajax immediately, Paris bravely attacks, peace having been abandoned, / with arrows. Ajax precipitates his own death while zealously killing Paris.)

3.

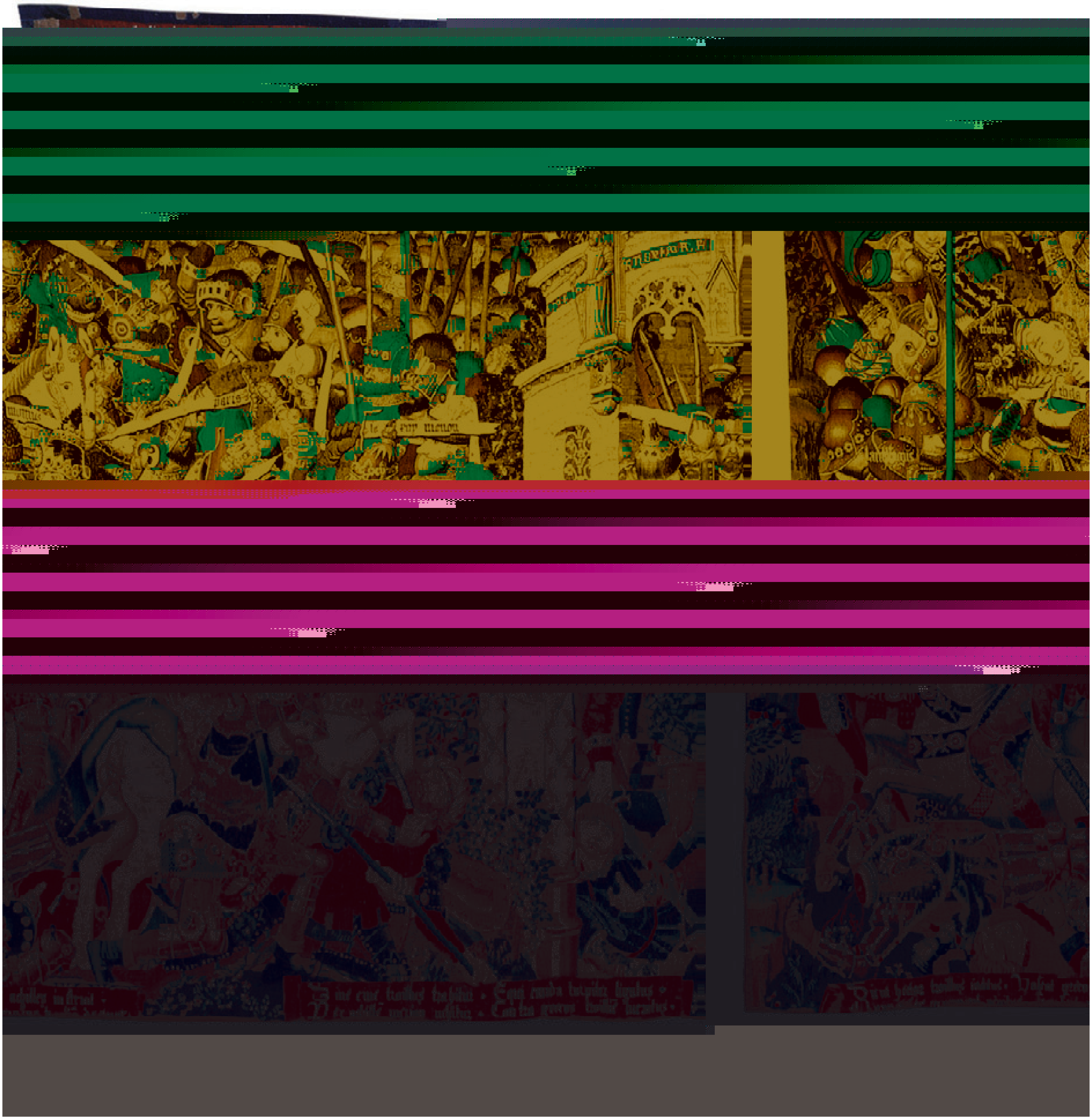
The Sack of Troy

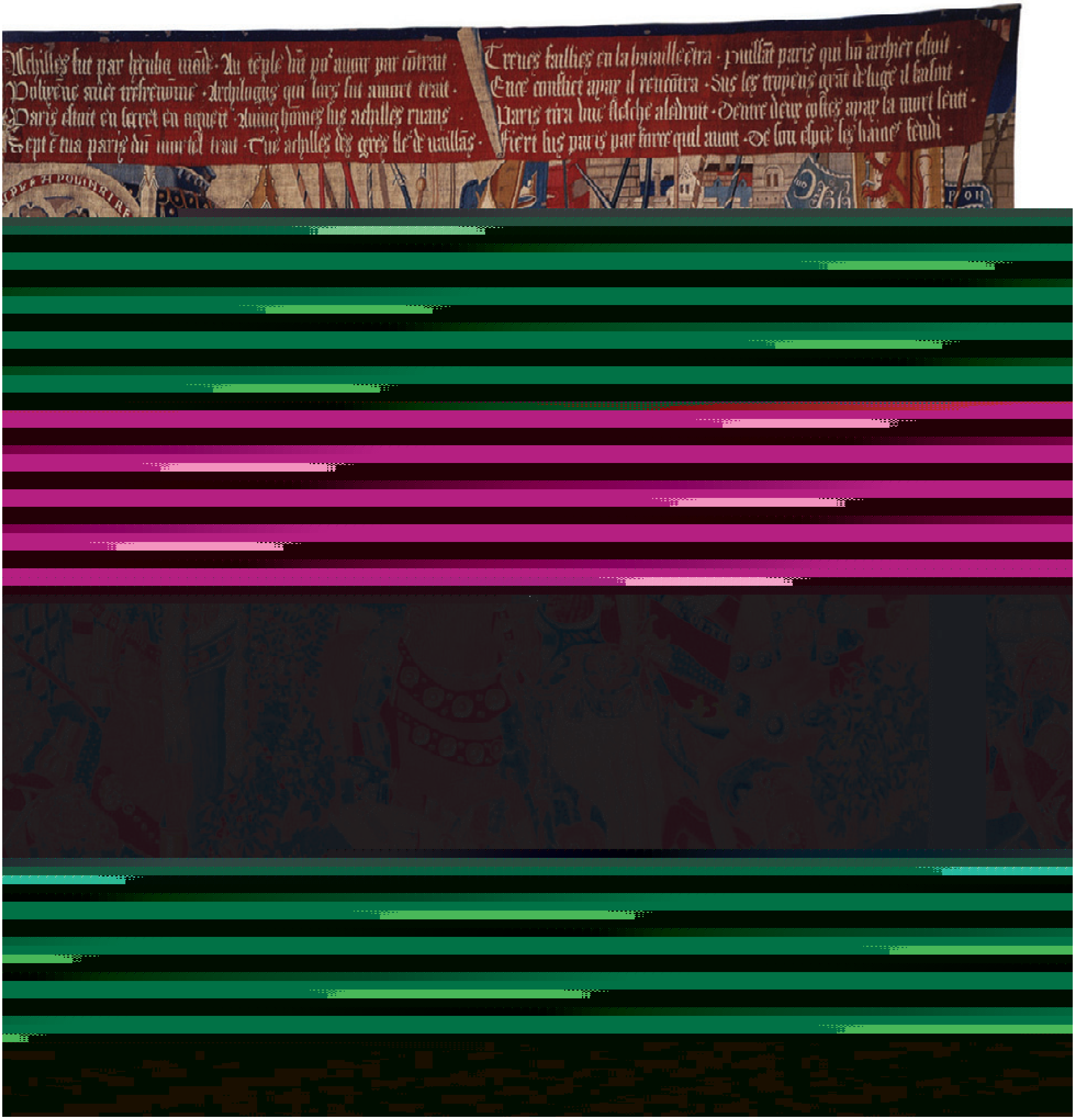
Modello for the eleventh tapestry in the series
the *Story of the Trojan War*
Coëtivy Master (or circle), ca. 1465–70
Brown ink and colored wash on paper
31 x 57.5 cm (12¼ x 22⅝ in.)
Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre,
Paris (R.F. 2146)

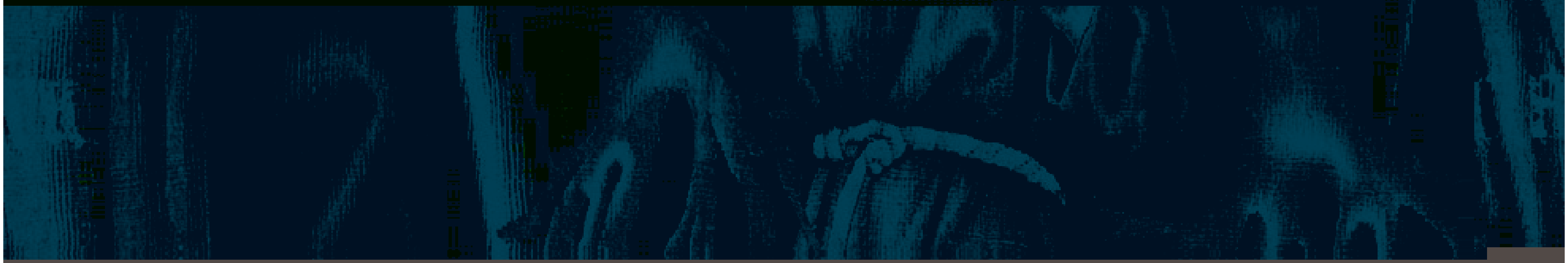
Provenance: 1898, acquired in Berlin by the Louvre.

References: Lugt 1968, pp. 17–19 (with bibliog.); Hébert 1976, pp. 109–10; McKendrick 1991; Cavallo 1993, pp. 229–49; Reynaud in Paris 1993, pp. 58–59, 64–66 (with bibliog.).

The *Story of the Trojan War* series epitomizes the grandest large-scale Netherlandish tapestry production of the late fifteenth century, in both design (a dense, complex narrative style) and subject matter (a classical myth reinterpreted in terms of medieval romance). The design enjoyed immense popularity, and sets are recorded in the collections of many of the northern European courts, including those of Charles VIII, king of France; Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy; Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary; Henry VII, king of England; and James IV, king of Scotland. The series enjoyed equal popularity in Italy, where sets were acquired by Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, and Ludovico Sforza, il Moro, duke of Milan, striking testimony of the burgeoning market for such Netherlandish tapestries, even when their style would have looked old-fashioned in comparison to current styles of painting. Apart from its contemporary importance, the *Trojan War* series is unique in that it is remarkably well documented. We know the name of the merchant who owned the cartoons, Pasquier Grenier, and we have evidence of the terms under which he and his sons supplied weavings of this design to several clients. Moreover, ten whole or fragmentary drawings relating to the conception of the series are extant in Paris. In conjunction with the seventeen extant tapestries and fragments from various editions, it is possible to reconstruct the appearance of the entire eleven-piece set, which, when complete, measured about 105 meters in length and had a total surface area of approximately 500 square meters.




Achilles fut par hecuba mãde · Au tẽple dũ po aveoir par cõtrait ·
Polixene sa fẽe tresrenõme · Archilogus qui lors fut amort trait ·
Paris estoit en secret en aguet · avoing hõmes lus achilles ruans ·
Sept ẽ tua paris dũ mortel trait · Que achilles des grecs lie de vaillãs ·
Treves faillies en la bataille ẽtra · Puissãt paris qui bõ archier estoit ·
En ce conflict apar il rencõtra · Sus les troyens grãt deluge il faisoit ·
Paris tira une flesche a ledroit · Dentre deux costes apar la mort senti ·
Fiert lus paris par force qual avoit · De son espee les haines fendi ·
POLIXAIRE
POH



must have contributed to the canonization of Bonaventura, celebrated with much solemnity in Rome on April 14, 1482.[11]

If Sixtus is one obvious candidate as the patron of the tapestry, it is also possible that it was woven as a gift for the pope, and that he subsequently donated it to the Basilica di San Francesco.[12]

The tapestry must have been designed after 1471, the date of Sixtus's election as pope, and before 1482, the date at which Bonaventura, depicted as a doctor of the church in the tapestry, was canonized. Within these parameters, it seems likely that the creation of the tapestry may have been related to the celebrations in 1476 and 1478 of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversaries of, respectively, the death and canonization of Francis.

Style of Design and Place of Manufacture

When the tapestry was first published by Cristofani in 1908, she recognized its Northern character and suggested that it might have been woven in France. In fuller considerations of the piece published in 1914 and 1915, Marinangeli and Kleinschmidt refined this supposition by suggesting that it could have been woven either by Netherlandish weavers at the court of Sixtus IV or, more probably in view of the character of the design, in northern Europe.[13] Recent critics have tended to agree with the latter suggestion. Viale Ferrero suggested that it might have been made in Brussels, on the basis of stylistic analogies between the figures represented in the tapestry and those in contemporary Brussels sculptures and paintings, but noted that Bruges and Lille were equally likely because of well-documented links between Italian patrons and these centers via the Medici representatives. Subsequently, Forti Grazzini has also reiterated a possible link with Brussels on the basis of the analogy between the millefleurs ground of this piece and that of the heraldic millefleurs supplied by de Haze to Philip the Good in 1466 (not convincing because the latter may have been made in Lille) and the fact that the Brussels tapestry industry was in the ascendant during the reign of Sixtus IV. While the latter observation is certainly true, Viale Ferrero was correct to strike a note of caution in noting that a single panel like this could have been produced in a high-quality workshop in Lille, Bruges, or Tournai, just as easily as in Brussels.

If we are unlikely to establish a place of manufacture on the basis of style and technique (especially in view of the radical conservation of the 1950s), the stylistic link between figures in the Assisi tapestry and those in various works of art produced in Brussels during the late fifteenth century is nonetheless of interest. Viale Ferrero noted the resemblance with figures in a retable in the cathedral of Strängnäs, Sweden, now attributed to the workshop of Colyn de Coter, and this likeness can be expanded with reference to other works attributed to his workshop, particularly the retable in the church of Vadstena, also in Sweden (fig. 38), and certain panels in the *Legend of Rombaut* cycle (Cathedral of Saint Rombaut, Mechelen).[14] There are also marked resemblances to a figure type that appears in a number of high-quality, late fifteenth-century tapestries such as the *Miraculous Mass of Saint Gregory* (cat. no. 12), thought to have been produced in Brussels workshops working for Pieter van Aelst during the 1490s and early 1500s, also from cartoons by Colyn de Coter, or an artist in his circle. While the role that de Coter played in relationship to tapestry design has only recently come into question and requires further analysis, it seems reasonable to suppose that an important commission like this may well have involved an artist of de Coter's caliber for the models of the principal figures, while the decorative ground and aggrandized figures would have been executed by a cartoon specialist.

As Viale Ferrero has noted, the portrait of Sixtus IV does not conform to known portraits of this pope. While this may be due in part to restoration and reweaving, it also suggests that the design and cartoon of the tapestry were developed in the Netherlands from a written program, rather than a detailed Italian design. While the iconographic program of the *lignum vitae* was of Italian origin, the terms in which the conceit was realized appear to be entirely dependent on northern European models, particularly representations of the genealogy of the Virgin and the Tree of Jesse. These subjects were realized in a number of northern European engravings and woodcuts during the second half of the fifteenth century and evidently provided the immediate visual sources for the composition of the Assisi tapestry (fig. 39).[15]

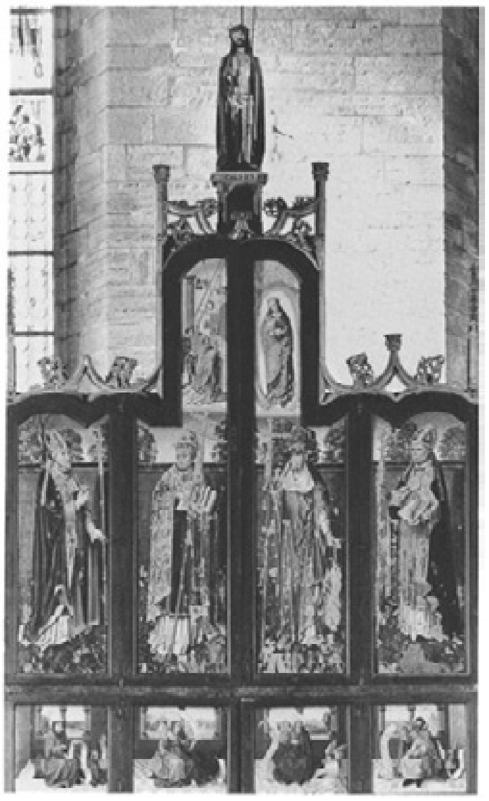


Fig. 38. *Glorification of the Virgin.* Altarpiece; panel paintings attributed to the workshop or circle of Colyn de Coter, predella painting attributed to Jan van Coninxloo or his circle, carvings by the workshop of Jan Borman; Brussels, ca. 1520. Oak, 380 x 227 x 34 cm. Vadstena, Sweden

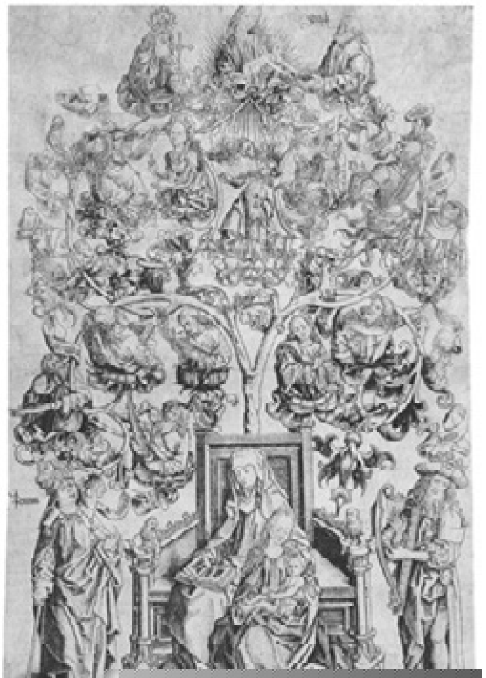
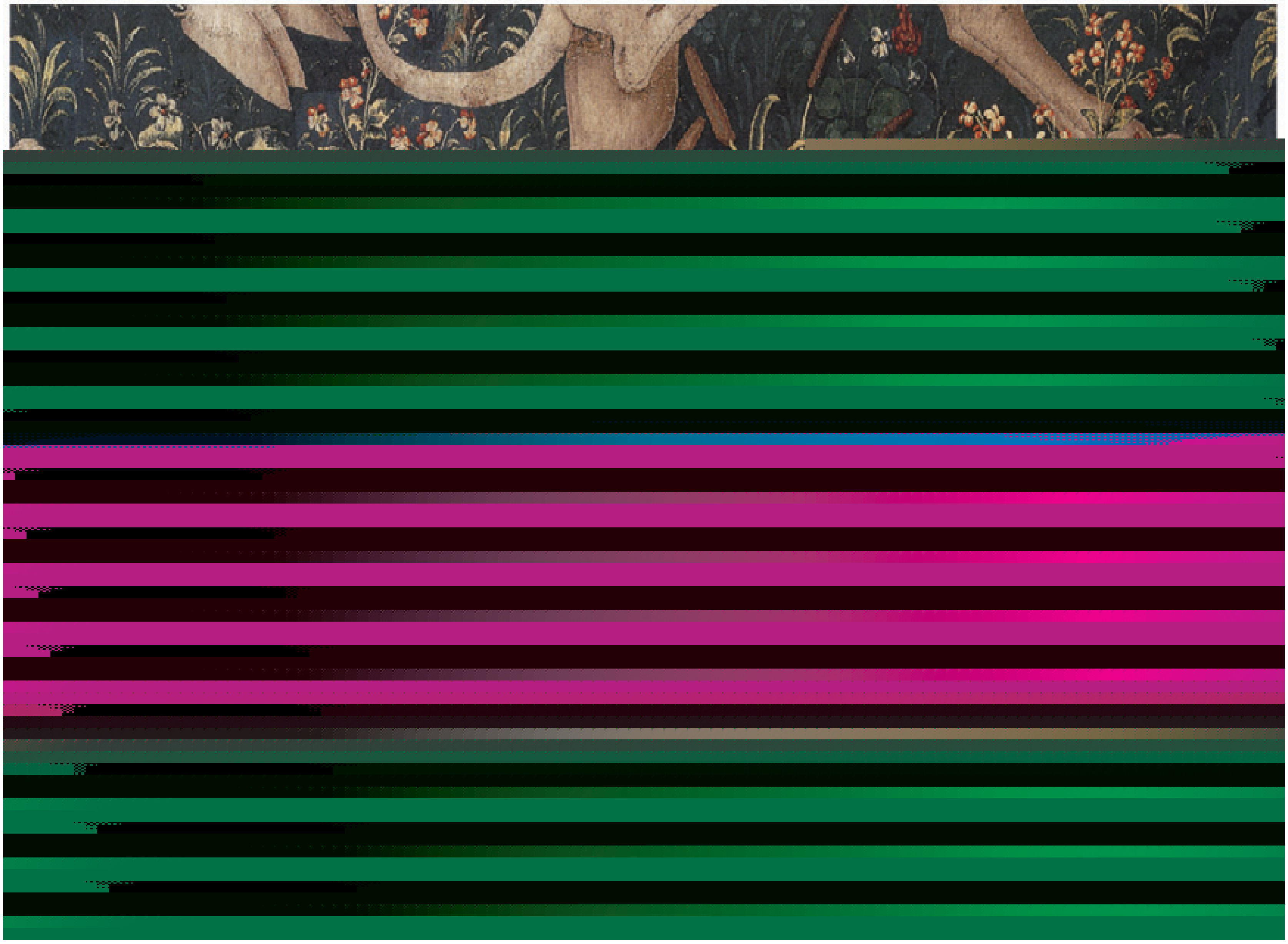


Fig. 39. *Genealogy of the Virgin.* Engraving by Master W of the Key (fl. ca. 1465–85). 41.5 x 27.6 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Detail of cat. no. 4



Detail of cat. no. 5

another hunter is sounding his horn. His scabbard carries the inscription AVE·REGINA·C. Above the main group in the upper right corner a hunter is letting slip another hound, as another man, distinguished by a feather in his hat, regards the scene calmly. All the hunters are clothed in boots, hose, and short jerkins made from brightly colored, sumptuous materials—cloth of gold, velvet, and moiré silk. To the upper left, a woodsman is directing a peasant toward the scene of the hunt. The latter carries a jug and a spear over his shoulder with what appears to be a loaf of bread stuck on the end. An apple tree rises in the upper center of the scene. The loops of a cord slung over the lower branch embrace the letters A and E, the same as those on the dog collars. Above the figures and treetops a hillside is visible in the middle distance, crowned by a castle. Beyond this, beneath a blue sky, is a distant vista.

Iconography and Relationship of the Different Tapestries

The *Unicorn Defends Itself* is one of seven tapestries that are known to have been associated as a group since at least 1680, when they were recorded together in the Paris town house of François de La Rochefoucauld. In the order in which they have traditionally been displayed, they represent the following: the *Start of the Hunt* (three courtly figures, accompanied by two servants and hounds embarking on a hunt); the *Unicorn Is Found* (a large group of huntsmen watch as a unicorn dips its horn into a stream; fig. 34); the *Unicorn Leaps across a Stream* (in its attempt to escape its pursuers); the *Unicorn Defends Itself* (cat. no. 5); two fragments representing less than half the original fabric of a panel known as the *Mystic Hunt of the Unicorn* (the unicorn appears to be resting by a lady whose hand is on its neck, as a second lady signals to the hunters to draw close; fig. 41); the *Unicorn Is Killed and Brought to the Castle* (fig. 42); and the *Unicorn in Captivity* (the unicorn is tethered to a pomegranate tree by a gold chain within a fenced enclosure; fig. 43). Two of these panels, the *Start of the Hunt* and the *Unicorn in Captivity,* take place against an allover, millefleurs ground, while the other five appear against grounds that, although covered in flowers and plants, are conceived as landscapes with a foreground and vista in the distance beneath a sky.

Critics have long recognized that beneath the ostensible narrative, the *Unicorn* tapestries

from obviating the need for the *Mystic Hunt* panel in the *Hunt* sequence, this text demands its inclusion. In light of this evidence, it seems more reasonable to assume that the tapestry exhibited here conflates a scene that demonstrates de Cantimpré's ferocious Christ in action with a second tradition in which Gabriel is the hunter who drives the unicorn into the Virgin's lap (following texts like Ulrich Pindar's *Der beschlossen Gart des Rosenkrantz Marie,* published in 1505).[16] The scene provides a poignant demonstration of Christ's divine power and of the choice he made to reject that power in becoming incarnate.

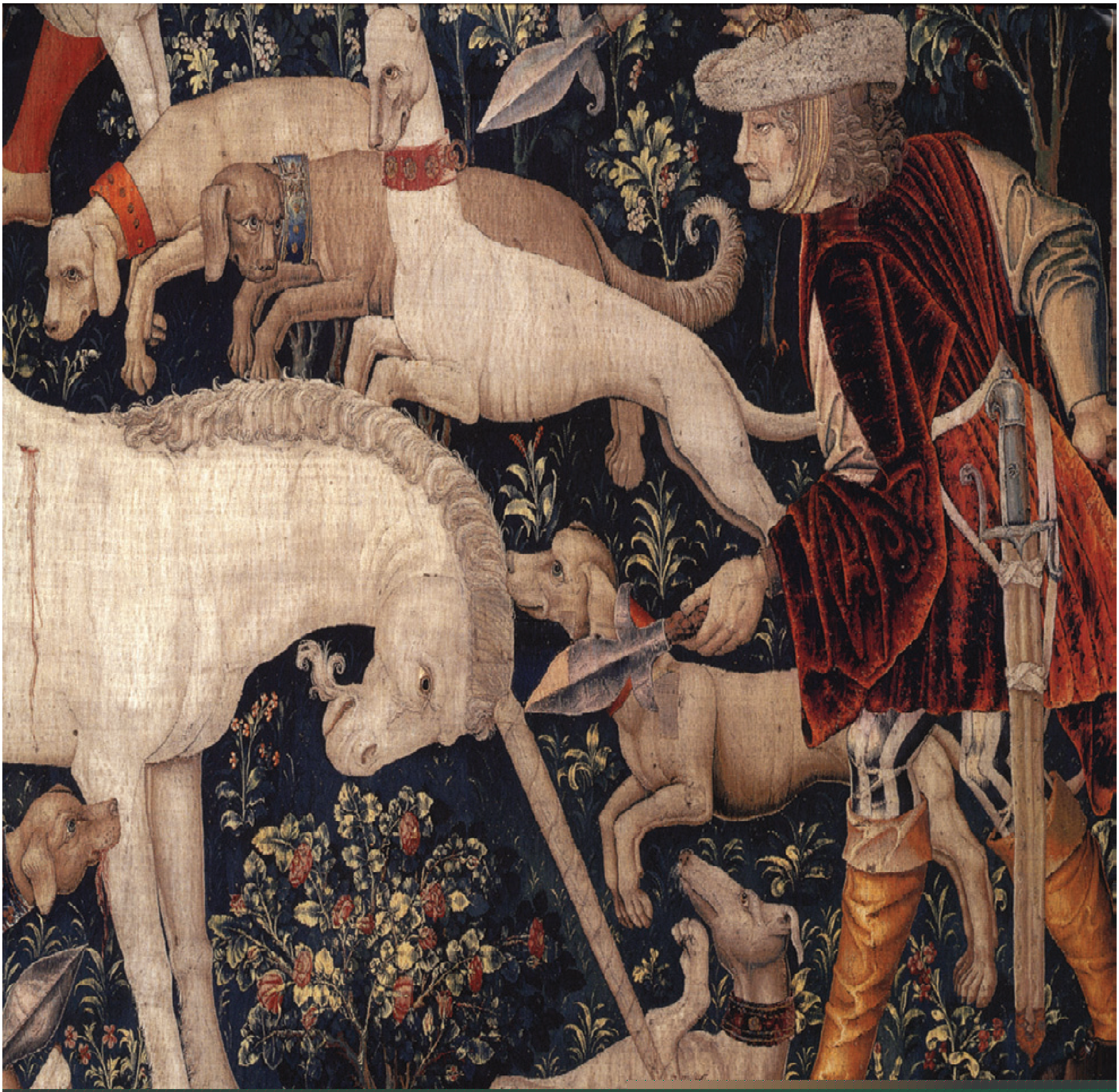
The principal scholarly objection to the reinterpolation of the *Mystic Hunt* into the *Hunt* sequence is that most medieval representations of the unicorn tamed by the Virgin show the hunters killing the unicorn as he lies with his head in the Virgin's lap, whereas in this case the unicorn is being savaged in the upper left corner of the final landscape *Hunt.* A variety of arguments can be presented to account for this deviation from the more standard iconography, although all must be conjectural. Perhaps the lost portion of the *Mystic Hunt* developed the metaphor of the betrayal of Christ, or perhaps it showed the hunters about to spear the unicorn, and the vignette in the final scene equates with Christ's suffering on the cross (in which case the hunter spearing the unicorn's side would be Longinus). Perhaps the extension of the narrative resulted from the fact that the designer was adapting an image from a preexisting stag hunt. Whatever the explanation, the important issue is surely that from a textual point of view, the narrative sequence is not as problematic as the French critics and Cavallo suggested. As de Cantimpré's text makes clear, Christ chose to make himself vulnerable by becoming incarnate, but he was not killed in the womb. Thus it is not essential to show the unicorn being killed in the Virgin's lap. Although this question undoubtedly requires further debate, it seems to the present writer to be a more satisfactory approach to the question of the relationship of the *Mystic Hunt* to the rest of the ensemble than its removal from the sequence would be. The fact that the left edge of the fragmentary panel is bordered by a guard stripe in a color different from that which survives on the four other landscape *Hunt* panels seems immaterial. Even if it is original, it certainly does not constitute definitive proof that it was made as part of a separate campaign. On the contrary, it was evidently woven from a cartoon by the same artist as the other landscape *Hunts*, with which it demonstrates a remarkable consistency of materials and weave.

A second issue on which the present writer parts company from Erlande-Brandenburg, Salet, and Cavallo regards the interpretation and relationship of the *Unicorn in Captivity* to the rest of the sequence. In his review of Freeman's study, Salet rejected the traditional notion that this scene represents the resurrected Christ, on the grounds that the unicorn had not been represented as a resurrected being in earlier art or literature.[17] Although Cavallo recognized that this generalization was too sweeping and that de Cantimpré's text did in fact consider the resurrection of the unicorn, he also rejected this reading of the *Unicorn in Captivity* because the beast is shown "collared and chained, decidedly a captive in its fenced enclosure." As such, Cavallo asserted, it represents "a symbol of the lover vanquished by the god of love and held captive by his lady."[18] This statement, which depends on an abiding assumption that although we cannot identify the AE cipher, it probably relates in some way to the union of two historic individuals, is not convincing. As Freeman and previous writers noted, the invitation to interpret the unicorn as a symbol of Christ is surely as explicit in the *Unicorn in Captivity* as it is in the other panels. The unicorn sits beneath a pomegranate tree, a fruit that in medieval symbolism was variously interpreted as a symbol of the church, of Christ, of redemption, and of the Promised Land.[19] Freeman's discussion of this issue is buried in a broad survey of the potential symbolic meanings of all the plants in the set, which may explain why it has not received more consideration. But the symbolic significance of the pomegranate tree in this final scene cannot be questioned, because of the way that the juice of the pomegranates has fallen on the unicorn's flanks, mimicking the wounds of the unicorn in the earlier scenes, where they represented Christ's wounds. Following this analogy, the enclosure invites interpretation as Paradise, a setting in which the contrast between the landscape ground of five of the *Hunts* and the millefleurs ground of this piece is also subject to symbolic interpretation. As noted in the context of the *Franciscan Tree* tapestry (cat. no. 4), the concept of the flowers as fruits of Christ's Passion—following Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes*—was familiar in late medieval symbolism.

If the unicorn symbolizes the resurrected Christ in Paradise, what is to be made of the chain that links him to the tree and the omnipresent AE cipher? Following Rorimer, previous critics, including Cavallo, have tended to interpret this as a symbol of secular love. Yet, if we interpret the pomegranate tree as a symbol of the church, then the chain might equally symbolize Christ's love for mankind. In turn, this raises the possibility that the letters in the AE cipher may refer, not to a real person or to a motto, but to the first letters of the names of Adam and Eve (of course, the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive). As Cavallo and previous writers have noted, Adam and Eve were frequently portrayed in scenes of the *Mystic Hunt* (for example, in the Swiss altar frontal, Adam is actually spearing the unicorn; fig. 40), a reminder of the original sin that necessitated Christ's sacrifice. As the *Hunt of the Unicorn* was evidently conceived above all as a meditation on Christ's Passion, nothing would be more logical than that the enigmatic union to which the ubiquitous ciphers refer is that of the first parents. As we have seen, the AE cipher hangs from an apple tree in the *Unicorn Defends Itself,* reminding the viewer that Christ's incarnation was necessary in the same scene in which the Incarnation is announced by the "Gabriel" hunter.

In considering the landscape *Hunts* and the *Unicorn in Captivity* as thematically linked, the foregoing discussion returns to a more traditional reading of the relationship of the tapestries than that which has been advanced by Erlande-Brandenburg, Salet, and Cavallo. How then do we account for the stylistic divergence between the landscape- and millefleurs-ground tapestries, and the stylistic distinction between the *Start of the Hunt* and the *Unicorn in Captivity?* Although this requires more detailed discussion, a hint may be found in the heterogeneous character of the figurative components of the *Hunt* tapestries. As previous authors noted, there is no continuity of characterization between the figures in the different panels, and no hunter appears twice. Furthermore, as Souchal and Freeman have demonstrated, many of the figures are closely related to those in engravings and

Detail of cat. no. 5



woodcuts produced in Paris in the late fifteenth century.[20] Indeed, several of these prototypes appear to have been utilized in the composition of the *Unicorn* tapestries with little adaptation. The divergent character of the figures in these scenes may therefore result from the artist's use of workshop patterns.

The heterogeneous character of the figurative components leads to the question whether a similar process may account for the stylistic disjunction between the landscape- and millefleurs-ground tapestries. Although the *Unicorn in Captivity,* interpreted as the resurrected Christ in Paradise, follows logically from the preceding narrative, it is certainly possible that a preexisting design was adapted to provide the final piece of this sequence. Cavallo rejected the notion that this piece could have been created as a bed hanging or canopy because it is too large. But medieval inventories record many large tapestry bed hangings of similar dimensions, and the inventory of Henry VIII's possessions taken in 1547 lists a tapestry "carpet" and valances with a picture of a lady and a unicorn, which appear to have been 320 centimeters in height. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that this scene may have been adapted from a preexisting model. Similarly, the *Start of the Hunt,* which as everyone has noted is stylistically different from the other pieces and contains no overt unicorn imagery, may have been appropriated from another *Hunt* sequence.

This suggestion brings us back to the question whether the tapestries derive from one or more sets. In identifying and enumerating the stylistic and iconographic distinctions between the sets, modern critics, with the exception of Freeman, have rejected the notion that the tapestries were created as a single ensemble. Yet perhaps we have been too precipitate. We simply do not know enough about late medieval workshop practices and the contemporary perception of uniformity and consistency of style to assume that what strikes us as stylistic disjunction would necessarily have appeared so to medieval viewers. Nor do we know the circumstances in which the cartoons of this set were painted, or the tapestry woven. Before we make categoric decisions regarding the aesthetic integrity, or lack thereof, of ensembles whose origins are so entirely unknown, it seems important to consider the slight evidence that the tapestries do carry with them, most notably, the fact that all the tapestries are woven with the AE cipher in the corners of the main field. And although the panels display a stylistic disjunction, particularly the *Start of the Hunt,* the materials from which they are woven, the warp count, and the technical expertise of the weaving are remarkably consistent.

In summary, while the relationship of the *Start of the Hunt* to the rest of the tapestries remains in question, the present writer feels that the line of argument taken by Cavallo in the catalogue raisonné of the Metropolitan's medieval tapestry collection may require revision in two essential respects. First, the style and iconography of the *Mystic Hunt* do not, as Cavallo suggested, necessarily justify the assumption that it was not an integral part of the landscape *Hunt* sequence. Second, the implicit theme of the landscape *Hunts* is so logically concluded by the *Unicorn in Captivity* as a symbol of the resurrected Christ that it seems reasonable to suppose that this piece was woven as an integral part of that set, rather than as a stand-alone panel or a later addition.

Place of Manufacture

The place and circumstances in which the *Unicorn* tapestries were woven are undocumented. Technically, the tapestries conform to high-quality production that was increasingly centered in Brussels at the time they were woven, but they may equally have been made in another Netherlandish center, such as Bruges or Lille.

Designer

The designs are characterized by a compositional formula in which subsidiary elements are arranged around a central motif. There is little illusion of depth and little diminution of size between figures in the foreground and those behind. Most of the figures have rather expressionless faces, although a number of them tend to the grotesque. The style of the figures is closely related to those in the manuscripts, woodcuts, engravings, and stained-glass designs that have been associated with the workshop of an anonymous Parisian master who flourished in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, known as the Master of the *Très petites heures* of Anne of Brittany on the basis of one of the key works around which his oeuvre has been constructed. In view of the high quality and idiosyncratic nature of the designs, Souchal suggested that the cartoons for this set may also have been produced in this workshop.[21] Although subsequent critics have proposed that Souchal's argument embraced much of the printed production in late fifteenth-century Paris and that no one workshop could have been responsible for all this work, the stylistic affinity between the figures in the five landscape *Hunts* and those in manuscripts and stained glass attributed to this workshop is so close that this component of her argument does deserve to be retained.[22]

Patron

Rorimer interpreted the *Unicorn in Captivity* as an allegory of the marriage of the individual or individuals identified by the letters A and E and suggested that the five landscape tapestries were woven to celebrate the 1499 marriage of Anne of Brittany to Louis XII, and that the two millefleurs panels were woven on the occasion of the marriage of Anne's daughter, Claude, to Francis of Angoulême (later Francis I) in 1514.[23] Rorimer's theories were rejected by Souchal when the tapestries were exhibited in Paris in 1973 and in New York in 1974.[24] Following exhaustive research into the possible significance of the AE cipher, Freeman also concluded that Rorimer's arguments were unfounded and that the meaning of the cipher remained a mystery. Numerous such ciphers are known during this period, sometimes in reference to the names or mottoes of individual patrons, sometimes in reference to words or ciphers whose meaning was evidently intended to be enigmatic and secretive. In the absence of any definitive evidence, and on the basis of the survival of the tapestries in the La Rochefoucauld family, she tentatively suggested that the original patron of the set may have been François I de La Rochefoucauld (d. 1516), councillor and chamberlain to Charles VIII and Louis XII, and godfather to Francis I. This, she suggested, would explain the presence of the letters F and R tied by a cord, similar to the AE ciphers elsewhere in the tapestry, which have been applied to the tapestry of the *Unicorn Leaps across a Stream.* Noting that these letters have been woven with a higher warp count than the rest of the tapestries (8–9 rather than 6–7½ per cm), and that a similar cipher has been attached to the border of another tapestry still at the château of Verteuil, she suggested that these may have been cut from a valance or border originally associated with the tapestries (on the valid assumption that the millefleurs components of the group may have derived from a bed or canopy ensemble).[25] Subsequent writers have been unconvinced by this theory. Cavallo suggests that the letters were more likely applied during the nineteenth century, and that they come from an unrelated set of hangings.[26] The coats of arms that appear on the collar of one of the dogs in the *Start of the Hunt,* which are small, damaged, and subject to multiple interpretations, also continue to defy identification. Similarly, the significance of the inscription on the collar of one of the foreground dogs in the *Unicorn Defends Itself,* an abbreviation of o f[r]anc[orum] re[x], remains unresolved.[27] As noted above, the present writer is unconvinced that the AE ciphers refer exclusively to the patron because, in the context of the Christian symbolism of the set, these letters may well relate to the first letters of the names of the first parents.

1. Cavallo 1998, pp. 13–18.
2. Cavallo 1993, p. 311.
3. Ackerman 1923; Ackerman 1933, pp. 56–60, 86–87.
4. Cavallo 1993, p. 317.
5. Rorimer 1938; Rorimer 1942; Rorimer 1945.
6. Freeman 1976, pp. 178–79.
7. Cavallo 1993, pp. 315–16.
8. Erlande-Brandenburg 1975.
9. Salet 1978.
10. Cavallo 1993, pp. 315–16.
11. Ibid., pp. 316–17.
12. Cavallo 1998, p. 45.
13. Photographs supplied by the Photograph Studio of the Metropolitan Museum.
14. Shepard 1930, esp. p. 47.
15. Translated from Eisler 1979, pp. 118–19.
16. Shepard 1930, p. 58.
17. Salet 1978, p. 106.
18. Cavallo 1993, p. 316.
19. Freeman 1976, p. 131.
20. Souchal 1973; Freeman 1976, pp. 194–206.
21. Souchal 1973; Reynaud in Paris 1993, pp. 265–70.
22. Cavallo 1993, p. 323; Reynaud in Paris 1993, p. 265.
23. Rorimer 1938; Rorimer 1942; Rorimer 1945.
24. Souchal in Paris 1973, pp. 76–77; Freeman 1976, pp. 155–74.
25. Freeman 1976, pp. 170–71.
26. Cavallo 1993, p. 320.
27. Ibid., pp. 320–21.

6.

The Adoration of the Magi

Designer unknown, probably Netherlandish
Probably woven in Brussels, ca. 1476–88
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
138 x 331 cm (4 ft. 6⅜ in. x 10 ft. 10⅜ in.)
9–10 warps per cm
Musées de Sens (TC A1)

Provenance: Ca. 1476–88, made presumably for Charles II de Bourbon; 1561, listed in an inventory of Sens Cathedral treasury; 1595, listed in an inventory of Sens Cathedral by its subject, described as a "parement," or altarpiece.[1]

References: De Montaiglon 1880, p. 259; Guiffrey 1886, p. 136; Chartraire 1897, pp. 1–2; W. G. Thomson 1906, p. 116; Brussels 1935, no. 603; Friedländer 1939, p. 23; Crick-Kuntziger 1953, p. 99; d'Hulst 1960, no. 13; Paris 1965b, no. 825; E. Duverger 1969, p. 216; Georges Costa 1971; Paris 1973, no. 69; Naumann 1990, pp. 112–14; Cavallo 1993, pp. 41–42; Saulnier-Pernuit 1993; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 53.

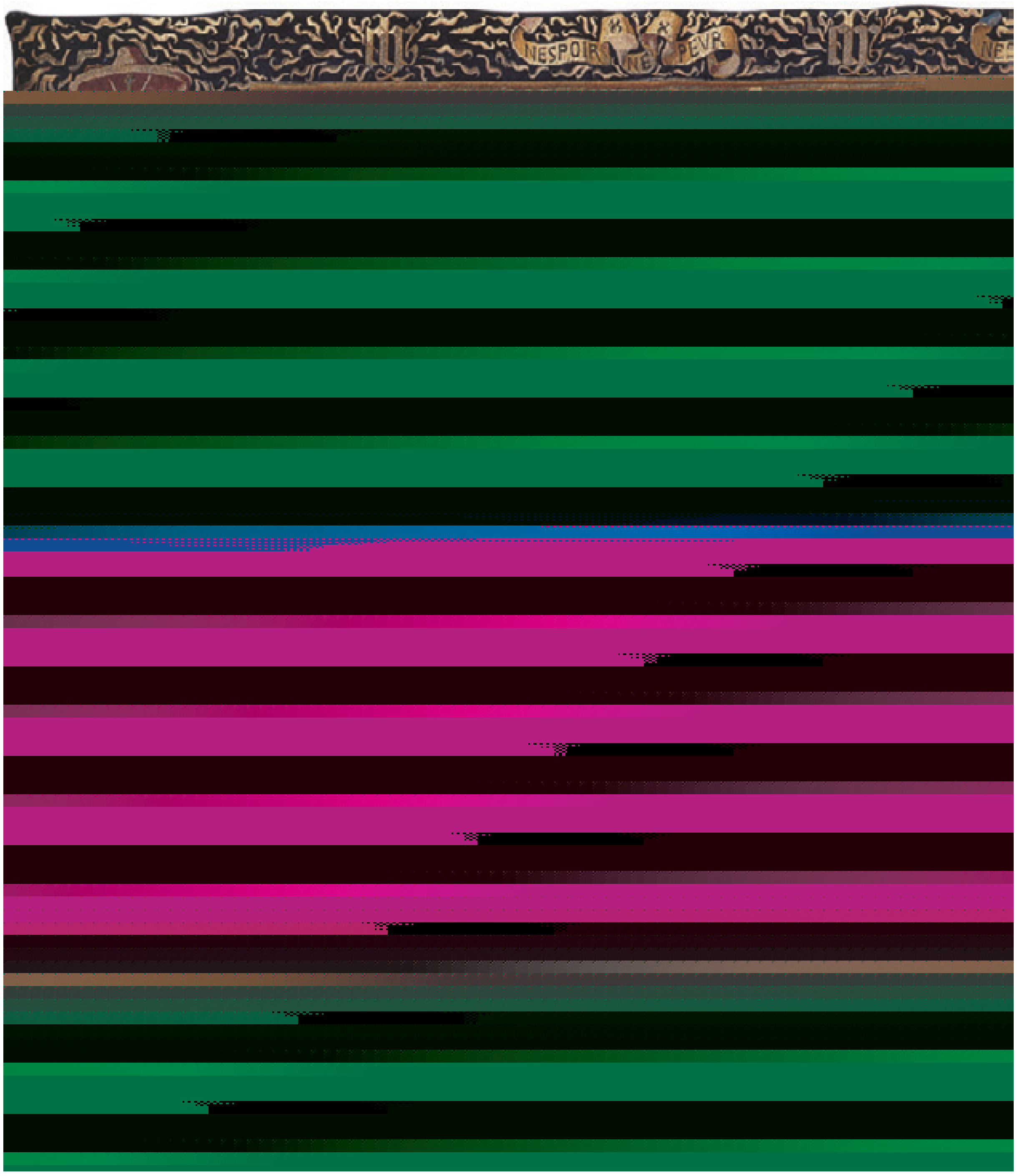
Condition: Preserved in the Sens Cathedral treasury, the tapestry remains in good condition. The colors retain much of their original splendor: gilt-metal-wrapped threads in the three kings' brocade robes glisten, and the palette ranges from the deep midnight-blue tunic worn by the page on the right, through the rich crimson velvet effect of the Virgin's gown, to the soft leaf-green color of the hose of the king at the left.

This tapestry is first documented in a 1561 inventory of the treasury of the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Sens, in the Yonne region of France, where it is listed as a gift of "Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon." It may have been given to the cathedral by Cardinal Charles II de Bourbon, whose armorial devices, monogram, and motto appear in the tapestry's border. Alternatively, the cardinal mentioned in the inventories may have been Cardinal Louis de Bourbon, archbishop of Sens (1536–57), a distant relative of Charles.[2] The outstanding quality of the *Adoration of the Magi,* amplified by its good condition, singles it out from surviving late fifteenth-century tapestries. The elegant, if somewhat mannered, figures flow in a rhythm, friezelike, across the horizontal space of the tapestry. The appeal of this tapestry is not limited to the rich costumes, colors, and poses, however. It is also remarkable, and innovative, for the amount of painterly detail that the designer or cartoonist has included: from the minute representation of a strawberry plant at the lower left corner of the scene, to the miniature figures on horseback, galloping toward the stable, glimpsed in the upper left corner; from the hand and sword pommel mirrored in the armor of the soldier on the right, to the reflection of the barge in the lake gracing the landscape above him; from the comical faces of the two rustics peeping in through a window in the stable, to the detail of the tips of the bundles of thatch of the stable roof. As such, this work epitomizes stylistic changes that were to become more marked in Netherlandish tapestry design, particularly that of Brussels, from the 1470s.

Description

The tapestry represents the Adoration of the Magi, or Epiphany. This episode from the early life of Christ is described only in the Gospel according to Matthew (2:11), in which the magi "saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh." Neither the number nor the names of the wise men are mentioned. Nor are they identified as kings, with the term magi implying instead magicians or practitioners of Eastern magic. The tapestry responds to later legends woven around these mysterious figures by biblical commentators and popular devotional texts, such as the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* compiled by Jacobus de Voragine. These works developed the three kings, given the names Caspar, Balthasar, and Melchior, as representative of the Three Ages of Man and the three then-known continents.

The eldest king, with flowing white beard, kneels to the left of the Virgin and child. Bareheaded, he has laid his hat in deference at the foot of the throne. The stooping figure of Joseph, standing slightly behind the throne on the right, already holds the ornate golden chalice that is this king's gift. To the right of the throne kneels the middle-aged king, with his brown hair and beard. He is caught in the action of lifting his hat and proffering his gift toward the outstretched hand of the Christ child. At the left of the scene is the third and youngest king, unbearded, with his rakishly short doublet and fashionably slashed sleeves. Having just arrived, he is still standing, his hat still on his head, as he turns back toward his page to take his gift. The fair features of all three magi suggest that in this tapestry they are not yet taken to represent the three continents, although the Moorish page at left does add an exotic note to the scene.



The central figure of the Christ child comes in stark contrast to the opulent and fantastical costumes of the exotic magi. He is naked and vulnerable in his Incarnation as the common flesh of humanity, and his pose charmingly reveals his dual identity.[3] As the Son of God, he leans back to accept the wise man's reverence; as a human baby, he plays with a lock of his mother's hair. In spite of the humble interior, as Queen of Heaven the Virgin is seated on an elaborately carved throne, the carved lion at her right possibly a reference to the throne of Solomon. Colorful gems decorate the step at the Virgin's feet. Behind the Virgin hangs a sumptuous red and gold cloth of honor. Left of the throne are glimpsed the ox and the donkey. Traditional legends elaborating on the basic narrative of the Gospels have described how the ox and the ass refrained from eating the straw in the manger and instead warmed the baby Jesus with their breath. Joseph has rough clothes and a staff and the ruddy features and rheumy eyes of an old man.

Patron

Proudly bordering this regal scene, in a blaze of red and gold against a deep blue ground, are the arms, motto, monogram, and distinctive flame motif of Charles II de Bourbon (1434–1488),[4] named archbishop of Lyon from 1444. Each of the representations of his shield in the four corners of the tapestry includes a cardinal's crimson hat and tassels. This enables the tapestry to be dated between 1476, the year in which he became a cardinal, and 1488, the year of his death.

Charles II de Bourbon was a wealthy and important French courtier, a confidant of King Louis XI, to whom he was related by marriage.

(Mobilier National, Paris).[8] In the *Hercules* the arms were sewn over the weaving, which suggests that in this instance the archbishop did customize a stock tapestry.[9]

Designer

The tapestry's horizontal format, dictated by its probable function as an altarpiece or antependium, necessitated a centrally oriented design. Rather than the more traditional left-to-right arrangement for the Adoration of the Magi scene, the Virgin and child were placed in the center, flanked at either side by the adoring kings. This composition was made popular in the mid-fifteenth century by the influential Brussels artist Rogier van der Weyden; it also appeared in the work of the Cologne artist Stefan Lochner. The stable and landscape are contained within an elegant framework, which, with its brown and beige coloring, is made to resemble the effect of carved wood. At both sides, the columns overlap the figures, for example cutting off from view the foot of the page on the left. The effect of this "wooden" frame is made yet more three-dimensional by subtle and effective representation of shadows in its carving. By layering the tracery framework over the Adoration scene, an effect of receding space was achieved.

Early French scholars chose to see the tapestry as the work of a Frenchman, Allardin de Souyn.[10] It has even been suggested that a tapestry workshop may have been set up in Sens in service of the archbishops.[11] However, stylistically the tapestry is much closer to work traditionally regarded as produced in workshops based in Brussels. Its design has often been linked to a body of paintings grouped under the anonymous artist given the name the Master of the View of Saint Gudule.[12] The elegant mannered forms of some of the figures in the tapestry do indeed recall the works attributed to this artist. Nonetheless, despite the tapestry's evident quality, it should be noted that the composition is not an original creation but rather a collection of elements from earlier models convincingly collaged together. Cavallo drew visual links between the work of Hans Memling and this tapestry.[13] Within the arrangement of the figures, the pose and drapery of the Virgin, the pattern of the cloth of honor behind her head, and elements of the Christ child all reproduce an existing composition attributed to Memling.[14] The influence of Rogier van der Weyden on the central position of the Virgin has already been mentioned: the carriage and detail of the Virgin's head and the motif of the child playing with a lock of her hair are based on a model originating in Rogier's workshop, which was later reproduced in multiple panel paintings dating from the same era as the tapestry in Sens.[15] The figure of Joseph is similarly a variant on an existing type, visible, for example, in a *Presentation in the Temple,*[16] whose Joseph he resembles closely in pose and costume down to the buttons on his cloak, the handle of his staff, and the wooden clogs, or pattens, which he wears over his boots. The hand of a talented designer lies behind the Sens *Adoration of the Magi* tapestry, uniting these elements into a composition whose success remains subtle and unobtrusive rather than obviously dramatic. Neither the identity of the designer nor the location of the workshop that produced it is certain. Nonetheless, its patron, Charles de Bourbon, was wealthy and influential; the tapestry itself was clearly valued and expensive, woven to extremely high quality, using fine materials and rich dyes. It remains a splendid and important piece.

ELIZABETH CLELAND

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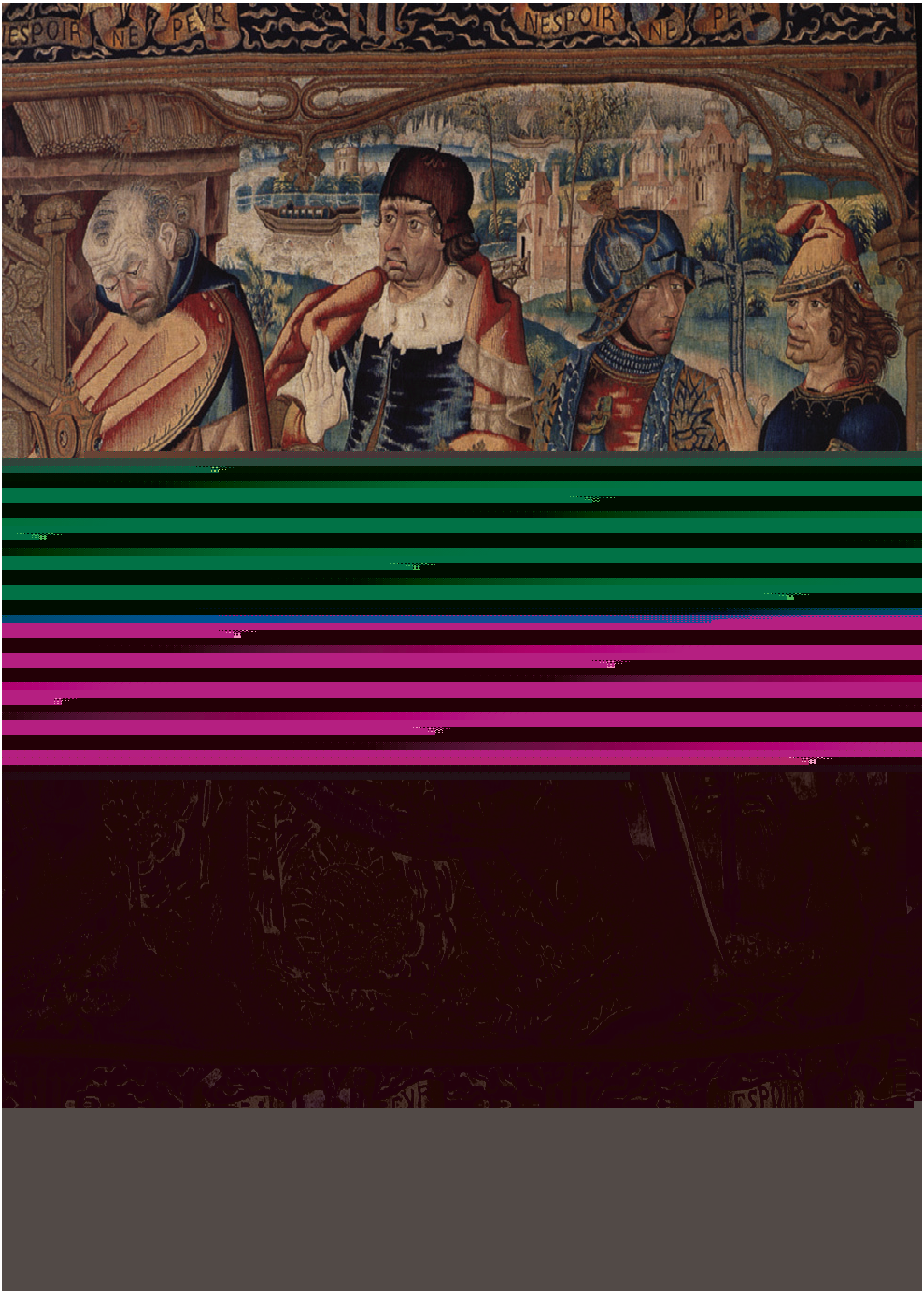
1. Chartraire 1897, pp. 1–2.
2. Ibid., p. 1.
3. L. Steinberg 1983, esp. pp. 3–49.
4. Naumann 1990, pp. 108–9.
5. D'Hulst 1960, no. 13, p. 108; Saulnier-Pernuit 1993, pp. 14–15.
6. Attributed to Jean Hey, oil on oak, 34 x 25 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (WAF 648).
7. D'Hulst 1960, p. 105.
8. Paris 1973, pp. 165–67; New York 1974, pp. 166–68.
9. Bacri 1934.
10. De Montaiglon 1880, p. 259; Guiffrey 1886, p. 136.
11. W. G. Thomson 1906, p. 116.
12. First suggested by Hulin de Loo in an oral communication reported by Crick-Kuntziger in Brussels 1935, no. 603. Repeated in Friedländer 1939, p. 23; Crick-Kuntziger 1953, p. 99; d'Hulst 1960, no. 13, pp. 112–14; E. Duverger 1969, p. 216; Paris 1973, no. 69; and Delmarcel 1999a, p. 43.
13. Cavallo 1993, pp. 41–42.
14. De Vos 1994, no. B2: at Cramer art dealers, The Hague, in 1975.
15. De Vos 1999, nos. B6a (private collection, Germany) and B6b (sold Christie's, London, April 9, 1990, no. 32).
16. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Samuel H. Kress Collection (1961.9.28).

Detail of cat. no. 6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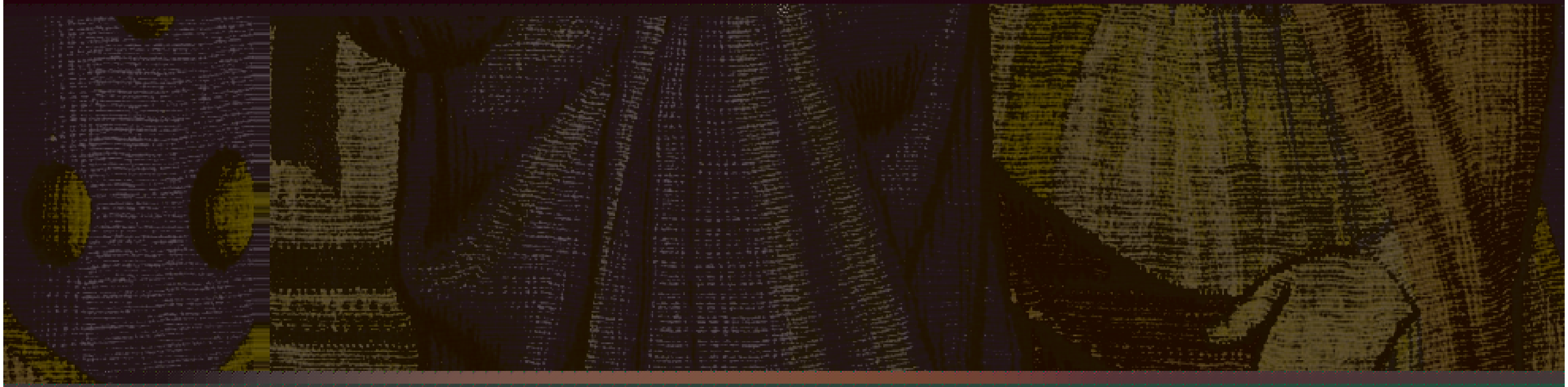

Patronage and Production in Italy, 1380-1510

The extent to which Italian patrons valued and collected tapestries has been obscured by the extraordinary richness of artistic activity in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as by the focus that art historians since Vasari have placed on certain aspects of this production, particularly the creative genius of individual artists and the related emphasis on connoisseurship in the study of drawing, painting, and sculpture. Yet, as Forti Grazzini has recently remarked, the notion that tapestry was the portable fresco of the North is very misleading because it was just as much a central part of the magnificence and figurative art of the courts of the leading Italian dynasties of the period.[1] The taste of Italian patrons for the tapestry medium had two significant results: on the one hand, large quantities of northern European tapestries, mostly purchased from stock but with a smaller percentage commissioned from designs by Italian artists, were imported into Italy; on the other, a number of small workshops were established in Italy, largely staffed by French and Netherlandish weavers, mostly, but not exclusively, under the direct control of Italian patrons. Very few of these tapestries, imported or locally produced, survive, but there is a wealth of documentation recording the central role that they played in the art and culture of the time.[2] The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate the extent to which traditions of procurement, usage, and appreciation were well established long before Pope Leo X's commission to Raphael for the cartoons of the tapestries for the Sistine Chapel.

The early origins of Italian tapestry patronage are difficult to establish for the same reasons that they are obscure in northern Europe—the paucity and ambiguity of the documentation. The *Liber pontificalis* suggests that, from the eighth and ninth centuries, figurative textiles, sometimes of enormous size, played a major role in the liturgy and decoration of the Roman basilica. A number of historians have assumed that these were tapestries, but our information regarding Byzantine textiles suggests that it is just as likely that they were embroideries.[3] Embroideries were certainly being exported from northern Europe to Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (among which high-quality English work, the so-called *opus anglicanum,* was especially favored), but the earliest certain records of large-scale northern European tapestries in Italy date from the late fourteenth century. As this is exactly the

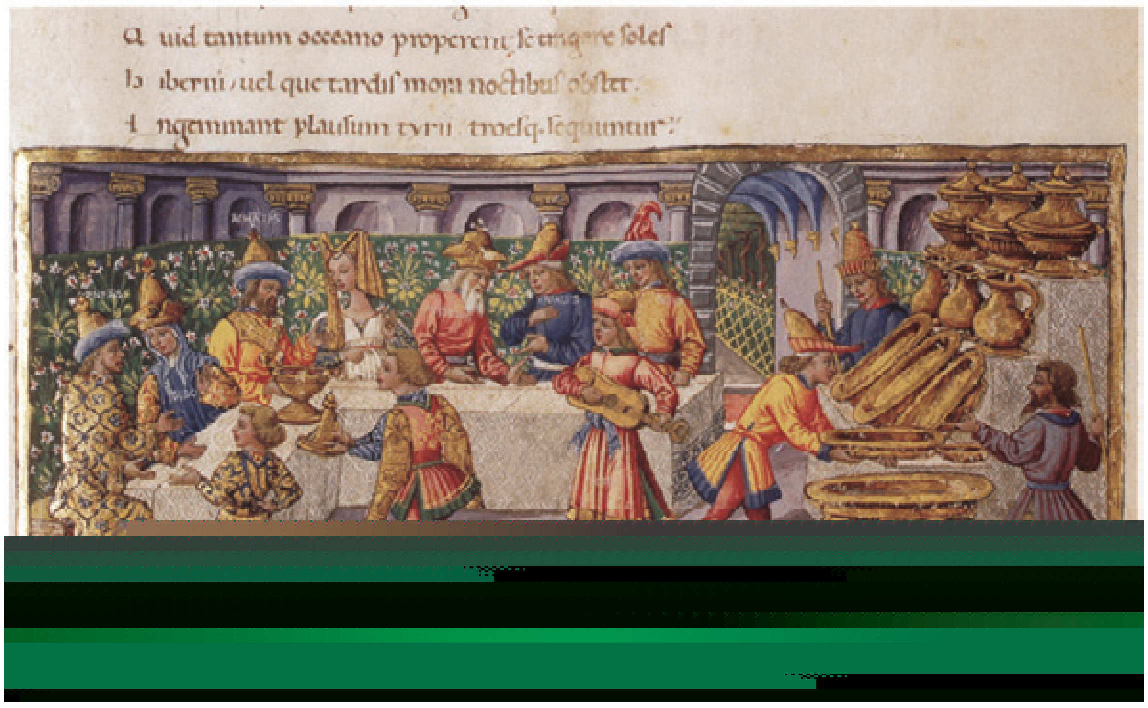

Fig. 45. Miniature painting by Apollonio di Giovanni, from the *Aeneid,* 1450s. 8 x 61 cm. Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (MS 492.75r)

Opposite: Fig. 44. Detail of cat. no. 7: *The Crucifixion and the Lamentation* from the *Passion of Christ*

with certain stories of Hercules [i.e., the *Hercules* set discussed above], all in tapestry, a most worthy work. The tapestries in the wardrobe were made in Ferrara with his [Este] device held up by angels. In truth, they could not be more beautiful or more sumptuous."[48] Although the duke's secretary was impressed by the Ferrarese tapestries, it is to be noted that, as with so many of the larger Italian ensembles, it was woven with a heraldic design rather than a complex figurative narrative.

The dominant role that French and Netherlandish weavers continued to play in Italian workshops during the second half of the fifteenth century is demonstrated by the names of other weavers recorded in Ferrara during the 1460s: these include a Pietro di Fiandra (fl. 1459–71), a Zanetto di Francia (mentioned in 1462), and two weavers from Tournai, Giovanni Mille (fl. 1464–83) and Rinaldo Grue (fl. 1464–65). The last two appear to have been invited to Ferrara by the commune with the intention of establishing a tapestry industry in the town as specified in a document of December 1464: "impressive masters, most perfect in the art of tapestry making, to introduce into said city this art of making tapestry and bench pieces, and to teach it to anyone who wants to learn."[49] Although they received an initial commission from Borso, this enterprise does not appear to have continued for long. Rinaldo's name disappeared from the archives while Giovanni became one of the court tapestry restorers.

Borso maintained cordial relations with many of the leading dynasties of the day, and the Este court was in a constant state of preparation for visiting dignitaries, on which occasions the lavish tapestry ensembles were among the foremost demonstrations of Este magnificence. Borso himself took a hand in the decision as to which tapestry chambers should be used, for whom, and in which location, or which ensembles should be loaned to friends and relatives. The quality of tapestries used on such occasions was in direct proportion to the importance of the personage, constituting a veritable politics of splendor.[50] When the marquis of Mantua visited in 1462, the arrangements involved the hanging of twenty-four wall tapestries, six bedchambers, and twenty-seven bedcovers. The upshot of this impressive display was that the following year the Gonzaga asked Borso if they could borrow tapestries for the decorations attendant on the wedding of Federico. A list of the loans includes four of the newest bedchambers, forty-five *bancali,* ten bedcovers, and many of the finest wall hangings. Perhaps the most impressive display of all was occasioned by the joint visit of the emperor Frederick III and the marquis of Mantua in 1469, when most of the Este tapestries were utilized in one location or another.[51]

In the early years of his reign, Ercole I d'Este (1431–1505), marquis of Este, second duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio (from 1471), evidently shared his brother's enthusiasm for the tapestry medium, and a number of new purchases are recorded among the sumptuous trappings with which he traveled to Venice in 1472. In the following year he commissioned new tapestries in anticipation of his marriage to Eleonora of Aragon, daughter of Alfonso II (1449–1496; king of Naples 1494–95) from designs by Tura, including hangings for the nuptial bed to be woven by Rubinetto di Francia and Giovanni Mille.[52] Rubinetto, who received an annual stipend, was the principal weaver in the service of the Este court during the 1470s. He executed a number of tapestries after Tura designs, including, in 1475 and 1476, two altar panels, one containing gold and silver threads, the other in wool and silk alone. These can almost certainly be identified with two antependiums depicting the Pietà, which survive in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (cat. no. 8) and in Cleveland (fig. 51), the only extant products of the Ferrarese manufactory. Subsequently, Rubinetto and Giovanni Mille were to weave additional designs from cartoons by Tura, including a hanging of the *Judgment of Solomon* (1480).[53] Although Ercole commissioned mule covers from Boteram in 1480 and made other purchases in 1482, his interest in further tapestry acquisition appears to have waned thereafter, probably owing to the drain on his financial resources caused by the war with Venice (1482–84) and his increasing preoccupation with spiritual rather than worldly matters. Consequently, the surviving Ferrarese ateliers seem to have closed down by the mid-1480s.

Despite the closure of local workshops in Ferrara in the early 1480s, the inherited Este collection continued to be used on a regular basis, and Ercole d'Este purchased more Netherlandish tapestries in 1489, in preparation for the marriage of Isabella d'Este to Francesco II Gonzaga, in 1490; and in 1501 for the engagement of Alfonso d'Este to Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of Pope Alexander VI. When Lucrezia arrived in Ferrara in 1502, Este splendor was met by Borgia splendor. Her baggage train consisted of one hundred and fifty mules carrying a wealth of jewels, plate, and textiles, including a number of sumptuous tapestry ensembles, of which the most valuable appear to have been sets of the *Veneration of the Virgin* (possibly a duplicate of the one supplied to Philip the Handsome and Joanna of Castile in 1502 by the Brussels merchant Pieter van Aelst; see fig. 54), and others of *David and Uriah* and *Abraham.*[54]

Considering the close links between the Ferrarese and Mantuan courts, it is hardly surprising that the Gonzaga were also avid tapestry patrons. Ludovico II Gonzaga, a celebrated condottiere, was a patron of artists like Leon Battista Alberti and Andrea Mantegna. Following Boteram's transfer to the Gonzaga court in 1449, Ludovico used his services to acquire large numbers of tapestries, and Boteram traveled to the Netherlands on Ludovico's behalf in 1462, 1466, and 1476. Following Ludovico's death in 1478, Boteram continued to act as a factor to Federico (r. 1478–84) and his son, Francesco II (r. 1484–1519), agreeing, in 1480, to supply five or six tapestries to the Gonzaga court per year.[55] In 1488 Boteram received a payment of 950 ducats for tapestries that he had recently supplied.[56] No evidence of the subjects of these tapestries survives, but it seems probable that Boteram may have been responsible for the delivery of the tapestries that Francesco II sent to Ferrara in August 1488 at the request of Duke Ercole for the reception of the duke of Milan. These included six large tapestries of *Hannibal and Scipio* and four large tapestries of the *Story of Lucretia,* both sets inherited from Ludovico's collection.[57]

If most of the Gonzaga tapestries originated in the Netherlands, Ludovico and his wife were also responsible for encouraging the development of workshops in Mantua.[58] These produced designs by court artists including Andrea Mantegna (1430–1506), who had relocated to the Gonzaga court in 1459. In 1465 the master weaver Maffeo de Mafeis (fl. 1462–68) was sent to Venice to purchase silk for an "aparamento" of tapestries for which Mantegna had prepared the designs.[59] As Brown has suggested, it is tempting to identify this production with the celebrated *spalliera* in the Camera degli Sposi in the Palazzo Ducale, where painting appears to have begun in the same year.[60] Although the subject of this *spalliera,* which was almost as renowned as the room itself during the late fifteenth century, is unknown, circumstantial evidence that this, or another commission, was very impressive is provided by anecdotal evidence some fifty years later: in 1519, the knowledgeable Venetian connoisseur Marcantonio Michiel compared Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries favorably to three famous tapestry ensembles of which one, said to have been designed by Mantegna, belonged to the duke of Mantua.[61] It is tempting to think that these famous Mantegna tapestries may have been woven in Mantua and that they may have been among the tapestries lent to Ferrara in 1488; nevertheless, the first assumption in particular needs to be treated with caution as there is no certain evidence of the production of such large-scale and impressive tapestries in Mantua during these years. Considering the ease and frequency with which the Este and Gonzaga arranged commissions through Boteram, it is equally possible—and perhaps more likely—that the Mantegna tapestries to which Michiel referred would have been made in the Netherlands. Whether they were produced in the Netherlands or in Ferrara, we can only regret the loss of what may have been a seminal design ensemble.

Mantegna evidently undertook other tapestry designs as well. In 1469 Ludovico requested drawings of two guinea fowl ("due galline de India"), of which he had specimens in his garden, for a tapestry of unspecified subject. Some historians have linked this commission to the birds in the foreground of a tapestry antependium depicting the Annunciation (cat. no. 9), which, although it carries the arms of Francesco II Gonzaga (fourth marquis from 1484), could be a reweaving of a design conceived for Ludovico some years earlier. This assumption is open to question, and the commission to Mantegna may equally have been for another tapestry, perhaps a verdure *spalliera,* which may then have provided a later designer with the models for the birds in the *Annunciation.*

As in Ferrara, local weaving activity appears to have waned in Mantua in the last fifteen years of the fifteenth century, although the *Annunciation* tapestry may be the single extant piece that demonstrates continuing court production. Whether or not Francesco II was actively engaged in promoting local production, he shared his ancestors' appreciation of Netherlandish tapestries. On the occasion of his marriage to Isabella d'Este in 1490, tapestries were borrowed from various courts, including the *Story of the Trojan War* set that Federico da Montefeltro had purchased from Pasquier Grenier in 1476.[62] In 1491 Francesco acquired a set of tapestries of the *Story of Rhodes* (probably woven from the same cartoons as the piece that survives in the Museo Textil i d'Indumentaria, Barcelona), and as commander of the allied Italian forces, he captured tapestries from Charles VIII, king of France, when the French army was defeated in 1495 at Fornovo. A document of 1516–17 mentions tapestries of the *Story of "Tirro"* and *Herkinbald* in his collection, along with other figurative subjects. Isabella d'Este also made a number of tapestry purchases from Venice (1497) and from Lyon (1502), the latter including eight large tapestries for two bedchambers, five portieres, and other *spalliere,* all of verdure. A verdure with Isabella's arms, of a style often linked to the Bruges workshops,

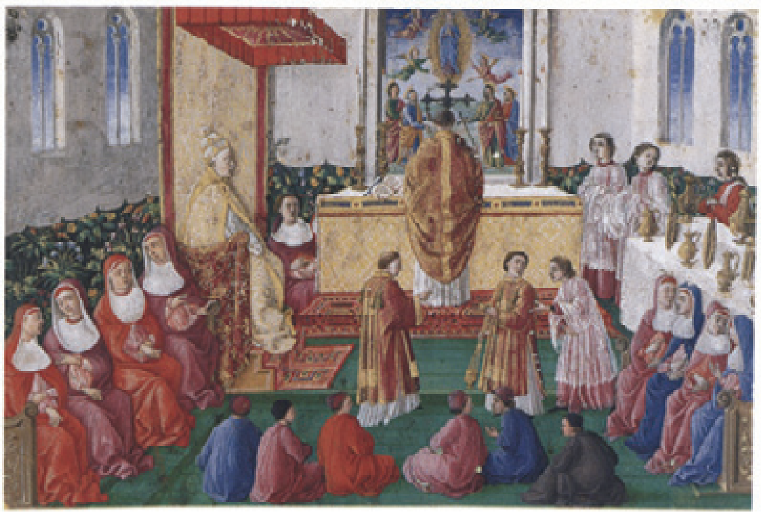

Fig. 50. *Mass of the Capella Papalis.* Miniature painting by Giuliano Amadei, between 1484 and 1492. 10.9 x 16.2 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly

survives in the Palazzo Vescovile in Mantua in very dilapidated condition.[63] No figurative commissions by these famous patrons are recorded, but it is unclear whether this is the consequence of partial documentation or an indication of taste.

Besides the Gonzaga tapestries from designs by Mantegna, noted above, Marcantonio Michiel's 1519 description of the Raphael *Acts of the Apostles* cited two other famous tapestry ensembles that Raphael's *Acts* excelled, of which one was said to belong to "Alfonso, overo Federico Re di Napoli." The Neapolitan archives were destroyed in 1943, and we know little of the tapestry collections of the kings of Naples after Alfonso I (Alfonso V of Aragon), to whom several historians have assumed this citation refers. However, as the reigns of Alfonso II (r. 1494–95) and Federico (r. 1496–1501) were contiguous, it seems more likely that Michiel's citation refers to them. The question has been complicated by the assumption made by some historians that Michiel's reference was to a set of large canvases, rather than tapestries, by Rogier van der Weyden that were acquired by Alfonso I and described in Bartolomeo Fazio's *De viris illustribus* (1456) and, with more detail, in a letter sent to Michiel in 1524 by the Neapolitan Pietro Summonte. According to Summonte, these had cost Alfonso the enormous sum of 5,000 ducats, and it seems to have been this high figure that led Baxandall and Smit to assume that these were gold-woven tapestries. In fact, the terms used by Fazio and Summonte to describe the panels ("in linteis picturae" and "panni di tela") do not support this assumption, and the high valuation may well reflect an oral tradition that had been exaggerated over the passage of time. While we are unlikely to know the answer with certainty, it seems prudent to assume that the Rogier van der Weyden works were painted on canvas, as we know that large numbers of such works were imported to Italy during the fifteenth century.[64]

PAPAL COLLECTIONS

The third of the famous tapestry ensembles invoked by Michiel in 1519 belonged to Julius II, and this brings us back to the papal collection. The foundations that had been established under Martin V, Eugene IV, and Nicholas V were developed by their successors during the second half of the century. An inventory of the historic collection drawn up under Leo X in 1518 groups the older tapestries according to the reign in which they were thought to have been acquired, largely on the basis of the armorials depicted on the tapestries. While this information is not always accurate (because it seems to have been common practice for later popes to apply their armorials to tapestries that they had inherited), the list provides valuable information about the subjects and types of tapestry with which the papal collection was augmented during the second half of the fifteenth century.

Nicholas V and Pius II had enriched the collection with purchases from the Netherlands and with commissions from Italian workshops, and an idea of the splendor of the papal collection by the early 1460s is provided by Pius's *Commentarii*. This describes how he instructed the cardinals to hang tapestries in the streets of Viterbo for the festival of Corpus Christi in 1462, and how his own tapestries, woven in wool, silk, and gold, and illustrating ancient stories, portraits of famous men, and images of many kinds of animals, were used for the tabernacle in the churchyard of San Francesco.[65] An inventory taken at his death in 1464 lists more than fifty storiated tapestries, two chambers of tapestry, and various millefleurs *spalliere* and bench pieces.[66]

The papal example ensured that tapestry was a requisite in the splendor expected of rich Italian ecclesiastics by the mid-fifteenth century. This influence is demonstrated by documentation and inventories relating to the patronage of figures in Pius's immediate circle. For example, the magnificence of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483) was widely acclaimed during his life. Pius II was impressed by his tapestries when they were displayed at Viterbo in May 1462, and when Francesco visited Bologna in 1471 one chronicler stated that the value of the collection was estimated at more than 10,000 ducats. He singled out one set for particular praise, a *Story of Alexander:* "against the Indian king Porus, with armed men on horseback and on foot, and elephants with fortresses and fighting men on their backs; many of them wounded with spears, and so well worked they seem to be alive."[67] It sounds as if this may have been a weaving of the series for which *modelli* have survived in Bern and London (see fig. 29).[68] The inventory taken at the cardinal's death in 1483 lists about sixty figurative tapestries, most with scriptural subjects, but others with scenes of *Achilles* and *Perseus,* as well as verdure *spalliere* and bench tapestries.[69]

A similar wealth of tapestries is demonstrated in the inventory of goods belonging to Cardinal Pietro Barbo, drawn up four years before his election as Pope Paul II (r. 1464–71). This lists 132 tapestries (of which only one included gold thread, a salutary reminder of the rarity of such pieces in the collections of all but the very richest patrons). These included 26 pieces with figures of saints, 32 pieces with profane subjects, 35 *spalliere, bancali, dossiers* (back cloths for thrones or seats), and furniture pieces, 18 verdures, and 21 portieres and mule covers, many with coats of arms of the cardinal. Following his election, Paul applied his arms to many of the finest tapestries that he had inherited from his predecessors, including that of *Pope Eugene IV and the Emperor Sigismund.*[70] In 1465 he lent tapestries to Ferdinand I of Aragon (1423–1494; king of

Naples, 1458–94) when the latter's son, Alfonso (who would become Alfonso II, king of Naples) married Ippolita Sforza, daughter of Francesco, duke of Milan. The loan included gold-woven tapestries of *Joseph* and of *Pope Eugene IV and the Emperor Sigismund,* along with others of *Octavian* and *Jacob* woven in wool and silk, a loan that was returned in 1467.[71]

Like his predecessors, Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere; pope 1471–84) was an active tapestry patron. The 1518 inventory lists eighteen tapestries with his arms, including two gold-woven panels with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, two of the *Seven Theological Virtues,* single gold-woven pieces of the *Adoration* and *Saint Helena and the Holy Cross,* and three large panels without gold of the *Judaic War under Titus and Vespasian.*[72] Fragments from at least two separate design series of this last subject survive, including one especially fine series whose style of design and weave are closely related to that of the *Story of the Trojan War* tapestries supplied to European patrons by Pasquier Grenier during this era. We do not know whether Sixtus was responsible for commissioning the *Franciscan Tree* tapestry that includes his portrait in the center, flanked by eminent Franciscan saints and doctors of the church (cat. no. 4). This rare panel may provide an example of the type and quality of the finer custom-made Netherlandish tapestries that were imported for Italian patrons in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

The papal collections continued to grow under Innocent VIII (pope 1484–92). The 1518 inventory listed more than thirty-two pieces with his arms; however, he was certainly not responsible for acquiring them all because they included the six *Hannibal* tapestries that had been presented to Paul II in 1466. Apart from that set, the growing vogue in Netherlandish tapestries for classical subjects is reflected in a number of such panels in Innocent's collection, which, in addition to the inevitable Old and New Testament subjects, included two large pieces of *Lars Porsena* and one large panel of *Tullius Hostilius,* a legendary king of the early Romans, of which comparable pieces are recorded in the collections of Guillaume Hugonet (d. 1477), chancellor of Charles the Bold, and Edward IV (purchased 1480).[73] The scale and splendor of the papal collection by the end of the fifteenth century are reflected in descriptions of the tapestries lining the streets for the coronation of the Borgia pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503).

The magnificence of the papal collection was further augmented by Julius II (pope 1503–13), who seems to have been responsible for some very high-quality acquisitions, including the set that hung in the "anticamera," to which Michiel compared, in 1519, Pope Leo's *Acts of the Apostles.* The subject is not specified, but as Smit has suggested, Michiel's reference was probably to a four-piece ensemble, listed in the 1518 papal inventory, of the *Story of Heliodorus,* with Julius's arms. Presumably, it had been acquired for the chamber of that name, and presumably it suggested the subject of Raphael's frescoes, painted in 1511–14.[74] That we have absolutely no information about the place of manufacture, the designer, or the iconography of this once-famous set, which seems to have been an important precedent for Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles,* is a reminder of just how little we know about contemporary tapestry patronage. Other acquisitions under Julius included sets of the *Patient Griselda* and an extended series of the *Apostles' Creed,* the latter possibly woven from a well-known design series of this subject.[75] Although these tapestries are lost, an indication of the quality of the finer pieces in Julius II's collection may be provided by an exquisite gold- and silk-woven tapestry of the *Adoration of the Infant Christ* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) that corresponds exactly to the detailed description of an antependium presented by Julius to the basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.[76] A second panel, the *Mystical Grapes* (Vatican Museums), of about 1505–10, is traditionally said to have been a gift to Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, from Julius II, while it has recently been suggested that Julius himself may also be represented in a high-quality tapestry of the *Pentecost* (Floors Castle, Kelso).[77]

TASTE AND PERCEPTION

The preceding discussion has examined the considerable demand among Italian patrons for Netherlandish tapestries during the second half of the fifteenth century and the character of the products they could obtain, whether they were purchasing from stock or commissioning designs. It has also considered the development of a number of Italian workshops that were primarily concerned with the production of decorative and fairly coarse furnishing tapestries but of which some, with sufficient funding, were capable of producing more ambitious figurative tapestries from designs by Italian artists like Tura and Mantegna. Evidence of the extent to which the richer Italian patrons had a variety of options by the middle of the fifteenth century raises an important question: To what extent were Italian patrons conscious of a distinction between the style and subject matter of Netherlandish products and those which they might obtain from designs by native artists?

In a recent survey of the market for Netherlandish painting in Italy during the fifteenth century, Christiansen demonstrated that during the first three quarters of the century, Italian patrons were among the foremost enthusiasts for the work of Netherlandish masters.[78] We have noted that Leonello d'Este and Alfonso V of Aragon collected works by leading contemporary Netherlandish painters, and the esteem in which Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der

Weyden were held by sophisticated Italian patrons is reflected by their inclusion in the *De viris illustribus* (along with Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello), a celebration of the famous men of the day written by Bartolomeo Fazio for Alfonso V of Aragon in 1456. Large numbers of Netherlandish paintings were imported into Italy during the fifteenth century, and numerous transactions demonstrate the continuing regard in which these early masters of oil painting were held. In 1460 Francesco Sforza sent a Milanese painter to study with Rogier in Brussels, and the condottiere Federico da Montefeltro, who, as patron of Piero della Francesca and creator of the Gubbio *studiolo,* is often taken as the epitome of the Italian Renaissance taste, was, according to his biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, compelled to send to Flanders for a master (Joos van Gent) "because he could not find in Italy painters in oil to suit his taste."[79] Of 142 paintings listed in various Medici residences in 1492, 42 were Netherlandish. Yet, as Christiansen also showed, this unquestioning enthusiasm was gradually eroded in the late fifteenth century as Italian artists and connoisseurs began to take increasing delight in the art and literature of the antique world, moving away from a conception of painting as a virtuoso exercise in mimesis and expression of emotions toward a more theoretically based concept of *disegno* and beauty. While large numbers of Netherlandish paintings continued to be exported to Italy, they were increasingly perceived to be distinct from native styles of representation, as reflected by the frequency with which such pieces were described by the turn of the century in contemporary documentation as "alla ponentina" (from the west).[80]

Do we find a parallel development in the taste of Italian patrons for Netherlandish tapestry toward the end of the century? One important document that has had a disproportionate and misleading influence on discussion of this subject is Angelo Decembrio's *De politia litteraria.* This purports to present a dialogue between its author and Leonello d'Este on a range of topics; it contains a section in which Leonello launches into a diatribe on the arts, arguing for greater attention to classical sources and correct anatomy, and against overloaded detail and decorative costumes. Leonello singles out Northern tapestries for criticism because they attend only to chromatic effects and the quality of the weaving, not to the "scienza della pittura," and because they were concerned above all with effects of splendor and represented *folies* and popular legends without reference to antique sources. As examples of these faults, he cites two tapestries: the *Story of Pope Gregory* in which the head of the emperor Trajan is shown speaking centuries after his death; and a romanticized *Story of Alexander* that takes no account of the biography written by Quinto Curzio.[81]

In publishing this dialogue, Baxandall interpreted this damning assessment as the clearest expression of a sophisticated fifteenth-century Italian response to the fantasy and extravagance of Netherlandish tapestry, an assumption that was reiterated, with some qualification, in an influential publication by Forti Grazzini.[82] Yet, as Forti Grazzini has more recently contended in revision of his earlier opinion, Baxandall's interpretation of the document was probably based on an erroneous assumption of authenticity.[83] The views attributed to Leonello fit strangely with the large sums of money that he spent on tapestry acquisitions such as the *Story of Hercules,* which was conceived in terms of a medieval romance. According to Forti Grazzini, the likely explanation for this dichotomy is that the section on tapestries was not included in Decembrio's original text, which he seems to have begun by 1447; rather, it may have been part of an expansion to the text written in 1462 and inserted twelve years after Leonello's death. None of the tapestry subjects cited in this text corresponds to any tapestry listed in the Este collection. Rather, the subjects correspond to a group of designs that are thought to have been woven in the mid- to late 1450s. The description of the *Trajan* tapestry in conjunction with mention of the *Story of Pope Gregory* invites comparison with the design that combined these subjects, probably woven after Rogier's paintings in the Brussels town hall, known from a weaving with the arms of Georges de Saluces (d. 1461), bishop of Lausanne (fig. 27). The reference to the romanticized version of the *Story of Alexander* invites comparison with the designs of this subject that the Greniers took to Milan to show the Sforza in 1459. As Decembrio was prominent in the Ferrarese court, acting as an ambassador to Spain in 1458 and to Rome in 1462, it seems quite plausible that he may have seen the Grenier drawings in 1459 or a completed commission in 1461. In either case, the question of the divergence from the classical sources of the subject matter of contemporary *Alexander* tapestry designs is much more likely to have been a topic of conversation in Ferrara and Milan about 1460 than in Leonello's court in 1450. On the basis of this, Forti Grazzini suggested that the opinions recorded in the *De politia litteraria* were not those of Leonello, but rather of Decembrio himself, who would have had more than a passing interest in this subject because his brother Pier Candido probably authored a translation in 1438 of Quinto Curzio's *Vita di Alessandro Magno.*

Where does this leave us? Although the opinions expressed in the *De politia litteraria* may not have been those of Leonello or Borso d'Este, they evidently expressed those of one of the leading humanist thinkers at the Ferrarese court. How influential were they? The large sums that Borso continued to spend on Netherlandish tapestries suggest that he may not have shared Decembrio's concerns, but can we find evidence that Decembrio's opinions gained wider currency elsewhere? Is frustration with the character of imported goods manifested in the commissions placed with Netherlandish ateliers for tapestries woven from Italian designs or in the creation of Italian ateliers at which Italian designs could be woven locally? This question is a large and complex one, requiring further research. But, generally speaking, if the commissions that Borso and Alfonso d'Este and Ludovico II Gonzaga placed with artists like Tura and Mantegna demonstrate a desire to obtain designs in a native style, there is little evidence that this had a negative impact on the continuing demand for Netherlandish tapestries. In 1462 Giorgio della Strada praised Leonello's *Hercules* chamber from Bruges and that of a locally produced chamber in the same breath, and the number of Netherlandish tapestries acquired by the Ferrarese, Mantuan, papal, Umbrian, and Florentine rulers during the 1470s, 1480s, and 1490s are hardly indicative of a flagging interest in the medium.

How then do we explain the continuing appetite for a medium whose style would have been so obviously divergent from fashionable tastes by the late fifteenth century? While the answers will vary from patron to patron and from court to court, one important factor is probably to be found in the distinction between the tapestry medium and the arts in which the new humanist taste for antique and Neoplatonic imagery first manifested itself, particularly medals, drawings, and paintings created for private enjoyment. Whereas the latter were collectibles, and thus highly susceptible to the fashion and tastes of an educated elite, tapestries were essentially furnishings. Large numbers of Netherlandish tapestries had been imported to Italy since the late fourteenth century, and by the time Italian humanists and artists like Decembrio and Mantegna were articulating a distinction between their own aims and those of Northern artists, tapestry was already so well established as a *traditional* form of display and decoration that it is probably safe to assume that, in many cases, an old-fashioned style of design might have been quite acceptable, even desirable. Even among the most discriminating patrons, a nostalgic enjoyment of medieval chivalry and Burgundian splendor may have been an important element in the tapestry patronage of some of the leading buyers of the late fifteenth century. For example, the inventory of Lorenzo de' Medici (d. 1492) records some one hundred tapestries of which about thirty-five were large wall hangings and *spalliere*. Along with the *spalliere* of the *Triumphs* commissioned by Giovanni de' Medici in 1453 were a large tapestry of the *Hunt of the Duke of Burgundy*, two large pieces depicting a tournament, and five or six devotional panels, one of which was said to depict the Annunciation with the Burgundian duke. Although we do not know how, and with what regularity, such pieces were used, Schneebalg-Perelman may well have been correct that the continuing presence of such pieces in the Medici collection may demonstrate a latent admiration for the style and magnificence of the Burgundian court and the Netherlandish tapestries that were so intimately associated with that splendor.[84]

Another factor that must have played an important part in the readiness or otherwise of Italian patrons to commission Italian designs would, of course, have been the logistics and cost of such commissions. Frescoes and oil paintings were a fraction of the cost of a set of tapestries purchased from stock, and the preparation of custom-made cartoons only increased that cost. Furthermore, tapestry was not an especially intimate art form. Thus, it was perhaps not among the arts on which the leading patrons of the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries—and the artists who served them—focused their attentions as they shared in the rediscovery of the theory and vocabulary of the antique world, and in the development of a new aesthetic lexicon. Inevitably, it was in art forms that could be produced locally and with relative ease, particularly drawing, painting, sculpture, and literature, that these new forms manifested themselves, while the more cumbersome practices and conventions associated with tapestry production provided a certain resistance to such change.

Yet, if these factors go some way toward explaining why the leading patrons of the 1490s and early 1500s continued to use and purchase Netherlandish tapestries of an increasingly foreign character, the evidence has not been sufficiently sifted for a more nuanced understanding of the various issues affecting the response of figures such as Alfonso and Isabella d'Este to the tapestry medium at this time. And although the documentation is very partial, evidence that more Italian designs than we realize may have been commissioned from the Netherlands and produced in Italy is suggested by analogy with previous and subsequent periods; by the evidence of Michiel's passing reference to noteworthy tapestries purchased by Julius II and the kings of Naples; and by a handful of extant tapestries produced in Italy during the early years of the sixteenth century.

Some of these are of a very modest scale. A panel of the *Pentecost* (cat. no. 10), dating from the late 1490s or early 1500s, and woven from a design attributed to Lazzaro Bastiani (fl. 1449–1512), is thought to have been made in a workshop in Venice or the Veneto. Probably woven by a single weaver, it is perhaps typical of the sort of small-scale production that may well have been done in workshops in a number of Italian cities during these years. An example of the continuing presence of itinerant Netherlandish weavers in Italy during this era is provided by two weavers, a Lionello and a

Zoanne Tedesco, who are recorded as working for the cathedral of San Petronio in Bologna between 1497 and 1503. Zoanne wove a *spalliera* decorated with plants and flowers and was then paid for adding medallions with patron saints. He was subsequently commissioned to make other small tapestries for the cathedral, of which two fragments survive, one depicting Saint Petronius, the other a trompe l'oeil book, evidently part of a lectern cover (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Lionello and Zoanne may be identical with two weavers of these names who subsequently appeared in documents as working for the cathedral of Modena from 1510.[85]

While such products are modest, they provide an indication of the sort of small-scale activity that may have been more widespread in Italy at this time. Evidence that there may also have been activity on a more significant scale is provided by one outstanding set of tapestries, the Trivulzio *Months* (see cat. no. 11). These were woven between about 1503 and 1509, from designs by Bartolomeo Suardi, called il Bramantino, for Gian Giacomo Trivulzio at a workshop established for this purpose at Vigevano near Milan under the direction of a weaver named Benedetto da Milano. That Benedetto and his assistants were capable of producing such a remarkable set certainly raises the possibility that they had undertaken sizable commissions before this for other patrons. The Trivulzio *Months* is the earliest surviving set of tapestries in which the key elements of Italian Renaissance aesthetics and thought were applied to a full-scale tapestry series, as opposed to smaller, picture-size panels. Synthesizing a broad spectrum of antique and modern sources, the set appears to have been intended as a celebration of the peace and prosperity that Trivulzio's leadership had brought to Milan following his capture of the city for the French in 1499. The complex iconography of this set provides an important demonstration of the extent to which some patrons and artists appear to have developed a more ambitious vision of the role that Italian-designed tapestries might play in contemporary court life, ten years or so before Pope Leo's commission to Raphael. Given the paucity of extant documentation, it is very difficult to assess the degree to which the Trivulzio *Months* was extraordinary and seminal in its own time, but in terms of scale and complexity, it may well have marked a new departure in the Italian vision of the tapestry medium, providing an important precedent for Julius II's *Heliodorus* commission (if such it was) and Leo X's *Acts of the Apostles.*

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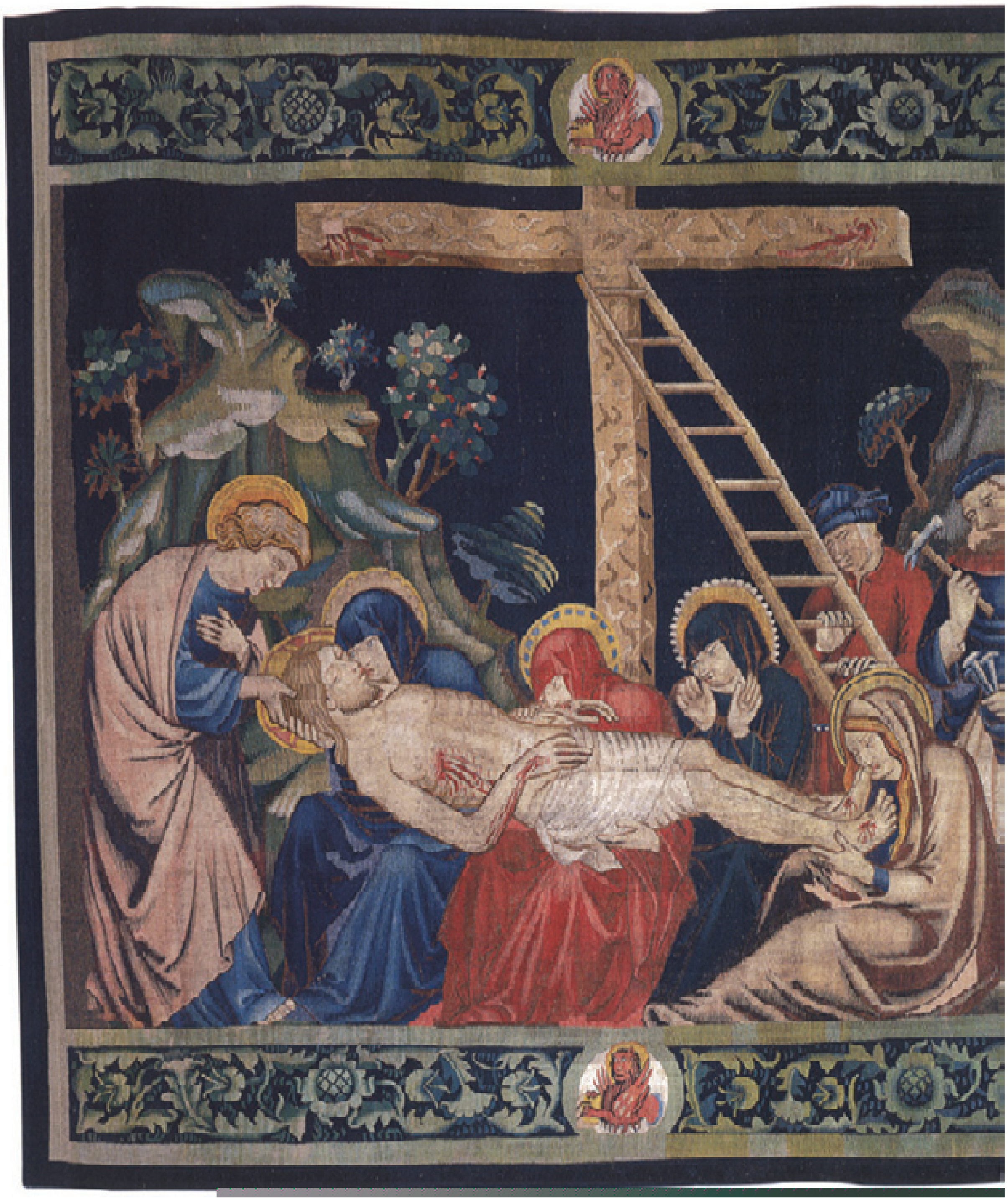
1. Forti Grazzini 2002.
2. For a survey of fifteenth-century Netherlandish tapestries in Italy, see Forti Grazzini 1990a. For Italian weaving, see esp. Göbel 1933–34; Viale Ferrero 1961a; Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 98–114; Forti Grazzini 1982b; Forti Grazzini 2002; Smit 2002.
3. *Liber Pontificalis* 1955–57, vol. 1, p. 499, vol. 2, pp. 13, 54, 62, 79, 111; Shearman 1972, pp. 6–7.
4. Lestocquoy 1978, p. 23.
5. Braghirolli 1881, pp. 7, 8, 41–43; Lestocquoy 1978, p. 105.
6. Müntz 1878–82, vol. 1, p. 63; Smit 1993a, p. 21; Mechelen 2000, p. 27.
7. "[D]iversis figuris ramagiorum, arborum, animalium, avium, pratorum, riperiarum, nubium et hujusmodi, ut est moris et decenciae dictae artis. Et in medio cujuslibet peciae debent poni arma dicti domini mei camerarii, de eodem opere facta"; Müntz 1878–82, vol. 2, p. 310.
8. Ibid., pp. 310–12; Lestocquoy 1978, p. 108.
9. Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 16–25.
10. Ibid., pp. 16, 21; E. Duverger in Bruges 1987, p. 38.
11. Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 16–18.
12. Ibid., pp. 29–34.
13. Ibid., p. 30; Christiansen 1998, p. 40.
14. Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 31–32.
15. Forti Grazzini 1991a; Bulst 1993.
16. Steppe 1961, p. 304; E. Duverger in Bruges 1987, p. 47.
17. Smit 1993b, p. 58, no. 7.
18. Gilbert 1980, p. 110.
19. "[M]igliore maestro di questi paesi"; "visti e molto bene intesi i vostri disegni e la vostra intenzione"; Grunzweig 1931, pp. 26–31; Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 90–91.
20. Grunzweig 1931, pp. 38–43; Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 90–92. For the 1463 and 1465 inventories of Piero's goods, see Spallanzani 1996, pp. 100–104.
21. Lestocquoy 1978, p. 92.
22. Grunzweig 1931, pp. 78–84.
23. Ibid., p. 98.
24. "[T]utta questa terra si puo dire è bisongnato l'abbi viste e ciaschuno s'achorda che mai viddè il più bello e migliore hovraggio"; Grunzweig 1931, pp. 98–100; Lestocquoy 1978, p. 93.
25. Grunzweig 1931, pp. 101–3; Lestocquoy 1978, p. 94.
26. Lestocquoy 1978, p. 93.
27. Vayra 1884, pp. 9–248; Schneebalg-Perelman 1971b, pp. 33–35.
28. "[C]ausa portandi et ostendendi certum designum regis Alesandri et certas alias tapezarias Ill.mo domino"; Forti Grazzini 1991a, p. 61; Rapp Buri and Stucky-Schürer 1998.
29. McKendrick 1991, p. 51; Raggio 1999, pp. 67–69, 185.
30. Braghirolli 1881, pp. 11–14; Göbel 1928, pp. 402–7; Adelson in Grove 1996, vol. 20, p. 323; Smit 2002.
31. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 16.
32. Ibid., pp. 37–39.
33. Cecchini 1962, p. 171; Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 108–9.
34. Müntz 1876a, p. 174; Müntz 1878–82, vol. 1, p. 180; Smit 1993a, p. 22.
35. Müntz 1876a, p. 174, n. 2; Lestocquoy 1978, p. 109; Smit 1993a, p. 22.
36. Müntz 1876a, p. 175; Müntz 1878–82, vol. 1, pp. 181–82; Smit 1993a, p. 22.
37. Müntz 1876a, p. 177; Müntz 1878–82, vol. 1, pp. 318–19; Smit 1993a, pp. 23, 25, 261–63.
38. Adelson 1990, p. 17.
39. "[V]ir utique probus et artifex excellentissimus in contexendis mirabilique artificio figurarum componendis pannis thapetalibus"; Conti 1875, pp. 95–96; Lestocquoy 1978, p. 106; Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 29; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 88.
40. Biscaro 1916, pp. 194–95.
41. Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 106–7, 110–11; Smit 1995.
42. Smit 1995, pp. 185–86.
43. Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 35, 215–26.

44. Ibid., p. 32.
45. Ibid., p. 38.
46. Ibid., pp. 37–38; Forti Grazzini 1991a, p. 53; Cavallo 1993, pp. 190–97, no. 9.
47. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 41.
48. "La camera et guardacamera dell'Ill. S.r mio sono apparate de razi bellissimi. In la camera gè un apparamento che comproe el marchese Leonello, che sono facte a certe *istorie de Hercules* pur de razi, che questoro che se ne intendono dicono che l'è degna cosa. Quelli de la guardacamera sono facti a Ferrara *a la divisa sua cum anzoli che la tene,* che nel vero non poteriano essere più belli, nè più vistosi"; Braghirolli 1881, p. 17.
49. "[M]aestri solenni et perfectissimi de l'arte dela tapezaria ad introdurre in dicta citade epsa arte de tapezaria, et banchali, et insegnarla ad qualunque persona la vogliano imparare"; Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 41.
50. Ibid., pp. 34–35.
51. Ibid., pp. 43–44.
52. Ibid., pp. 51–52.
53. Ibid., p. 53.
54. Ibid., p. 55.
55. Braghirolli 1881, p. 21.
56. Viale Ferrero 1961a, p. 14.
57. C. M. Brown in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 35.
58. Braghirolli 1881, pp. 21–23; Göbel 1928, p. 405.
59. Braghirolli 1881, p. 19.
60. Signorini 1985, pp. 249–51, 301–2; C. M. Brown in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 35.
61. Cicogna 1860, p. 405: Smit 1993b, p. 58, n. 3.
62. C. M. Brown in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 215.
63. Braghirolli 1881, p. 25; Lestocquoy 1978, p. 105; C. M. Brown in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 33–36, 43, n. 11.
64. Baxandall 1964, p. 104, n. 37; Baxandall 1971, p. 108; Smit 1993b, pp. 49–50, 58; Wolfthal 1989, p. 15.
65. Müntz 1876a, p. 177; Müntz 1878–82, vol. 1, pp. 318–19; Smit 1993a, pp. 23, 25, 261–63.
66. Müntz 1878–82, vol. 1, pp. 326–27; Smit 1993a, pp. 261–63.
67. "[C]ontra del re Porto de India con gente d'arme de cavalo et da piede tuti armati et alifanti con castele adosso et li omini che conbateano; con molti de loro, feriti de vertuni, pareano essere vivi, li omini e cavali tanti erano naturalmente bene lavorati"; Chambers 1992, p. 82, n. 248.
68. Rapp Buri and Stucky-Schürer 1998.
69. Chambers 1992, pp. 106, 150–54.
70. Müntz 1878–82, vol. 2, pp. 125–26; Smit 1993a, p. 26.
71. Müntz 1878–82, vol. 2, p. 121; Smit 1993a, p. 26.
72. Müntz 1878–82, vol. 3, pp. 262–63.
73. Müntz 1898, pp. 121–31; McKendrick 1987.
74. Smit 1993b, pp. 54–55.
75. Smit 1993b.
76. Forti Grazzini 1990a, p. 42.
77. Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 66, 78.
78. Christiansen 1998.
79. Ibid., p. 41, citing Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century,* trans. William George Waters and Emily Waters (reprint of 1963 ed., Toronto, 1997), p. 101.
80. Christiansen 1998, pp. 48–54.
81. Baxandall 1963, pp. 317, 319; Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 11, 14, n. 9.
82. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 10.
83. Forti Grazzini 1991a, pp. 61–62.
84. Müntz 1888, pp. 59–61, 83–94, 106–7; Schneebalg-Perelman 1971b, pp. 28–29.
85. Smit 1995.

7.

The Crucifixion and the Lamentation

From a set of the *Passion of Christ*
Design attributed to Niccolò di Pietro,
between 1408 and 1427
Probably woven by Netherlandish weavers working in Venice, ca. 1420–30
Wool
220 x 452 cm (6 ft. 2⅛ in. x 14 ft. 10 in.)
7–8 warps per cm
Museo della Basilica di San Marco, Venice



Provenance: Ca. 1420–30, presumably woven for the Basilica of San Marco; presumably among tapestries included in the general count of the Basilica collection in 16th- and early 17th-century inventories; probably to be identified with a group of *Passion* tapestries listed in the 1686 and early 18th-century inventories with information that they were hung in the sacristy for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday each year; certainly identifiable with *Passion* tapestries listed in 1745 and subsequent inventories; apparently in ceremonial use until 1823; 1887, restored; 1901–1981, displayed in the Basilica museum; 1982–94, restored in Florence; 1999, installed in the new Museo della Basilica di San Marco.[1]

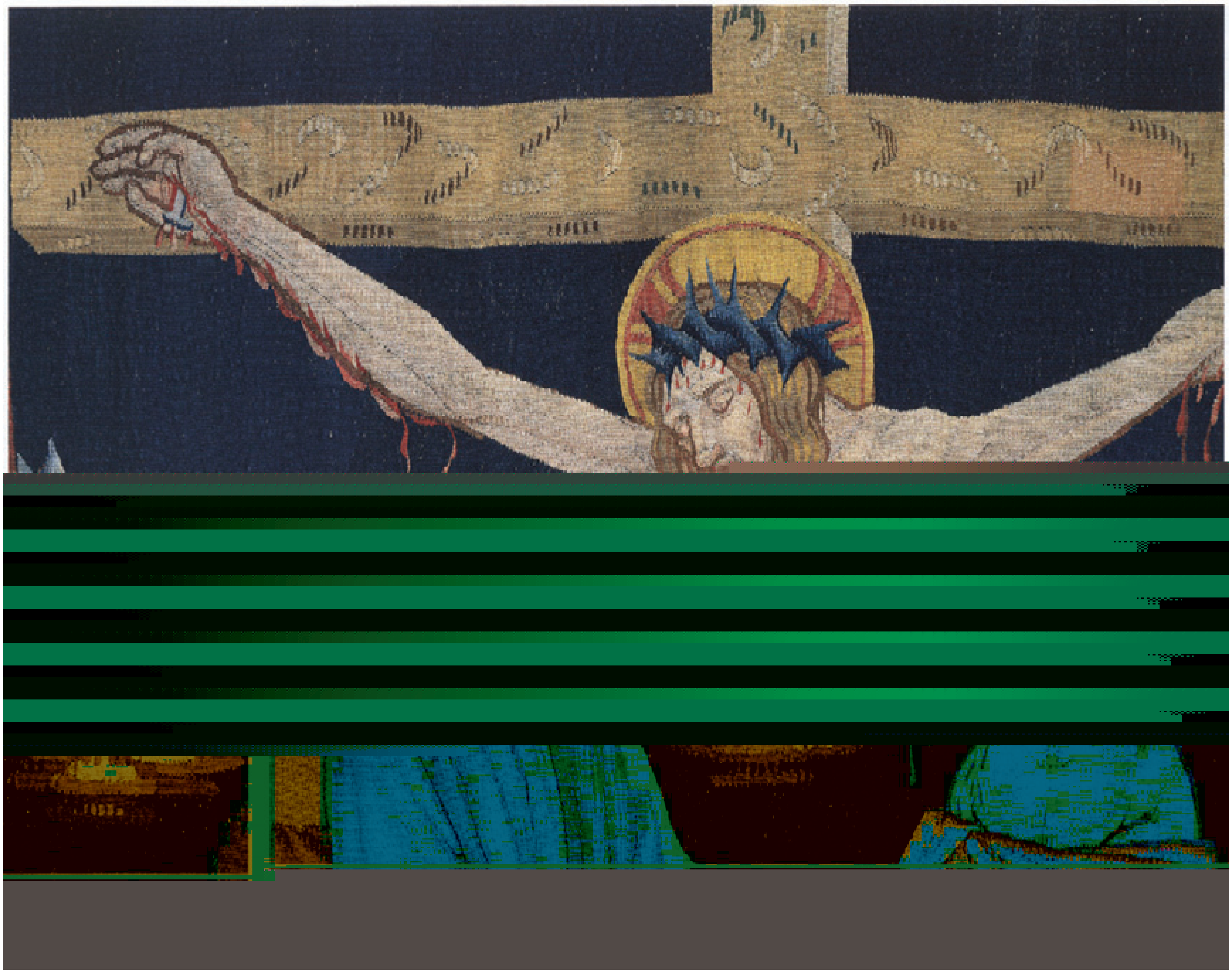
References: Urbani de Gheltof 1878, pp. 9–18; Ackerman 1925–26; Gallo 1926, pp. 23–27; Longhi 1946, p. 47; Pallucchini 1956; Pallucchini 1971, pp. 242–44; Stucky-Schürer 1972 (with bibliog.); Lestocquoy 1978, pp. 111–12; Christiansen 1986, pp. 110–11; De Marchi 1997; Dolcini 1997; Dolcini in Dolcini, Davanzo Poli, and Vio 1999, pp. 1–107, 175–91.

Condition: At some point in its history all the tapestries in the set were reversed, and the ends of the weft threads were sewn back into the fabric of the tapestry. Extensive restoration was undertaken in 1887, at which time large damaged areas appear to have been removed altogether and replaced with painted patches. The set was restored again in Florence between 1982 and 1994. During this campaign the set was restored to its correct orientation and areas of loss were rewoven. The Crucifixion scene was largely rewoven in the lower right corner, as were areas of the Virgin's cloak. In the Lamentation, one of the better-preserved sections of the *Passion* set, the largest portion of reweaving is in the rocks at the right and in the areas just inside the guard borders.[2]

Despite a considerable market for tapestries in Italy during the first third of the fifteenth century, very few are extant today. The survival of this large *Passion* sequence is all the more remarkable because of its early date, size, design, and condition. Thought to have been woven by Netherlandish weavers in Venice, it is the earliest known example of a set of tapestries woven from what were evidently Italian cartoons. The design is in marked contrast to that of contemporary Netherlandish production and is closely related to the work of artists active in Venice in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Despite extensive losses in the past and considerable modern reweaving, the panel depicting Christ's Crucifixion and the Lamentation retains much of its original impact in terms of both the bold use of blocks of colors and the simple monumentality of the design.

Description and Iconography

The San Marco set of the *Passion of Christ* is composed of four tapestries that depict thirteen scenes in ten separate sections, each framed by a border. The first tapestry depicts five events within three sections: the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the Arrest of Christ, Jesus before Caiaphas, and the Flagellation. The second



Detail of cat. no. 7

the Son of God at the moment of Christ's death (Matthew 27:54). Above their heads a mass of helmets and spears (one carrying a banner with the inscription SPQR, the Senate and the People of Rome) suggests a throng of soldiers. The wall that appears behind the cross represents the city walls of Jerusalem. The roundel in the center of the border below Christ's feet contains a skull, that of Adam, which was often included in medieval Crucifixion scenes as a reminder of the original sin that necessitated Christ's sacrifice and because, according to medieval legend, Adam was buried under Golgotha. Christ's body is larger than those of the attendant figures, and the image is made all the more striking by the way in which the mourning figures are massed to either side of the cross, so that the upper part of Christ's torso and the cross provide a striking silhouette against the dark ground.

The left scene depicts the Lamentation. Like the previous scene it is dominated by the cross that rises in the center, with the stains of Christ's blood clearly visible on the wood. The Virgin, now clothed in a blue robe (in the previous scene she was dressed in white), cradles Christ's head in her arms, with the help of Saint John. She kisses her son on the lips, her eyes fixed intently on his, according to the description of this event in Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes vitae Christi*. The weight of Christ's body is supported by the three Marys, one of whom kisses his hand while Mary Magdalen cradles and kisses his feet (as per the description in the *Meditationes*). The halos of the mourners are differentiated by decorative elements that do not conform to those in the previous scene, suggesting that the variation in color in the cloaks of the mourners is also not to be interpreted as a consistent indication of identity. To the rear, Joseph of Arimathea (in whose sepulcher Christ was laid to rest) holds the ladder, while Nicodemus carries the nails that held Christ to the cross and the hammer with which he removed them. In the background the cross is flanked on either side by rocky outcrops with scrubby bushes, an arrangement that echoes the massing of the crowd in the previous scene and heightens the visual impact of the cross and the bloody stains that it bears.[4]

The scenes are surrounded by a border composed of a frieze of scrolling acanthus leaves and stylized flowers, green on blue, with squares and roundels in the corners and centers depicting a winged lion emerging from water, with the Gospels clasped between its front paws, the *leone in moleca* of Venice (symbol of Saint Mark the Evangelist).

As previous commentators have noted, although the design retains elements of a Byzantine tradition, such as the presentation of Christ as a figure larger than those around him, the narrative is largely devoid of the traditional symbolic content of the Byzantine tradition.[5] Instead, the narrative is based on a repertory of scenes that developed in northern Italy and Germany during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries under the influence of such meditative studies as Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes vitae Christi,* in which the focus is on elements of Christ's Passion that relate to the eucharistic ceremonies (most obviously in the angels collecting Christ's blood).[6] The treatment of the subject in the Italian tradition differs from that which characterizes contemporary northern European representations, in which the tendency was toward a more graphic presentation of the brutal details of Christ's suffering and torture (as demonstrated, for example, in the contemporaneous Netherlandish scenes of the *Passion of Christ* now at La Seo, Saragossa).[7] The San Marco *Passion* cycle is unique among early fifteenth-century tapestries in that it has a border, a feature that appears to have been inspired by contemporary frescoes, like those in the Cappella degli Innocenti in Santa Caterina in Treviso by Niccolò di Pietro, one of the artists to whom the design of the series has been plausibly attributed.[8]

The original arrangement of the San Marco *Passion* cycle has been the subject of much discussion. Writing in the early 1970s, Stucky-Schürer recognized that the orientation of all the tapestries had been reversed at some point in their history.[9] The reason for this reversal is unknown, but it may have been because the front of the tapestries had become faded through continuous exposure.[10] Alternatively, the reversal may have been occasioned by a change in the location in which the set was hung, rendering a reading from left to right more appropriate. Stucky-Schürer suggested that the *Passion* set originally comprised two tapestries, each composed of five sections. The recent restoration of the set revealed that the tapestries were actually woven in four separate panels, as evidenced by the difference in height and the variation in the warp count among the different panels.[11]

Patron and Original Location

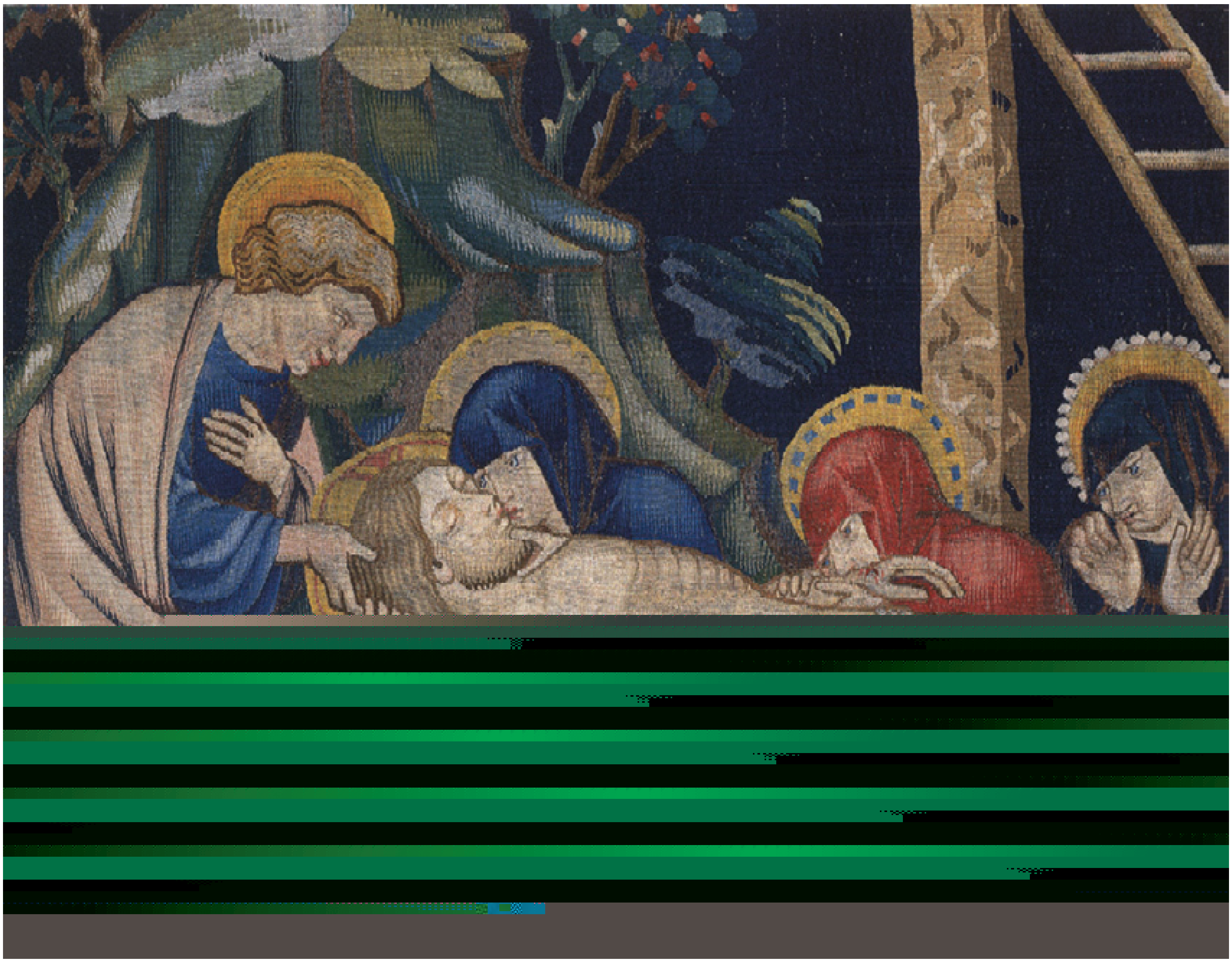
The earliest record of the San Marco *Passion* tapestries dates from the seventeenth century, when they were recorded in the sacristy of the Basilica. Early commentators assumed that they arrived among a collection of twenty-eight tapestries that were bequeathed to the Basilica in 1501 by Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zen, but this suggestion can probably be discounted as they are not among items listed in an inventory taken at his death.[12] Although the earlier whereabouts of the set is undocumented, the motif of the *leone in moleca* in the center and corners of each of the borders, combined with the absence of any other heraldic elements, has led subsequent commentators to assume that the commission for the set must have originated directly from the Procuratore di San Marco or the Signoria Dogal, rather than from a specific doge or Venetian family. As Stucky-Schürer first noted, such a commission would have been highly appropriate. Venice was the gateway for western Europeans making the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the cult of the Holy Sepulcher was celebrated there with some elaboration until well into the eighteenth century.[13] With its emphasis on the dramatic events immediately preceding and following the Crucifixion (including the appearance of the angel to the mourning women at the sepulcher), the set would thus have been especially appropriate for celebrations relating to the cult at the Basilica.

The sizes of the four *Passion* tapestries, two long and two short panels, indicate that from its conception the set was intended for a specific location within the Basilica of San Marco. By the time the tapestries can be plausibly identified in seventeenth-century documentation, they were located in the sacristy, which led Stucky-Schürer to assume that they were made as decorations for this venue. Our knowledge of the dimensions and construction of the original sacristy is limited because it was destroyed by fire and reconstructed in 1486. As Dolcini has recently argued, however, this may be a moot point because it is not certain that the celebrations associated with the cult of the Holy Sepulcher incorporated the sacristy until a date later than the conception of the tapestries. Comparing the common practice in other medieval religious institutions, Dolcini has suggested that the tapestries are more likely to have been made for display in the choir of the Basilica during Passion week.[14] Their removal to the sacristy was probably instigated by the creation of a new set of the *Story of Saint Mark.* This set was woven in Florence from designs by Jacopo Sansovino between 1550 and 1553 and was indeed used in the Basilica's choir,[15] which provides circumstantial evidence for the location and the role played by the earlier set in the preceding period. The similar dimensions of the two sets, both comprising two long and two short pieces, also support a choir location for the *Passion.* The *Saint Mark* set is 21 meters long, and the *Passion* set is 23 meters long.[16]

Although many precious objects from the sacristy were sold or burned to extract their metallic thread content to raise money for repairs to the Basilica in the early nineteenth century, the *Passion* cycle, woven only in wool, seems to have escaped notice.

Design

The tapestry demonstrates certain traits that link it to early fifteenth-century Netherlandish tapestry production, such as the character of the leaves on the stylized shrubs in the background and the small lines and whorls executed in striated half-tones to represent the grain of the wood of the cross. The design lacks, however, the decorative and graphically brutal details that characterize northern European representations of the Passion during the early medieval period. It also lacks the narrative device common to many Netherlandish tapestries of this era whereby individual scenes are separated one from another by landscape details. Instead, it combines elements of two other visual traditions, of which the most predominant is a Byzantine formula adopted by Venetian artists during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.



Detail of cat. no. 7

This influence manifests itself in various ways: the pared-down, monumental style of the figures; the contrast in scale between the figure of Christ and the lesser figures; the boldly colored backgrounds; the limited and schematic representation of architecture; and the iceberglike rocks.[17] On the other hand, the design demonstrates elements of the International Gothic style as manifested in the work of such artists as Antonio Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano, in particular some of the decorative details in the architecture, the bold conceptualization of figures, and the individualization of facial expressions and hand gestures.

This mix of influences is especially marked in the Crucifixion scene, in which the balanced, simple composition with the cross in front of the city wall derives from a Byzantine tradition taken over by Venetian artists, one demonstrated in a very similar arrangement in the mosaic *Crucifixion* in San Marco that presumably provided one iconographic source for this design.[18] Equally, the articulation of the personal suffering of Christ reflects a later development toward greater emotional intensity and narrative drama. Here, as in the preceding scene, Christ on the way to Calvary, and in the Lamentation, the dramatic emphasis is on the wordless dialogue between Christ and the Virgin.

On the basis of this evidence, previous commentators have generally concurred in attributing the design to a Venetian cartoonist. In attempting to identify the designer of this series, there has been much debate regarding the possible involvement of two of the leading artists active in Venice in the early fifteenth century. Longhi attributed the design to Zanino di Pietro (Giovanni di Francia, fl. 1389–1448), who worked in Bologna between 1389 and 1406 before moving to Venice, where he directed a highly successful workshop, carrying on a style that reflected the innovations of Gentile da Fabriano.[19] In studies published during the 1950s Pallucchini reattributed the design to Zanino's contemporary Niccolò di Pietro (fl. 1394–1430), noting that its monumental quality and pared-down drama embodied a new departure from the International Gothic of Pisanello and

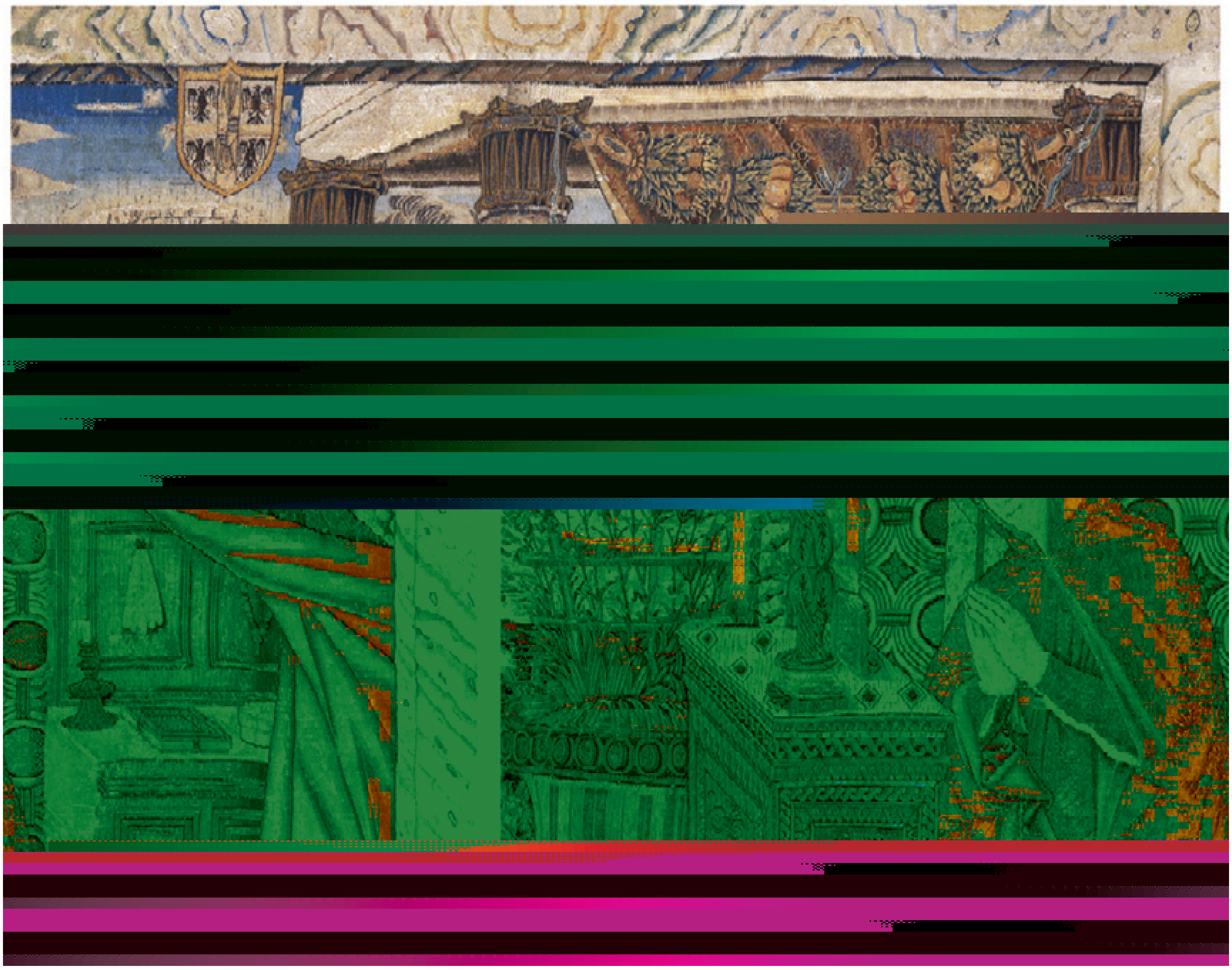
Detail of cat. no. 8

side, with puffed sleeves made of red cut-pile velvet. The second Mary, to the right of the Virgin (at the Virgin's left), appears to be stretching her arms wide in a gesture of anguish. She wears a cloak over a sumptuous cloth-of-gold bodice that is unlaced over her midsection. Saint John, wearing a red robe over a shot-silk green tunic, kneels beyond her, cradling Christ's left hand and forearm in his hands. Joseph of Arimathea kneels at the right, wearing a red turban and a blue gown and carrying the nails with which Christ was crucified in one hand, the other raised in sorrow. Christ's lower legs and feet are supported by Mary Magdalen, who wears an orange-colored dress with puffed sleeves made from blue cut-pile velvet cloth of gold.

To the right of this main group a rocky hillside is visible where two men are removing a stone slab from the entrance of the sepulcher in which Christ is to be interred. The duplicate weaving of this design now in Cleveland has a pointed or horn shape above the door of the sepulcher, which was probably present on the Thyssen-Bornemisza tapestry and destroyed by later conservation. The horned shape presumably indicates that the sepulcher belonged to Joseph of Arimathea, a Jew, thus providing an implicit reference to the contrast between the Old Law and the New Law.[3] Immediately to the left of the sepulcher, a round temple is visible on the top of a hill, possibly an allusion to the Temple of Jerusalem.[4] A hilly landscape extends behind the heads of the figures in the main group. The narrow space in the foreground is articulated with small pebbles and flowers. The tapestry is surrounded by a trompe l'oeil wood frame set with cabochon jewels.

Patron

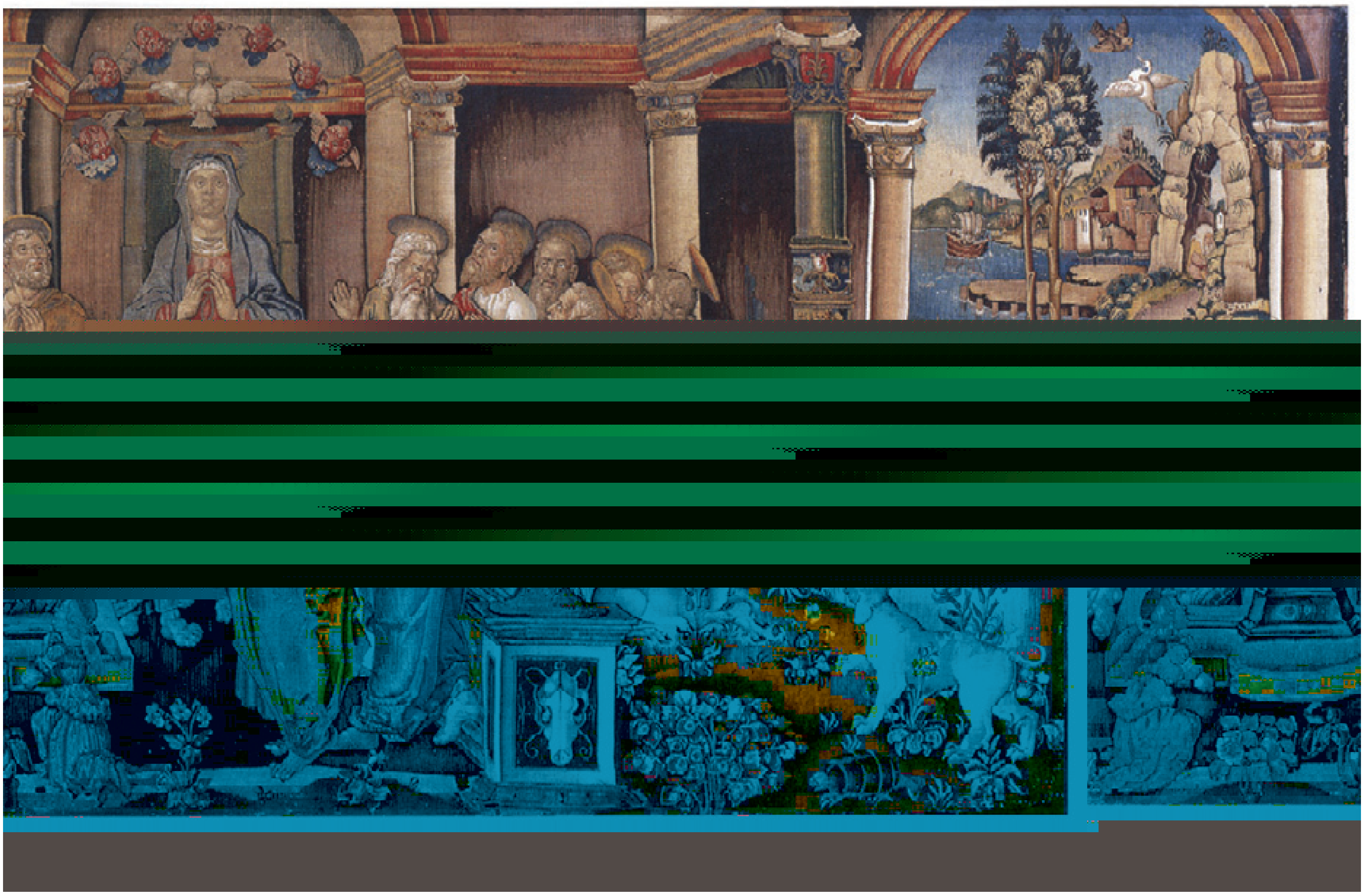
Venturi was the first to identify the tapestry as a product of the Ferrarese workshops from a cartoon by Tura, and he subsequently recognized the likely link between this tapestry and a documented payment to Ercole I d'Este's court tapissier, Rubinetto di Francia (fl. 1457–84), for a tapestry altar frontal woven in wool, silk, and gold (metallic thread) that was delivered to the



Detail of cat. no. 9

by an artist working for the Gonzaga. Tietze-Conrat noted that there was nothing distinctive about the design to support an attribution to Mantegna rather than an artist working under his influence, an opinion that has been followed by most subsequent commentators.[6] While the landscape, marble architecture, and trompe l'oeil marble frame are vaguely Mantegnesque, the simple frontal arrangement of the figures, the schematic nature of the architectural elements, and the poorly rendered perspective do not suggest the direct involvement of the master. The assumption that this work was created by a designer working under his influence therefore seems more appropriate.

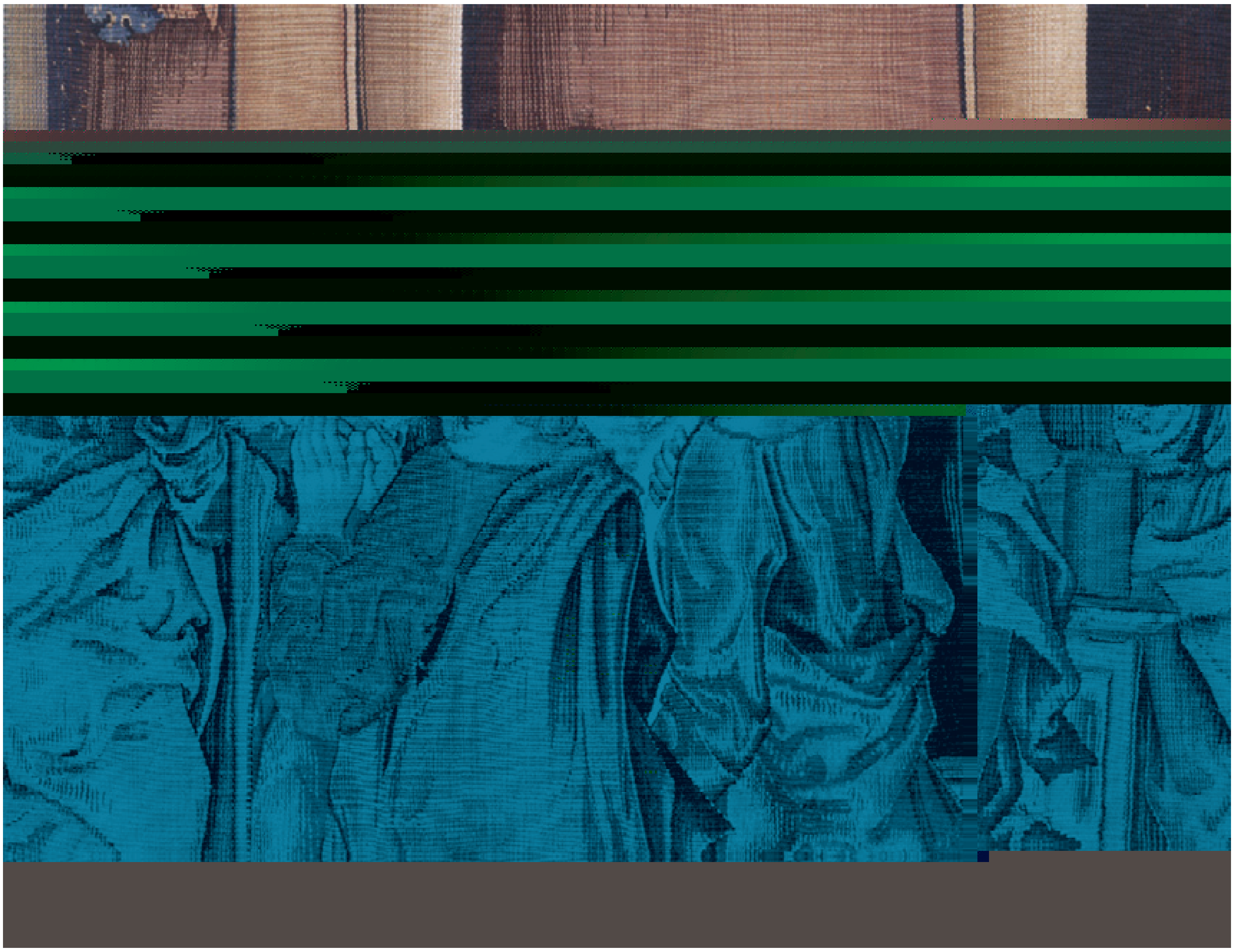
What then of the 1469 request to Mantegna to draw a male and a female "galline de India," and the fact that one such bird appears in the foreground of this tapestry? Although the coats of arms of Francesco II suggest that the tapestry was made between 1484 and 1519, it is conceivable that it was woven from a cartoon created about 1470 for Ludovico II or that it was in fact woven at that date and that the arms were a later adaptation.[7] In that case, we might speculate that the design of the tapestry, which is relatively small, could have been created in 1469—in an era when we know that workshops in Mantua were weaving tapestries in silk and metallic thread—by an artist working under Mantegna's influence and that it was indeed for this commission that Ludovico II requested Mantegna's aid. However, in the absence of any comparative body of Mantuan tapestries, it is impossible to develop this line of argument further. There is no firm evidence that Mantegna's drawings were for this design—they could have been for an unrelated commission—and the generic style of the design provides little evidence to anchor a precise date more specifically within the period 1469 to 1519. The most plausible explanation for the "galline" in this composition is that it was copied by the artist of this design from a previous model, whether Mantegna's drawings or the cartoon or tapestry for which they were created.



10

tapestry weaver by the addition of decorative elements such as the flowers in the garden, the character of the main composition and the figures is more idiosyncratic than Augusti allows. As Lucco proposed, the cartoonist may be identified with Lazzaro Bastiani, a minor but interesting and long-lived Venetian painter, who was documented as a master by 1449 and lived until 1512.[5] Bastiani incorporated in his works most of the elements characteristic of Venetian painting during the second half of the quattrocento. By the later years of his activity, he had absorbed influences from Jacopo Bellini to Cima da Conegliano, from the Paduan style of Francesco Squarcione and Mantegna, to the Venetian style of Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini, Gentile Bellini, Antonello da Messina, Giovanni Bellini, and Carpaccio.[6] As is documented in 1508, he also examined the frescoes by Giorgione and Titian on the exterior walls of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Bastiani reputedly worked as a cartoonist, both in the field of mosaics (for the Basilica of San Marco) and for other mediums: Collobi attributed to him the *modello* for an embroidered antependium with stories of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ.[7]

The present tapestry is connected in many ways to Bastiani's paintings after 1475–80 with their iconic and geometric character and taste for perspective. These aspects reflect the blend that the painter achieved in his mature works of Byzantine forms with Renaissance concepts of harmony and spatiality. The use of an architectural setting to articulate the composition and isolate the figures and the religious episodes from the landscape at the sides may be found in his *Nativity* (1480) from the church of Sant'Elena all'Isola; the *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* (ca. 1480); the *Donation of the Relic of the True Cross* (ca. 1480–90) from the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista (all now at the Accademia, Venice); and the *Coronation of the Virgin with Saint Bernard and Saint Ursula* (1490; Pinacoteca, Bergamo).[8] The architectonic and balanced distribution of figures is also characteristic of Bastiani's mature oeuvre, as are the serious and inexpressive faces with small, open eyes and long, straight noses, and the crimped, metallic appearance of the hair and folds of the mantles—typical of painting in Padua—as demonstrated, for example, by the *Glory of Saint*



Detail of cat. no. 10

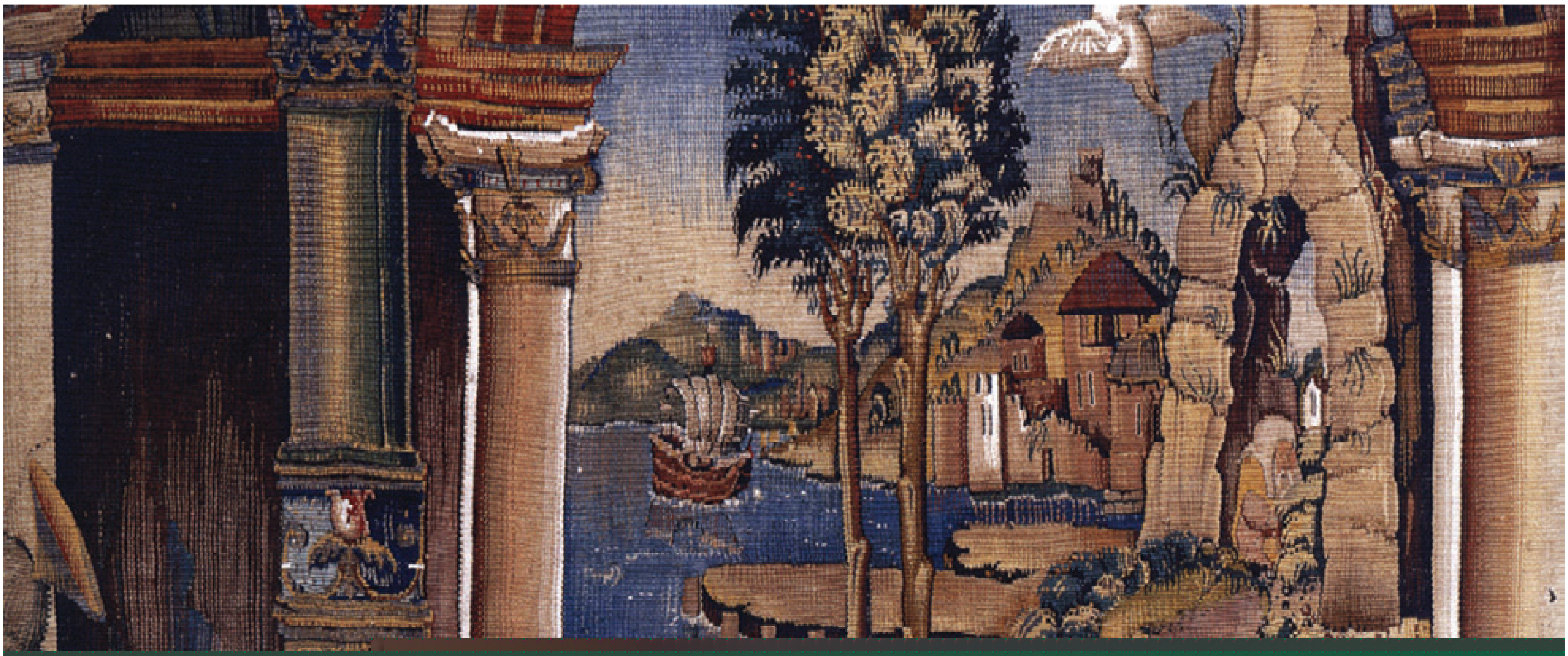
Anthony and *Christ and the Cananaean Woman* (both Accademia, Venice).[9] The rigid frontality of the Virgin in the antependium, her arms expanded by the rolled sleeves of her mantle, may be compared with the central panel of Bastiani's triptych of about 1485 in the Howorth collection.[10] The animals and pastoral elements of the landscapes also have parallels in Bastiani's paintings, as for example in his *Nativity* (Accademia, Venice) and the *Blessing Christ* (Galleria Estense, Modena).[11]

In attributing the *Pentecost* design to Bastiani, Lucco proposed a date of about 1490–1500. However, we know that Bastiani was still active as a painter in the first years of the sixteenth century and that he executed three standards for the Basilica of San Marco in 1505. Since the altar of the Virgin in Santo Spirito in Isola, probably the first destination of the antependium, was consecrated in 1505, an analogous dating for the lost cartoon and for its weaving may therefore be appropriate.

Place of Manufacture

Some figurative details, possibly inserted by the weaver, reveal a Netherlandish taste, so the cartoon may have been sent to the Netherlands to be copied in the tapestry medium. Equally, the divergence of the colors and the style of weaving from those of contemporary Netherlandish tapestries suggest that it is more likely that the tapestry was made in Venice, possibly by a Netherlandish émigré. The old but still fundamental study by Urbani de Gheltof shows that throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries various Northern weavers settled and worked in Venice, making tapestries after Venetian designs.[12] Though the names of tapestry weavers working in Venice about 1505 are not recorded and no tapestry is definitely known to have been executed in the Serenissima at that time, the existence of a Venetian production is likely, as seen in an earlier set of the *Passion* made for the Basilica of San Marco (see cat. no. 7).

Detail of cat. no. 10



11.

December

From a twelve-piece set of the *Months* (also known as the Trivulzio *Months*)
Design by Bramantino, 1501–4
Woven in the workshop of Benedetto da Milano, Vigevano, between 1503 and 1509
Wool and silk
447 x 503 cm (14 ft. 8 in. x 16 ft. 6 in.)
5–6 warps per cm
Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata, Castello Sforzesco, Milan (39)

PROVENANCE: Between 1503 and 1509, made for Gian Giacomo Trivulzio; 1521, lent by Gian Francesco Trivulzio (nephew of Gian Giacomo) to his cousin; 1535, listed in inventory of objects that Gian Francesco received from his guardian Anna d'Avalos; by descent in the Trivulzio family; probably conserved in the mid-19th century; 1871, exhibited to the public for the first time at the Salone dei Giardini Pubblici; 1935, exhibited with other objects from the Trivulzio collection at the Musei di Castello and subsequently purchased from Prince Luigi Alberico Trivulzio on behalf of the museum; World War II, evacuated to Sondalo (Sondrio); 1956, returned to the Castello; 1957, conserved in Florence; 1998, conserved in Milan.[1]

REFERENCES: Suida 1943; M. Viale in Turin 1952, pp. 70–71; Suida 1953, pp. 73–81; Valsecchi 1968; Mulazzani in Dell'Acqua and Mulazzani 1978, pp. 88–92; Forti Grazzini 1982a; Forti Grazzini 1984 (with bibliog.); Pertegato 1993.

CONDITION: Tapestry is faded, especially in lighter spectrum of colors and skin tones. Extensive reweaving in architectural areas, particularly in the vaulting of the two right-hand arches, the doorway immediately behind the man with an ax in the right foreground, the facing of the pillars supporting the distant arches, and the left-hand tower of the castle visible in the distance. Overall tonal balance and pictorial integrity are relatively well preserved.[2]

A virtuoso exercise in design and a veritable compendium of Italian Renaissance thought and iconography, the Trivulzio *Months* is the earliest surviving set of tapestries in which the key elements of Italian aesthetics—temporal and spatial unity—have been applied to a full-scale tapestry series (as opposed to smaller picture-size panels). Woven for Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, a marshal of France, marquis of Vigevano, and governor general of Lombardy, between about 1503 and 1509, from designs by Bramantino, one of the leading artists in Milan at this time, in the workshop of Benedetto da Milano established for this purpose in Vigevano, the set synthesizes a broad spectrum of antique and modern sources in a scheme that appears to have been intended as a celebration of the peace and prosperity that Trivulzio's leadership brought to Milan (Trivulzio captured Milan for the French in 1499).

Description

Although the theme of the months and seasons is known to have been the subject of a number of tapestry series in the fifteenth century, this is the earliest extant example in which a separate tapestry was devoted to each month. Each panel conforms to a uniform tripartite structure, in which the lower register is occupied by peasants engaged with a task or festivity traditionally associated with that month. This activity takes place around a central personification of that month, who is generally raised above their heads on a pedestal. The upper register of each tapestry is occupied to the left and right by two coronas representing the sun and the appropriate zodiacal sign for the month and, in the center, a cartouche displaying the arms, *impresa*, and motto of the patron.

The *December* panel represents one of the most commonly illustrated themes associated with the month in late medieval and Renaissance illustrated calendars, the slaughter of swine. The scene takes place in a large, stone-vaulted room. Instead of the literal act of slaughter that normally occupies the focal point of such scenes, the center of the tapestry is dominated by a large copper cauldron over a fire. The impending deed is suggested by the figures standing in the immediate foreground: at the right, a man with an ax next to two pigs that are presumably enjoying their last meal and, at the left, a man inflating a pig's bladder to serve as a balloon for a small child. A peasant on his knees tends the central cauldron, while the contents are being stirred by a woman whose train of thought is suggested by the string of sausages she is regarding, somewhat dreamily, as a young man embraces her from behind. Behind this couple a group of peasants is bringing offerings to the personification of the month, who stands on a plinth in the center of the room in front of the pillar that supports the stone vaults. December appears as an old bearded man, whose feet are tied by a rope, a sickle in his hands. This is a representation of the god Saturn, inspired by a passage in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius (fl. ca. 430), first published in Venice in 1472, of which a copy is documented in the library of Renato Trivulzio, Gian Giacomo's brother.[3] According to Macrobius, the rope tying the god's feet alludes to temporal continuity. The view through the arches at the back of the room is dominated by a large fortress, in a wintry landscape of bare trees and snow-covered mountains. Below, a plaque carries the inscription: GAVDERE PARTO/CVM GREGE/CASA FRVI/AVCVPE/ET SVES/SALIRE/PROLIS INGERIT/DECEMBER OPERAM INVERTIBVS (December makes one take pleasure, in the house, in the newborn sheep and the young hen birds. One salts the pork, and it [December] makes even the youngsters lazy).

The top third of the tapestry follows the composition and format of the rest of the set. The right side features a corona with the symbol of Capricorn, the appropriate zodiacal sign of the month, which is derived from a print that appeared with the *Astronomicon* of Igino, first published in Venice in 1482.[4] The corona in the upper left corner encircles a representation of the sun, the width and opacity of the corona contrasting with the diminishing coronas of the spring and summer months, in accordance with the astrological belief of the time.[5] The central cartouche is outlined by a thin tracery border, in contrast to those for the more clement months, which are framed by vines (March), ribbons (April), or swags of leaves. It features the coat of arms of Gian Giacomo Trivulzio (bars of gold and green), his *impresa*—a siren breaking a file on a diamond—his motto, NETES MAI (probably an abbreviation for "non temere," or "non ti smarrire": he has no fear, or he does not stray), and the inscription IO IA.TRIVS.MAR.VIGLI.FRANCIE.MARES (Gian Giacomo Trivulzio marchese di Vigevano maresciallo di Francia—the title with which Trivulzio was rewarded by Louis XII in September 1499).[6]

The border of the tapestry is also consistent with those of the other pieces in the set, comprising a tracery pattern that acts as a frame to a repeating sequence of five coats of arms. In the corners and center of each side are those of the patron himself (bands of green and gold, flanked by the initials IO and IA for Joannes Jacobus). These alternate with four other arms; those of his son Gian Nicolò (a white cross of Saint Andrea on a red ground and the initials IO and NI for Joannes Nicolaus); those of the Colleoni family of Bergamo (with the initials MAR and RG for Margherita, first wife of Gian Giacomo, who died in 1485); those of the Avalos family (quartered arms with castles and lions and initials BE and ATR for Beatrice, whom Gian Giacomo married in 1487); and those of the family of Gonzaga di Castiglione (quartered arms with eagles and the initials PA and ULA for Paola, who married Gian Nicolò in 1501).[7] The border thus provides a celebration of the dynastic fortunes of the Trivulzio family.

Iconography

This is the earliest known tapestry series in which each month is treated as a separate scene and the first tapestry series in which the emphasis of each scene involved the representation of quotidian activity rather than the gods and symbols associated with that month.[8] The iconographic sources were first examined in detail by Valsecchi, who related the scheme of this set to late antique and medieval models. Of these, the closest to the Trivulzio *Months* are the frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara, which recall the compositional formula of the so-called *Calendario dei figli di Costantino,* probably derived from an antique model, in which the activities of the humans seen in the lower registers of the fresco reflected the power of the deities whose influence was believed to determine sublunar activity in that month. But as Mulazzani also demonstrated, many of the pastoral scenes are closely related to motifs that were common in Lombard tradition, particularly that of manuscript illumination, as evidenced by extant manuscripts of the *Tacuini sanitatis* (for example, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS ser. nova 2644) and the *Libro d'Ore Borromeo* (1471–74; Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, MS S.P. 42).[9]

Since its earliest public display, critics have noted the distinctive way in which the Trivulzio *Months* panels combine scenes of earthy realism with esoteric references to classical models and iconography, but they have placed varying emphases on the realism and idealization of the scenes. Valsecchi interpreted the scenes as a celebration of serfdom and manual labor, whereas Mulazzani related the set to the early-sixteenth-century vogue in Lombardy for images of pastoral activity that accompanied the relatively stable political and economic situation the region enjoyed during the years of French rule.[10] The most profound reading has been provided by Forti Grazzini, who placed the set in the context of what we know of Trivulzio's character and status. Forti Grazzini suggested that the series is a symbolic celebration of Trivulzio's political role, as the creator and protector of the peace in Lombardy, worked out in a complicated conceit that was informed both by Trivulzio's love of classical literature and by his interest in astrology (as documented by the 1507 dedication to Gabriello Pirovano's *Defensio astronomiae,* which acclaims him as a fervent follower of astrology). Indeed, it must have been this interest that suggested the conceit of the tapestries. According to Forti Grazzini's analysis, each scene represents an idealized vision of peasant activity, in part based on contemporary reality but frequently resonant with symbolism and associations derived from classical sources, first and foremost the *Georgics* of Virgil. These contemporary scenes and classical resonances join to evoke a new golden age under the combined influence of the sun and the planets, as represented by the coronas in the upper fields of the tapestry, and, equally, Trivulzio's influence, as represented by the central cartouche in the center of the upper register. After all, it was through Trivulzio's support for the French that peace and prosperity had returned to Lombardy after the 1499–1500 war.[11] As Forti Grazzini demonstrates, while many of the subjects of the monthly activities were inspired by local Lombard models, the choice seems equally to have been determined by the possibility that such scenes could be used to invoke classical models. Such is the case with *December,* where the slaughtering of pigs provided Bramantino with a basis for introducing the atmosphere of the carnival and, in this way, evoking Saturnalia, the festival of Saturn celebrated in ancient Roman times during December.

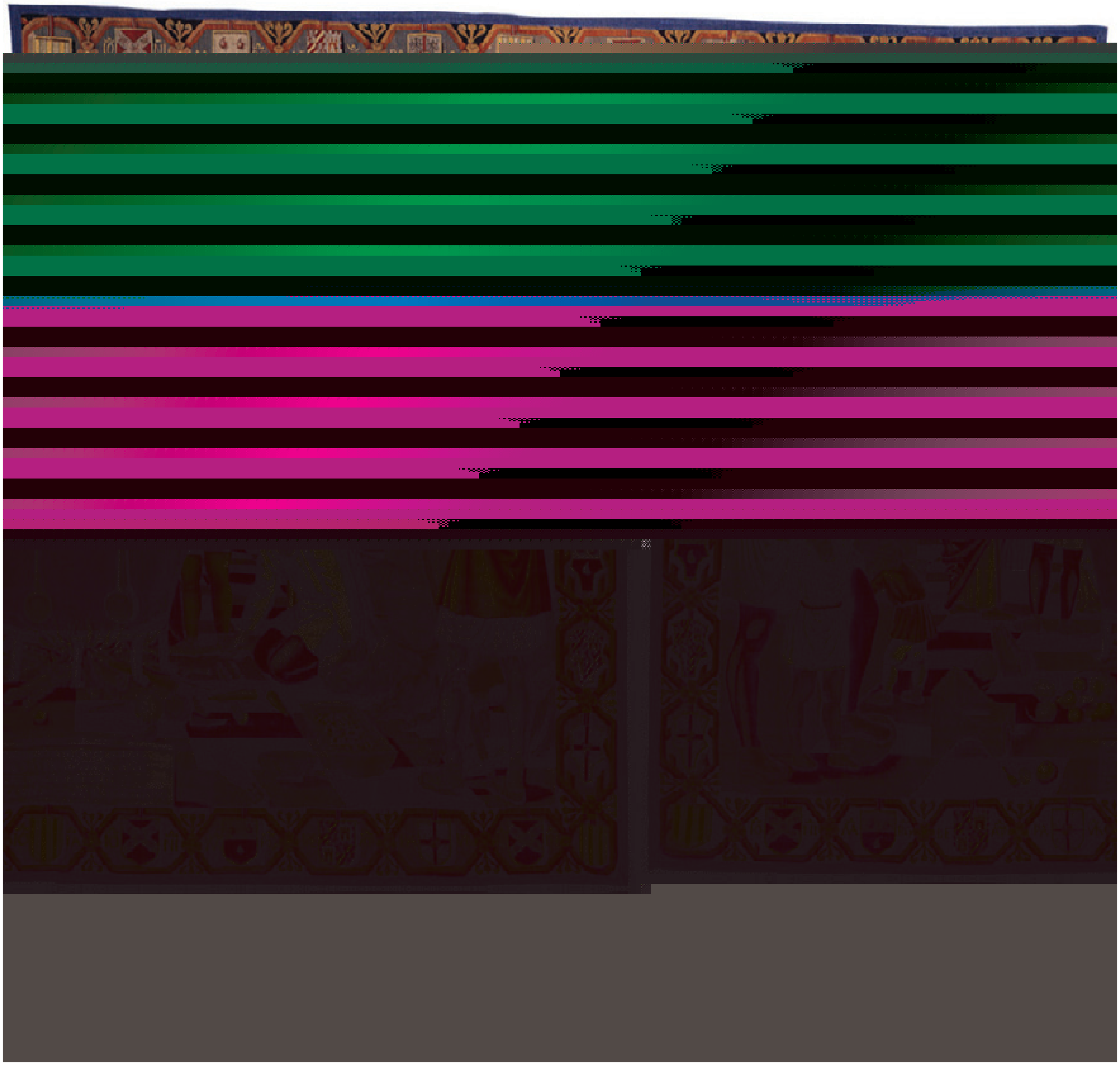
Conception and Composition

The tapestry design of the Trivulzio *Months* was innovatory in the devotion of a single tapestry to each month; in the blending of realistic representation with classical sources; and in a number of compositional respects. Most important, it was the first large-scale series (that we know of, at any rate) conceived as an all-enveloping scheme, en suite. As Forti Grazzini has commented, Bramantino evidently took great pains to ensure the unified conception of the series, structurally, coloristically, and iconographically, creating a grand illusionistic scheme in which each scene places the viewer on the same level as the peasants, below the personification of the month, who in turn stands immediately below the Trivulzio arms.[12] As such, the Trivulzio *Months* provided an extraordinary break with the traditional compositional conventions and traditions of tapestry design, anticipating the innovations of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* by at least a decade. Although we know too little about what has been lost (for example, Mantegna's acclaimed tapestries woven for the Gonzaga), it is probably safe to say that this was the most ambitious application of these signature concerns of contemporary Italian aesthetics to the tapestry medium. Indeed, it must have been one of the most ambitious applications of these principles in any figurative medium at that date.

The location for which the set was intended is unknown—it may have been created for the castle in Vigevano and then transferred to the Palazzo Trivulzio on the Via Rugabella in Milan. The set appears to have been conceived with a counterclockwise structure. This is suggested by the direction in which the deities point and by the way the scene depicted at the left of the month of January continues into the right of the month of February (fig. 52).[13]

Patron

Gian Giacomo Trivulzio (1441–1518) belonged to a prominent landowning family in Milan, where he was a favorite of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza. A condottiere by profession, Trivulzio received generous remuneration for his service to the Sforza before entering that of Ferdinand I, king of Naples, in 1486. In 1498 he transferred his allegiance to Charles VIII, king of France, and in 1499 he captured the duchy of Milan for Louis XII, for which he was created a marshal



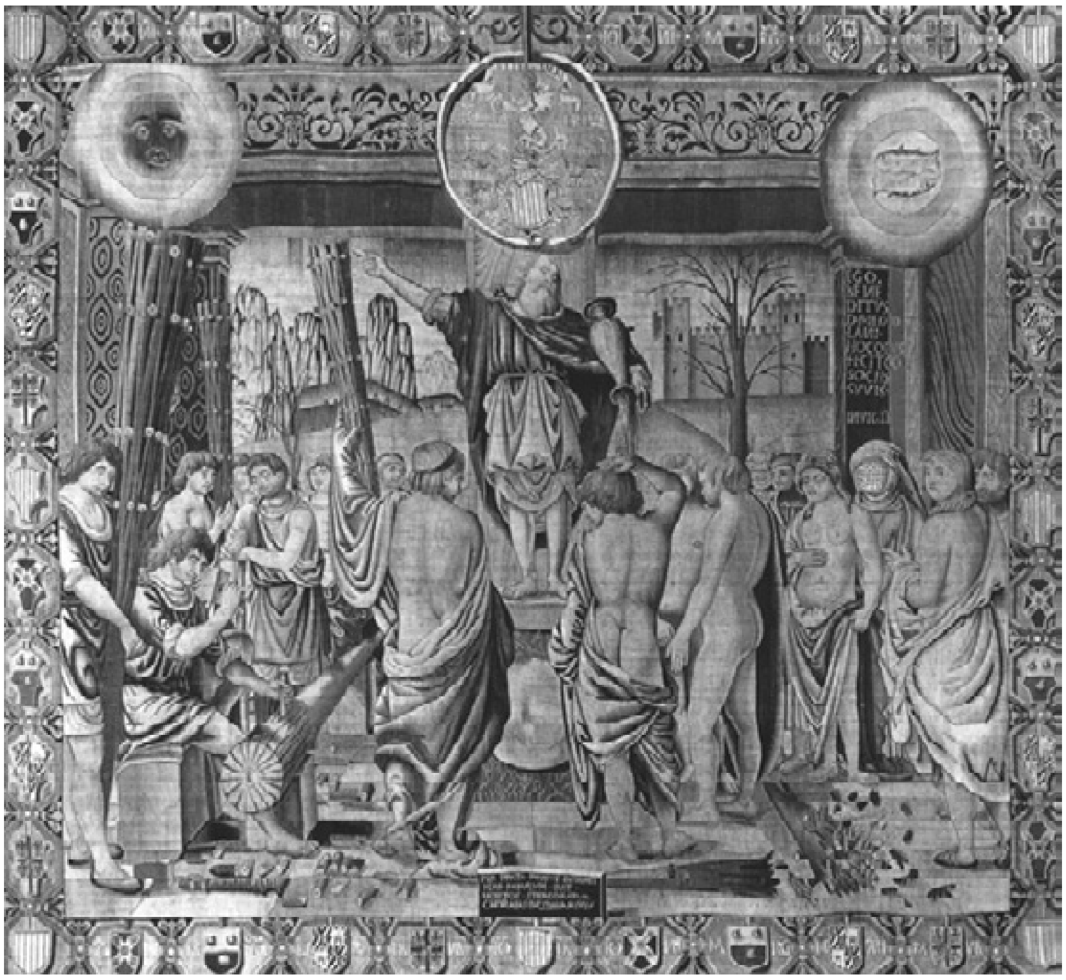


Fig. 52. *February* from the *Months* (Trivulzio *Months*). Tapestry designed by Bramantino, woven in the workshop of Benedetto da Milano, Vigevano, between 1503 and 1509. Wool and silk, 447 x 503 cm. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata, Castello Sforzesco, Milan

of France, marquis of Vigevano, and governor general of Lombardy (December 18, 1499). In the years following the 1499–1500 war Trivulzio became a notable patron of the arts and letters of Milan. From 1469 he had constructed a sizable palace in Milan (destroyed), which was extensively altered and redecorated after 1500. His interest in antiquity was reflected in the ancient inscriptions with which the palace was decorated, and he also collected manuscripts of classical texts. Too partisan for the French interests to retain the governorship of Lombardy for long in the polarized political climate of Milan, Trivulzio was replaced by Charles II d'Amboise, count of Chaumont, which released him to channel his energies into his own affairs and artistic patronage during the relative stability that Milan enjoyed under French rule between 1500 and 1512.

Trivulzio was an important patron of writers and humanists in Milan, commissioning translations of the classics, largely with the motivation of using the arts as a way of projecting and celebrating his status and achievements.[14] In the years following his replacement by Charles d'Amboise he commissioned the two most ambitious artistic enterprises of his career, the *Months* tapestries and a suitable sepuchral monument to himself. Leonardo da Vinci, resident in Milan part of the time between 1506 and 1513, provided drawings and an estimate for an elaborate tomb (ca. 1510), but eventually the commission was placed with Bramantino, who designed a funerary chapel, built at the front of San Nazaro, which combined traditional Milanese elements with ideas derived from the antique.[15]

Designer

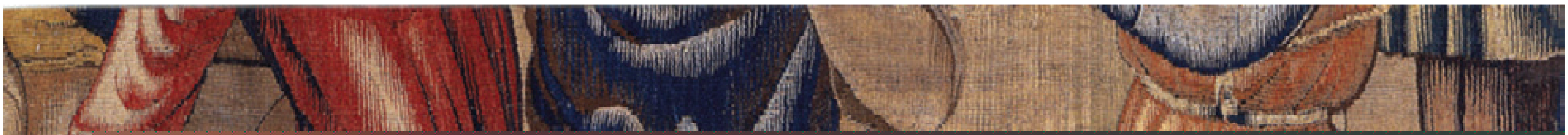
The design of the tapestries was attributed to Bramantino when the tapestries were first publicly exhibited in 1871, and subsequent monographs on Bramantino and detailed studies of the tapestries have reiterated the close stylistic links between the tapestries and Bramantino's paintings and drawings of this period, such as the *Adoration of the Magi* (ca. 1500; National Gallery, London); the attribution has been universally accepted in all recent studies.[16] Opinion regarding Bramantino's role in the execution of the cartoons as well as the *modelli* has varied. Nicodemi suggested that the designs of the *modelli* alone should be attributed to Bramantino and that the inconsistencies of proportion and perspective apparent in certain areas of the tapestries probably derived from the fact that the cartoons were executed by another artist, an opinion that was repeated by M. Viale when examples of the set were exhibited in Turin.[17] Subsequently, Viale Ferrero suggested that the infelicities of interpretation might have resulted from the technical limitations of this pioneering workshop, an explanation accepted by Forti Grazzini, the most knowledgeable student of this set.[18]

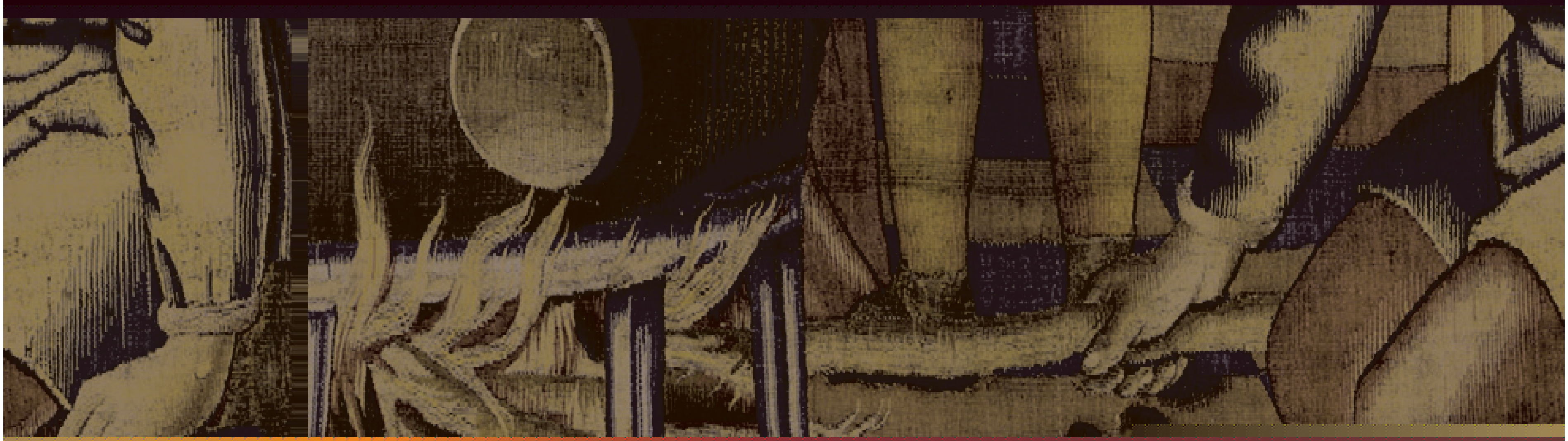
Along with Leonardo da Vinci, Bartolomeo Suardi (ca. 1465–1530), known as il Bramantino, was one of the leading artists in Milan in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. His early work combined the influences of Donato Bramante (linear emphasis and dramatic treatment of light, interest in perspective and illusionism) with that of Mantegna. An innovative approach to both choice of subject matter and form is already evident in early works like the *Adoration of the Magi* and was given free rein in the *Months* tapestry commission. Bramantino spent much of 1508 working in the papal apartments at the Vatican for Julius II, returning in 1509 to Milan, where his reputation brought many commissions, including that for Trivulzio's funerary chapel in 1512. Bramantino's interest in antique forms inspired the octagonal plan, projecting portico, and crypts. In 1519 he was involved in a committee advising on the reconstruction of Milan Cathedral, and in 1525 he was appointed official architect and painter by Francesco Maria Sforza. But his fortunes fell with those of his patron, and Bramantino was banished from Milan in 1525 because of his allegiance to the Sforza.[19]

Workshop

The *February* tapestry carries an inscription, EGO BENEDITVS DE MEDIOLANI HOC OPVS FECIT CON SOCIIS SVIS IN VIGLEVANI (I, Benedict of Milan made this work with my associates in Vigevano).

Detail of cat. no. 11





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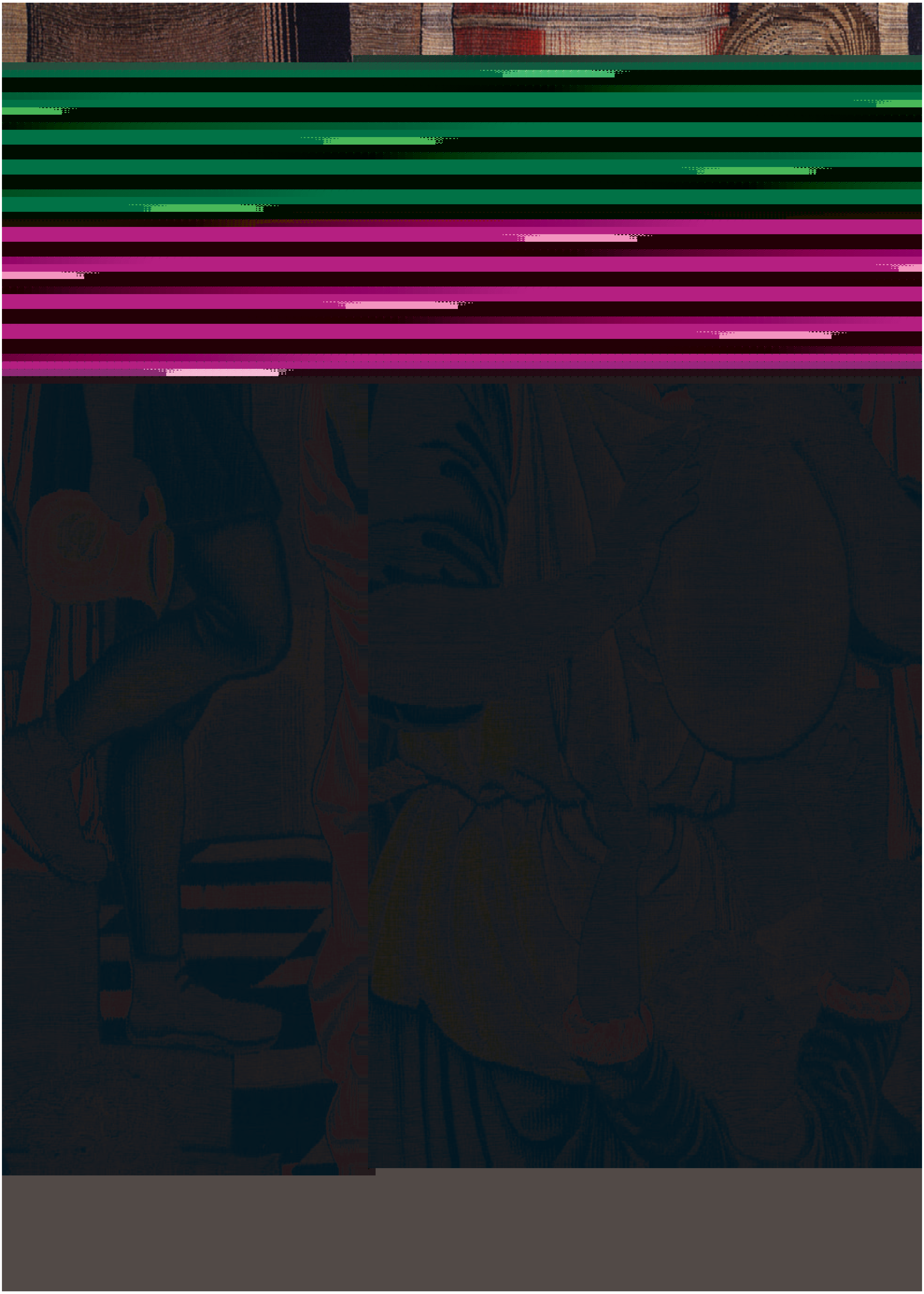

Further information about this weaver and his associates—Lorenzo de' Cavalieri, Antonio da Po and his brothers, and Francesco Ferraro and Giacomo da Cremona—was provided by a book of payments relating to Trivulzio affairs for 1509 that was discovered by Suida in 1943 (destroyed in the same year), which included references to the weaving of two of the tapestries (*November* and *January*) between February and September 1509, including candles to work at night.[20] Subsequent payments record work on a "lettiera da campo" from designs by Cristoforo da Volpe, worked with gold and silver (1509–10), and an *antiporta* (1510–11), but as no more payments for the *Months* appear, we can assume that the set had been completed by December 21, 1509, when a note states that the two pieces were finished.[21]

Nothing is known about Benedetto da Milano, although we can surmise that he may have trained under French or Netherlandish weavers in one of the workshops in Milan, Ferrara, or elsewhere. The technical weaknesses of execution and interpretation of the cartoons certainly suggest that the workshop of Benedetto da Milano was a provincial one. Nothing else is known of this shop, but it was probably in Trivulzio's palace in Vigevano. This workshop probably closed soon after Trivulzio's departure for France in 1512.

Date

The date 1503 is included in the design of the month of October, which suggests that the cartoon for this piece may have been prepared in that year. On the basis of evidence that the last two pieces were woven in the course of 1509, and the assumption that the previous pieces were also woven at the rate of two every nine to twelve months, we can therefore postulate that the weaving commenced sometime in 1503 to 1504.

The date at which the cartoons were prepared is unknown. A terminus post quem of 1501 is provided by the inclusion in the border of the arms of Paola Gonzaga, who married Gian Nicolò, son of Gian Giacomo, in that year, and we can assume that the *modelli* were executed sometime between then and 1504. The stylistic variation between the panels has led to various theories regarding the order in which the cartoons were created, most of which were exploded by Suida's discovery that the *February* (fig. 52) and *November* panels were the last woven. Nonetheless, the divergence between the style of *March* and that of other panels may well indicate that the creation of the cartoons extended over a period of some years, with a date of completion at some point before Bramantino's departure for Rome in 1508.

Detail of cat. no. 11

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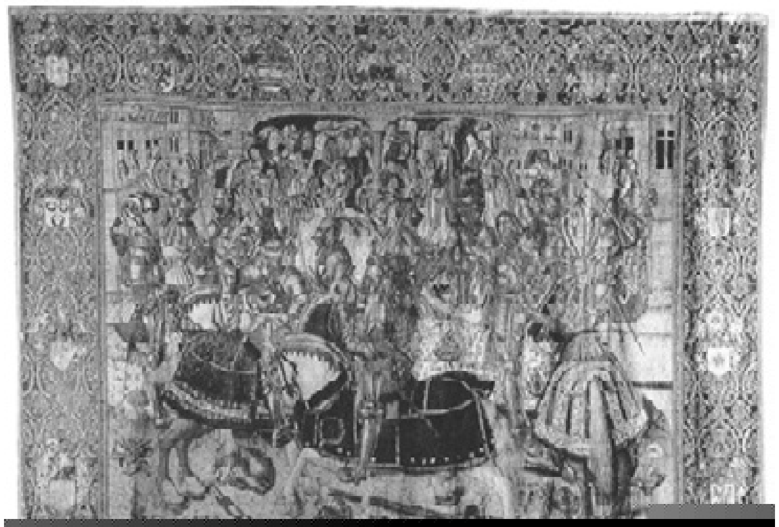
1. C. Alberici in Forti Grazzini 1982a, pp. 7–10; Forti Grazzini 1984, p. 50; Pertegato 1993, p. 217.
2. Pertegato 1993.
3. Forti Grazzini 1984, p. 62.
4. Ibid., p. 53.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Suida 1953, pp. 74–75.
8. Forti Grazzini 1984, p. 52.
9. For full references to previous discussions, see ibid., p. 51.
10. Valsecchi 1968, p. 39; Mulazzani in Dell'Acqua and Mulazzani 1978, pp. 39–40.
11. Forti Grazzini 1982a; Forti Grazzini 1984, pp. 50–65.
12. Forti Grazzini 1984, pp. 53–54.
13. Ibid., p. 53.
14. Forti Grazzini 1982a, pp. 13–20.
15. Charles Robertson in Grove 1996, vol. 31, p. 352.
16. Suida 1953; Valsecchi 1968; Forti Grazzini 1982a; Forti Grazzini 1984, pp. 50–51, 55.
17. Nicodemi 1935, pp. 11–35; M. Viale in Turin 1952, p. 71.
18. Viale Ferrero 1961a, p. 19; Viale Ferrero 1961b, pp. 16–17; Forti Grazzini 1982a; Forti Grazzini 1984, p. 54.
19. Charles Robertson in Grove 1996, vol. 4, p. 654.
20. Suida 1943, pp. 28–36; Suida 1953, pp. 158–60; Valsecchi 1968, pp. 31, 78.
21. Forti Grazzini 1984, p. 50.

visual properties of wool, silk, and metallic thread, these effects appear in the weaving medium between 1470 and 1510, with ever-increasing refinement. In many ways this development is analogous to that taking place in the print mediums at the same time, as woodblock carvers and engravers developed a repertory of hachures and stippled effects to create the illusion of form and texture.[10]

In view of the content of the 1476 agreement between the painting and tapestry guilds, it can hardly be coincidental that a number of the tapestries that survive from the following years were essentially conceived as large panel paintings; the weavers clearly took great pains to emulate the effects of a painted image. Although none of these tapestries carries identifying marks, several of them are of a style or character that suggests they may be attributed to Brussels workshops. The *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 6), commissioned by Archbishop Charles de Bourbon between 1476 and 1488, depicts figures with exquisitely modeled limbs and features, drawn in a style close to that of the Master of the View of Saint Gudule. The *Virgin Mary as the Source of Living Water,* dated 1485 (fig. 56), is closely related in design to the work of contemporary Brussels masters.[11] The retable structure employed in the *Virgin Mary* tapestry owes an obvious debt to the carved and painted retables that were becoming such an important industry in Brussels at this date. More significantly from a technical point of view, the design incorporates carefully modeled volumetric figures in realistic landscapes. Similarly ambitious effects are attempted in two other panels dating from the 1490s, the first, a reworking of Rogier van der Weyden's *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin Mary* (ca. 1490; fig. 57), the second, dated 1495, a scene of the *Mass of Saint Gregory* with the arms of the Holzschuher family (fig. 68), conceived in Rogier's style.[12]

The most ambitious extant exercise in this new illusionistic mode is a tapestry of somewhat different character. Dating from about 1495, it commemorates the Tournament with Swords that was held in Antwerp on October 19 and 20, 1494, to celebrate the investiture of Philip the Handsome as ruler of the Low Countries (fig. 58).[13] The border carries the arms of Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, who attended this event and took part in the tournaments along with Emperor Maximilian. Quite apart from the novelty of the attempt to convey the illusion of spatial perspective through the lattice of broken lances and tackle lying in the foreground, the tapestry incorporates carefully realized portraits, including those of the fifteen-year-old Philip, his sister Margaret, and their grandmother Margaret of York. While portraits were nothing new in tapestry, these are remarkable—at least among surviving tapestries—for the degree to which they attempt to represent the true appearance of the individuals, rather than relying

Fig. 57. *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin Mary.* Tapestry woven in the Southern Netherlands, probably Brussels, ca. 1490. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 295 x 261 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris



[redacted]

Fig. 58. *Tournament of Frederick the Wise.* Tapestry woven in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1495. Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 497 x 579 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes

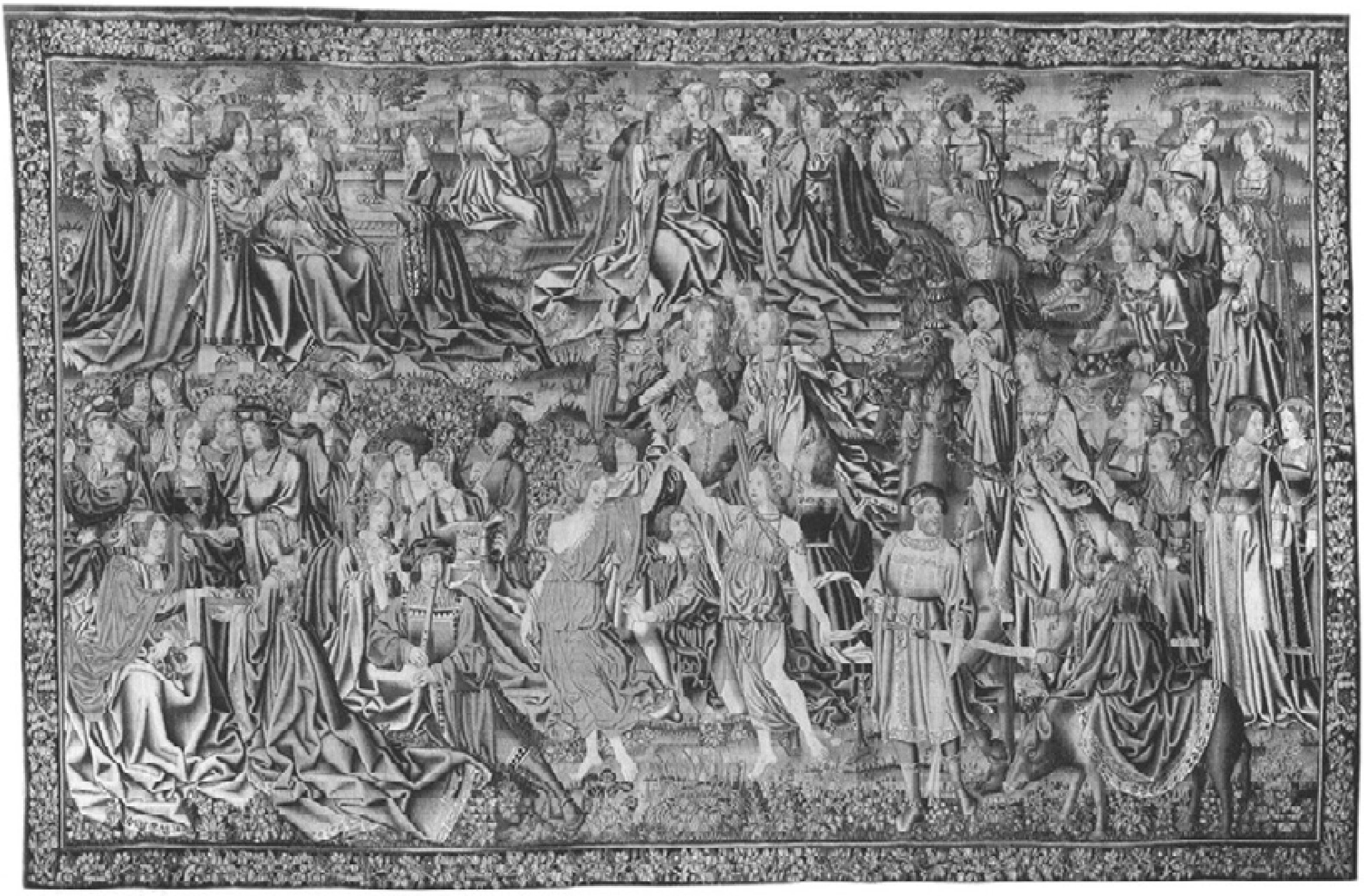


Fig. 65. *The Vices Beset Sinful Man* from the *Triumphs of the Virtues over the Vices.* Tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1515. Wool and silk, 411 x 650 cm. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels

made in Italian art. This, despite the fact that Italian prints and drawings were making their way to northern Europe.

Initially, the most marked effect was that the decorative elements of the Italian Renaissance vocabulary, particularly those exemplified in works of the Lombard school (which was especially accessible to northern patrons because of the French occupation of Milan from 1499 to 1513 and from 1515 to 1521), were appropriated and added to the Netherlandish canon of decorative devices. An early manifestation of this influence is visible in van Aelst's 1507 *Passion* series, where the trompe l'oeil frame incorporates putti, Renaissance balusters, and grotesques within a structure that is essentially Gothic in form (fig. 55). Similar motifs are to be found in a number of design series dating from late in the first decade of the 1500s and the early 1510s, such as the *Triumphs of Petrarch,* in which the triumphal chariots of the principal figures

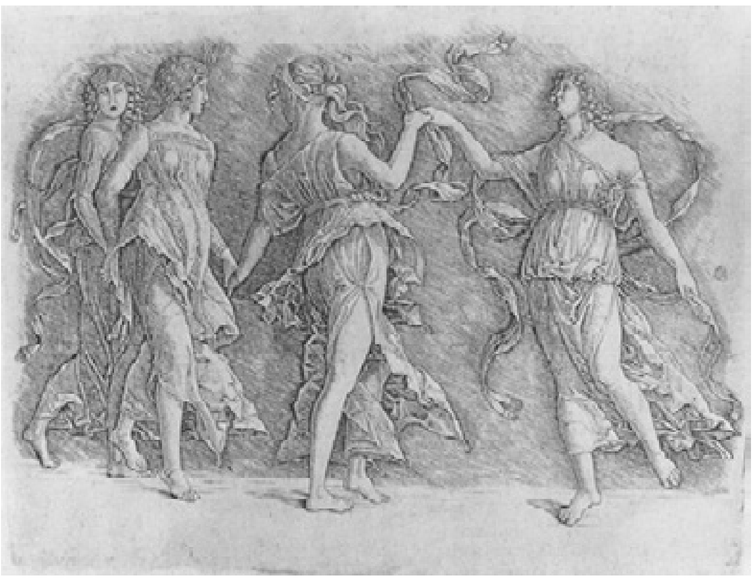


Fig. 66. *Four Women Dancing.* Engraving after Andrea Mantegna, after 1497. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.5.3)

are decorated with a variety of Gothic tracery and Renaissance baluster motifs (cat. no. 13 and fig. 69). These designs also incorporate some "classical" buildings in the background, an incongruous contrast to the Gothic tracery of other architectural components included in the scenes.

A more ambitious use of Italianate forms is provided by a series of hangings, evidently part of a larger series, with the armorial devices of Louise of Savoy and her son Francis of Angoulême, later king of France, which can probably be dated between about 1512 and 1514 (fig. 64).[32] Here the "antique" motifs provide the principal decorative element in the main field of the design. Although an exact source has not been identified, the debt to engravings like those of Giovanni Pietro da Birago, created between 1505 and 1515, is readily evident.[33]

As larger numbers of engravings and drawings began to reach northern Europe, Netherlandish cartoonists began to borrow more substantial components. An engraving after Andrea Mantegna (fig. 66) appears to have provided the source for one of the dancing figures in the *Triumphs of the Virtues over the Vices,* a series dating from about 1515, sets of which were supplied to the bishop of Palencia in 1519 and to Cardinal Wolsey in 1520.[34] Another intriguing example of an Italian model being transposed to a Netherlandish tapestry design is provided by an exquisite *Lamentation* (cat. no. 14), dating from about 1510. The central composition is copied from a painting by Perugino (fig. 70), but the monumental character and simplified conception of the Italian source were entirely altered by the cartoonist, who set the central figures within a larger group, depicted everyone with richly decorated costumes, added subordinate narrative scenes, and developed the emotional pathos with the exquisitely rendered faces of the mourning figures. Few comparisons demonstrate the divergent aesthetics of the Netherlandish tapestry industry and contemporary Italian art so clearly. Of course, such borrowings were not restricted to Italian sources. Prints by northern European artists provided an equally rich source of material for the northern tapestry designers, as exemplified by the figure of a halberdier, borrowed from a Dürer engraving, which appears in a number of Netherlandish tapestries dating from the 1510s.[35]

A number of more ambitious exercises from about 1510 in the Italian style are extant. The Grenier merchants in Tournai owned a set of cartoons for a *Triumphs of Caesar* series that was based, in part, on engravings after Mantegna's famous paintings of this subject. The earliest documented set was sold to the emperor Maximilian by Arnould Poissonier in 1510, and another set of the same subject was among the gifts presented by the Tournai town authorities to Sir Edward Poynings, governor of the city for Henry VIII, following the capture of Tournai by the English in 1513. Surviving pieces from this series suggest that the design and the execution were relatively coarse.

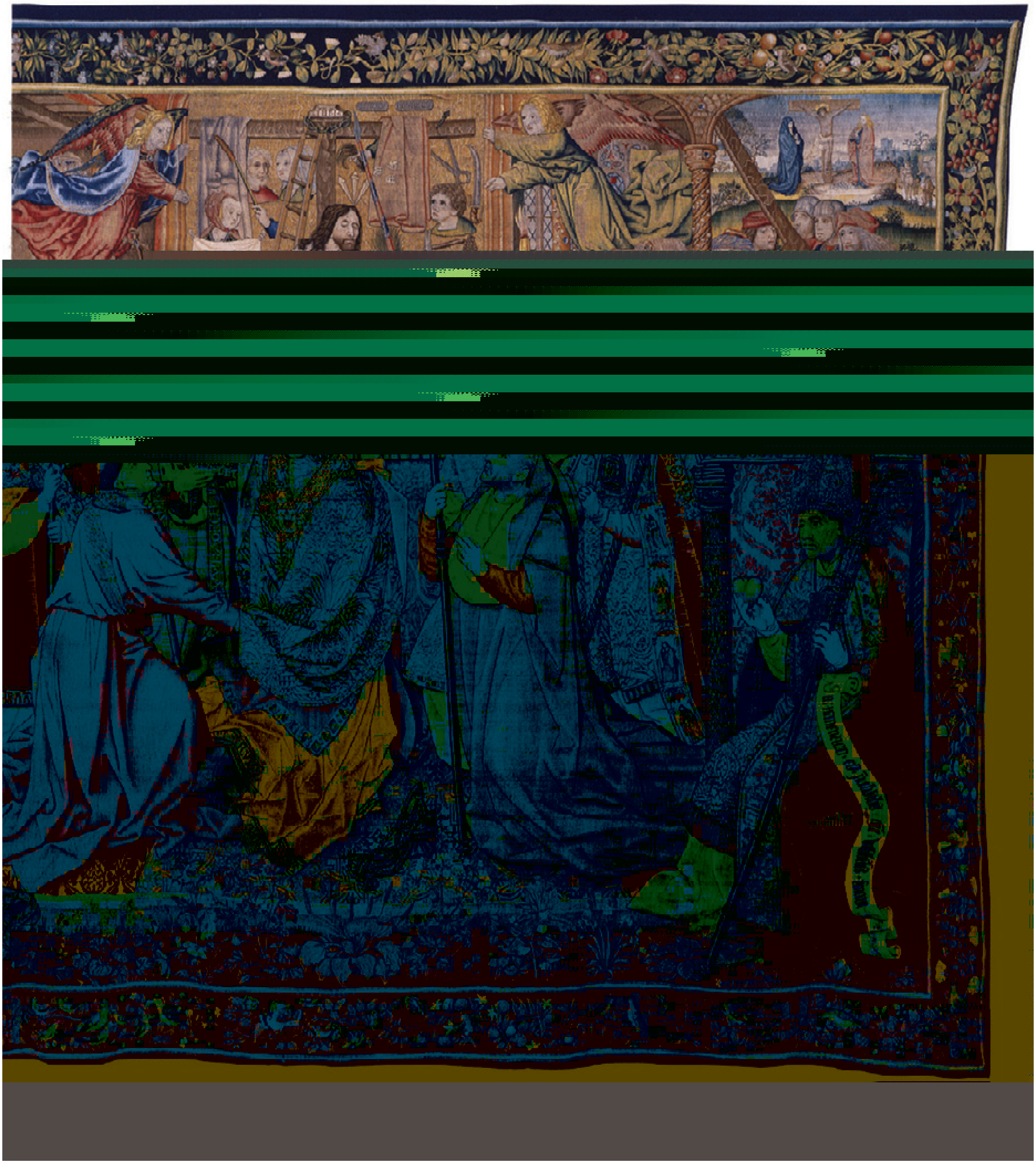
As will be readily apparent from the foregoing examples, the general character of such borrowings was essentially fortuitous, rather than motivated by a more sophisticated wish to reproduce an Italian aesthetic. However, a more enlightened awareness of the potential of such decoration for the tapestry medium is manifested in a handful of commissions from the early 1510s. Interestingly, most of these appear to have been initiated by French patrons, a reflection of the continuing occupation of Milan by the French. Four pieces survive from the earliest of these, a *Life of Christ and the Virgin* that Jacques d'Amboise, bishop of Clermont (and brother of Georges d'Amboise, builder of the famously Italianate Gaillon château), presented in 1516 to the cathedral of Clermont (cat. no. 15). Presumably the series had been woven some years earlier. Although the materials and colors suggest that the set may have been made in the Netherlands,[36] the design is entirely Italianate. The interiors are conceived in dry and careful perspective, while the decorative details and the figures clearly derive from the hand of a Lombard artist. Although the identity of the artist or cartoonist is unknown, he was presumably a figure in the circle of artists working for Jacques's nephew, Charles II Chaumont d'Amboise, the king's lieutenant general in Milan from 1500 to 1511, or one of those who traveled north to work at Gaillon for Georges d'Amboise.

An equally dramatic transposition of an Italian design, possibly of even greater significance for the development of tapestry design at this era, is provided by a weaving of Leonardo da Vinci's famous *Last Supper* fresco (fig. 67). On the basis of the heraldry in the borders, the work appears to have been made for Louise of Savoy and her son the future Francis I of France, before his marriage in 1514.[37] Although the heraldic reading on which this date depends is complex and not absolutely certain, it appears that this tapestry copy was a first ambitious demonstration of Francis's interest in the great artist, an interest that eventually resulted, following their meeting in Italy after the Battle of Marignano, in Leonardo's relocation to the royal manor of Cloux, where he spent the last two and a half years of his life. Thus, this exercise in the transposition of an important Italian work of art into the tapestry medium predates the famous Raphael *Acts of the Apostles* commission by at least a year. Given the rivalry that characterized relations among Raphael, Michaelangelo, and Leonardo at this date, and the keen interest in these artists on the part of their principal patron, Pope Leo X, it is tempting to think that knowledge of this tapestry could have spurred Leo in 1515 to commission Raphael to design a set of tapestries to hang in the Sistine Chapel.

Fig. 67. *The Last Supper.* Tapestry design after Leonardo da Vinci, woven in the Southern Netherlands, probably Brussels, ca. 1514. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 490 x 915 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican City

The Leonardo tapestry was evidently considered one of the great masterpieces in the French royal collection, and Francis subsequently presented it to Pope Clement VII—another great enthusiast of the tapestry medium—in 1533, on the occasion of the marriage of the dauphin to Catherine de' Medici, Clement's niece. On this occasion Paolo Giovio, the Italian humanist, described the tapestry as "Belgarum arte suprema" (made in the outstanding art of Flanders).[38]

The process by which the design of the original fresco became known in France is unclear. Although it has been suggested that the medium of dissemination may have been a woodcut, the faithfulness of the drawing and coloration of the figures to those of the fresco suggests that the cartoonist must have had a more accurate source. According to Paolo Giovo, Louis XII wished to transfer Leonardo's fresco to France; he may have commissioned the copy of it that was executed in the convent of the Cordelière at Blois and that traditionally has been attributed to Andrea Solario.[39] While the relationship between the Blois fresco and the tapestry requires further investigation, it seems likely that it may have been a source for the *Last Supper* tapestry. Yet whatever the date and whatever the process of dissemination, Francis's decision to have Leonardo's famous work translated into the tapestry medium is additional testimony to French court patrons' important contribution to Netherlandish tapestry design in the 1510s. The commission is also the first example of Francis's lifelong practice of using tapestry as a vehicle to obtain designs by Italian artists whose work he admired.



of the chapel visible behind. Although the perspective of the scene is not rigorous, the orthogonals converge generally on the figure of Christ. Gregory and his assistants kneel on a polychrome tiled floor. In front of this, a thin strip of ground is covered with flowers, strawberries, plantains, poppies, and daisies, echoing those behind the altar and again symbolic of the Passion.

The central scene is divided from the side sections by thin but ornate architectural elements, in a composition that imitates the tripartite structure of a retable, with a central panel and wings at either side. Each of the side sections is divided into two separate panels, in which the upper register depicts scenes from the Passion of Christ. At the left, we see Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, and, in the foreground, the moment when Judas betrayed him by kissing him, the prearranged code that identified Christ to the waiting Roman soldiers (Matthew 26:48). Christ holds the ear of a Roman soldier that Saint Peter had cut off in a futile effort to protect him. In the foreground of the right panel, Christ is carrying the cross on the way to Calvary. The Crucifixion appears in the background, the cross flanked by the Virgin and Saint John.

The lower sections of the side panels depict two seated figures with banderoles carrying inscriptions that refer to the Eucharist. The Old Testament king David is shown on the left in a cloth-of-gold tunic beneath an ermine-lined red velvet cloak. He wears an archaic hat and raises one hand in blessing, while the other holds a book on his knee from which a banderole scrolls, with the inscription *Pane[m] a[n]gelorum manducavit homo David* (Man shall eat the bread of angels David), a quotation from Psalms 78:25, which was taken as a prediction of the Eucharist. The figure at the right is identified as Augustine by an inscription. He wears sumptuous ecclesiastical garments and holds a jewel-encrusted staff in one hand and a sacred heart in the other. The banderole draped over his knee reads, *Sacramentum est i[n]visibilis gr[aci] e visibilis forma* (The sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace).

Iconography

No mention of this vision is given in the early biographies of Pope Gregory the Great, nor is it mentioned in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* of the late thirteenth century. It probably originated in Rome, in association with the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, where the vision is supposed to have taken place. An early-sixteenth-century engraving records the appearance of a twelfth-century Byzantine icon then hanging in the chapel dedicated to Gregory the Great. According to tradition, Gregory placed it there to commemorate his vision, but as Mâle has suggested, this belief may have developed as an explanation for the presence of this striking image, the earliest known rendition of the Man of Sorrows, which was to become such a popular devotional image, both independently and in association with Gregory, during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[2] The popularity of this subject must have derived in part from the generous indulgences with which it was associated. According to fifteenth-century belief, one would receive one thousand years of remission if, following confession, one recited seven Paternosters, seven Ave Marias, and seven short prayers called "les oraisons de saint Grégoire" in front of the image of the Man of Sorrows—the number of years was augmented by popes in the course of the century. The popularity of Gregorian imagery diminished during the Reformation, as the concept of indulgences came under attack from the Protestant movement.[3]

Patron

This is one of two tapestries of Gregory listed in the inventory of Isabella the Catholic's possessions after her death in 1504; one, of smaller dimensions, had been purchased in 1504 from the merchant Matías de Guirla at Medina del Campo, and Isabella left it to her daughter Maria, queen of Portugal (r. 1498–1517).[4] According to the 1505 Act of Discharge, the second piece, whose larger dimensions correspond to those of catalogue number 12, was a gift to Isabella from her daughter Joanna of Castile (Joanna the Mad). As such, Ferdinand directed that it should be returned to her, along with a number of other tapestries that she had given Isabella, including the famous *paños de oro* set of the *Veneration of the Virgin* (see fig. 54).[5] It remained with Joanna at the palace at Tordesillas until 1526, when it was transferred to the possession of Charles V (Joanna's son) and thence by descent into the Spanish royal collection.[6]

The fact that Isabella had two examples of this design in her collection led to some confusion in the early-twentieth-century literature and the mistaken assumption that the extant piece was the one supplied to Isabella in 1504 by Matías de Guirla, a mistake that has been reiterated in some recent literature.[7] In fact, the detailed descriptions and measurements provided by the inventory leave no room for doubt in this matter. The extant piece was the one gifted to Isabella by her daughter Joanna and son-in-law Philip, duke of Burgundy.[8]

Isabella's two *Mass of Saint Gregory* tapestries were not the first of this design. An earlier version, apparently woven from a less elaborate cartoon, with the arms of the Holzschuher family and the date 1495, survives in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg (fig. 68). The 1518 inventory of the papal collection also lists a *Mass of Saint Gregory* among the tapestries of the time of Julius II (pope 1503–13), which provides circumstantial rather than certain evidence that he was responsible for purchasing it, as the provenance information provided by this inventory is frequently inaccurate. Considering the nature of the subject, and the loving attention paid to the papal paraphernalia that it depicts, it is tempting to suspect that the design of this tapestry could equally well have been commissioned by an earlier papal patron, perhaps Innocent VIII or Alexander VI.

Place and Date of Manufacture

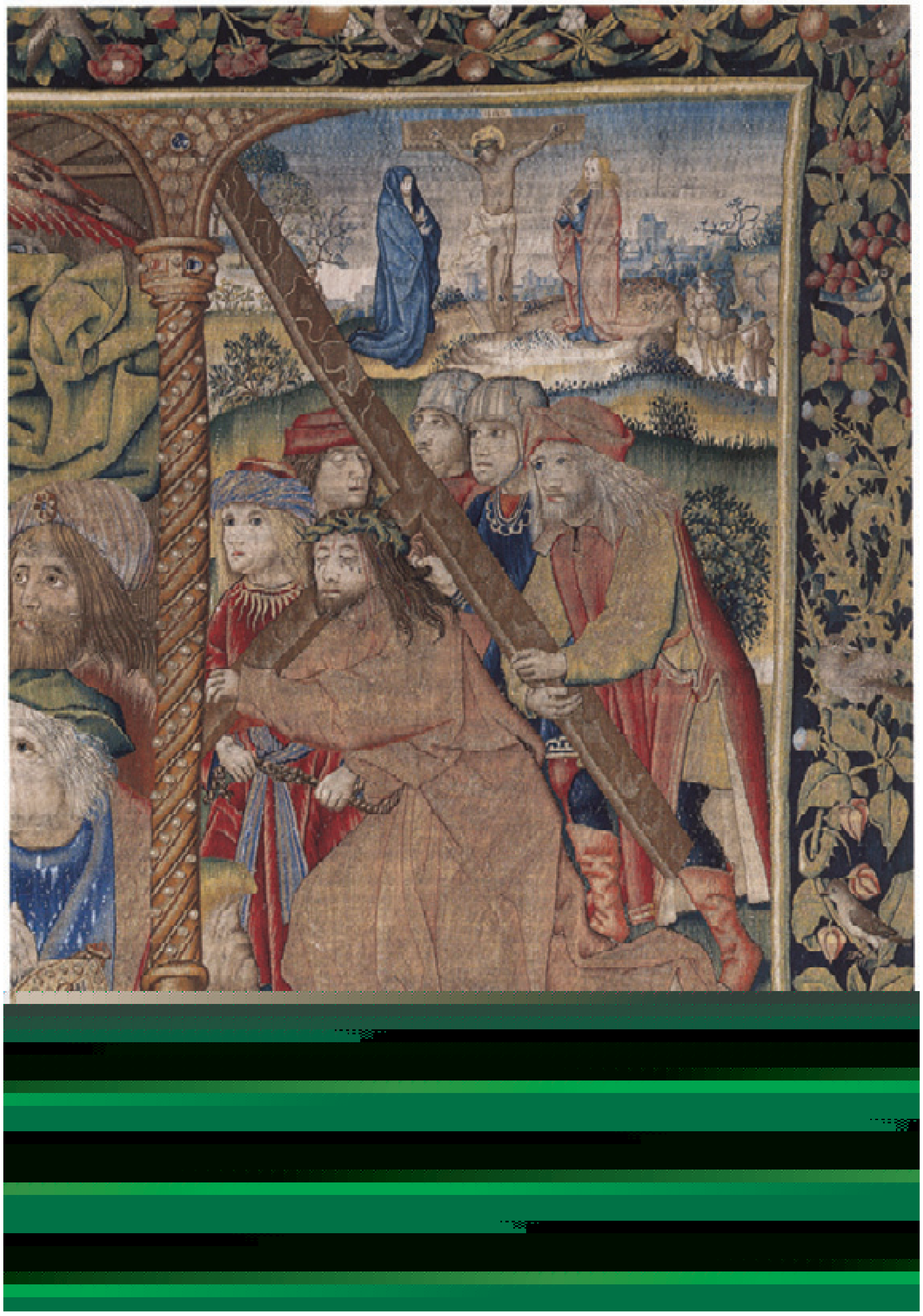
The *Mass of Saint Gregory* epitomizes the finest-quality production of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and its Netherlandish origin has long been recognized.[9] Göbel was the first commentator to suggest that it was woven in Brussels, on the basis of the inscription BRVXEL on the edge of Pope Gregory's robe. Under the influence of the mistaken assumption that this tapestry was to be identified with the one supplied to Isabella the Catholic by Matías de Guirla, Göbel interpreted the other letters in this inscription as ERLAS, taking this as a reference to the name of that merchant.[10] However, with the recognition that this tapestry was actually among those given to Isabella by Philip of Burgundy and Joanna of Castile, and with the knowledge that the *paños de oro* tapestries were supplied by the merchant Pieter van Aelst, recent commentators have realized that it is more likely to have been among among those supplied by van Aelst, who traveled to Spain with Philip and Joanna in 1502 and 1504.[11] Support for this supposition may be provided by the letters in the lowest part of Gregory's robes, which can be read as a stylized form of the merchant's surname, with the A and E and S and T joined together on either side of the L. Van Aelst's name certainly appears in at least two other tapestries from sets that were presumably woven from cartoons belonging to this merchant. In the first case, the letters A·E·L·S·T· appear on the hem of the cloak of Simon of Cyrene in a scene of Christ on the way to Calvary, of which duplicate weavings survive in the Spanish royal collection (ca. 1507) and in Trent (the latter supplied to Cardinal Bernardo Cles in 1530).[12] In the second case, the letters appear on the robe of King David's messenger in a panel of the *Story of David* at Sigmaringen castle, along with the inscription BRUES.[13]

Whether or not the letters on Gregory's cope are to be read as a stylized version of van Aelst's name, it seems likely that this tapestry was woven from a cartoon that belonged to van Aelst, while the presence of the inscription BRVXEL confirms that this extraordinarily fine tapestry was made in a Brussels workshop.

Artist

The model for inscriptions like those that appear on the hems of the garments in this tapestry was provided by similar inscriptions that Brussels artists were incorporating in their paintings and altar panels during the late fifteenth century. It is especially close in form to those painted by Colyn de Coter (ca. 1455–1525), one of the leading Brussels artists of the day. At least three paintings by de Coter survive with analogous inscriptions. For example, a panel of *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* that he painted before 1493 carries an inscription COLYN.DE.COTER PINGIT.ME.IN.BRABANCIA I BRVSELLE (Parish Church of Vieure, Cosne-d'Allier).[14]

The analogy with de Coter's inscriptions is interesting, because, as noted above, the costumes, poses, and features of the figures of the *Gregory* tapestry are remarkably close in style to those in works by de Coter. Indeed, although no documentation of de Coter's involvement with the Brussels tapestry workshops has survived (all the Brussels tapestry guild records were destroyed during the French bombardment of Brussels in 1695), the stylistic analogies between de Coter's work and the *Gregory* tapestry are so marked as to suggest that his workshop was almost certainly responsible for its production. Another intriguing point of contact is provided by the fact that de Coter's workshop was intimately involved with producing designs and painted panels for the sculpted retables for which Brussels was so renowned at this date. Although he would not have been the first designer to introduce this form to the tapestry medium, he certainly understood the potential of the retable structure as a decorative and narrative device as well as any other artist then practicing in Brussels.



Detail of cat. no. 12

Wolsey's collection (the armorial borders now removed).[11] The three *Triumphs* now at the Victoria and Albert Museum are first recorded in Genoa in 1658.[12] This would be consistent with a sale from the royal collection during the Commonwealth between 1649 and 1654.

Fragments from at least two other sets survive in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle (with the arms of Philip of Cleves-Ravenstein, 1456–1528); the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; and various private collections.[13] According to tradition, the set of the *Triumphs* that included the Rijksmuseum *Triumph of Fame* is thought to have been in the possession of the counts of Mirepoix in the château of Malesherbes already in the sixteenth century. Until 1925 three other tapestries from this set—the *Triumph of Love* and fragments of the *Triumph of Time over Fame* and the *Triumph of Eternity over Time*—were also at Malesherbes; their present whereabouts are unknown.

Hillie Smit[14]

1. The fundamental study of the Petrarchan theme in the visual arts remains Essling and Müntz 1902.
2. Van Riet and Volckaert 1996, pp. 6–9.
3. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, ser. 5, no. 2, pp. 22, 24.
4. For examples, see Essling and Müntz 1902, pp. 126, 147, 173.
5. The English translation was taken from Wingfield Digby 1980, p. 37.
6. Ibid., p. 36, no. 22.
7. Marillier 1952, p. 18, pl. vii.
8. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, manuscript, no. 5066; see Delmarcel 1989.
9. Schneebalg-Perelman 1971a, pp. 276 no. 59, 298, nos. xxvii, xxviii.
10. T. Campbell 1996a, pp. 102–3; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 151–52.
11. T. Campbell 1998a, pp 151–52.
12. Boccardo 1983–85, pp. 115–16; Forti Grazzini 1990a, p. 50.
13. Wingfield Digby 1980, pp. 36–38.
14. This is an adaptation of the author's entry for the forthcoming (2002) catalogue of the tapestry collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

14.

The Lamentation

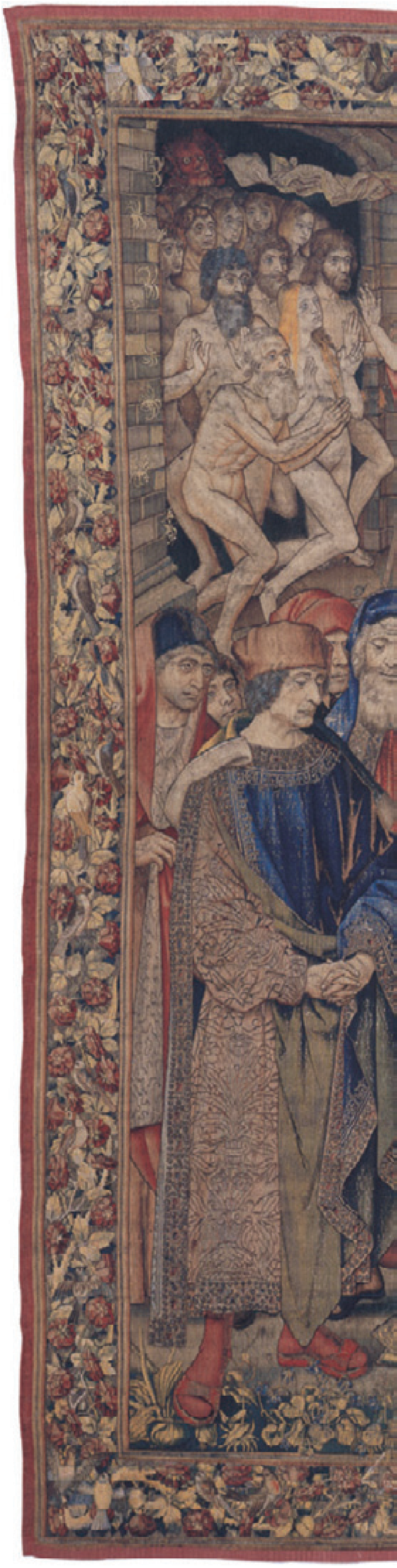
Designer unknown
Probably woven in Brussels, ca. 1510
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
298 x 328 cm (9 ft. 9 in. x 10 ft. 9 in.)
8–9 warps per cm
Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (858)

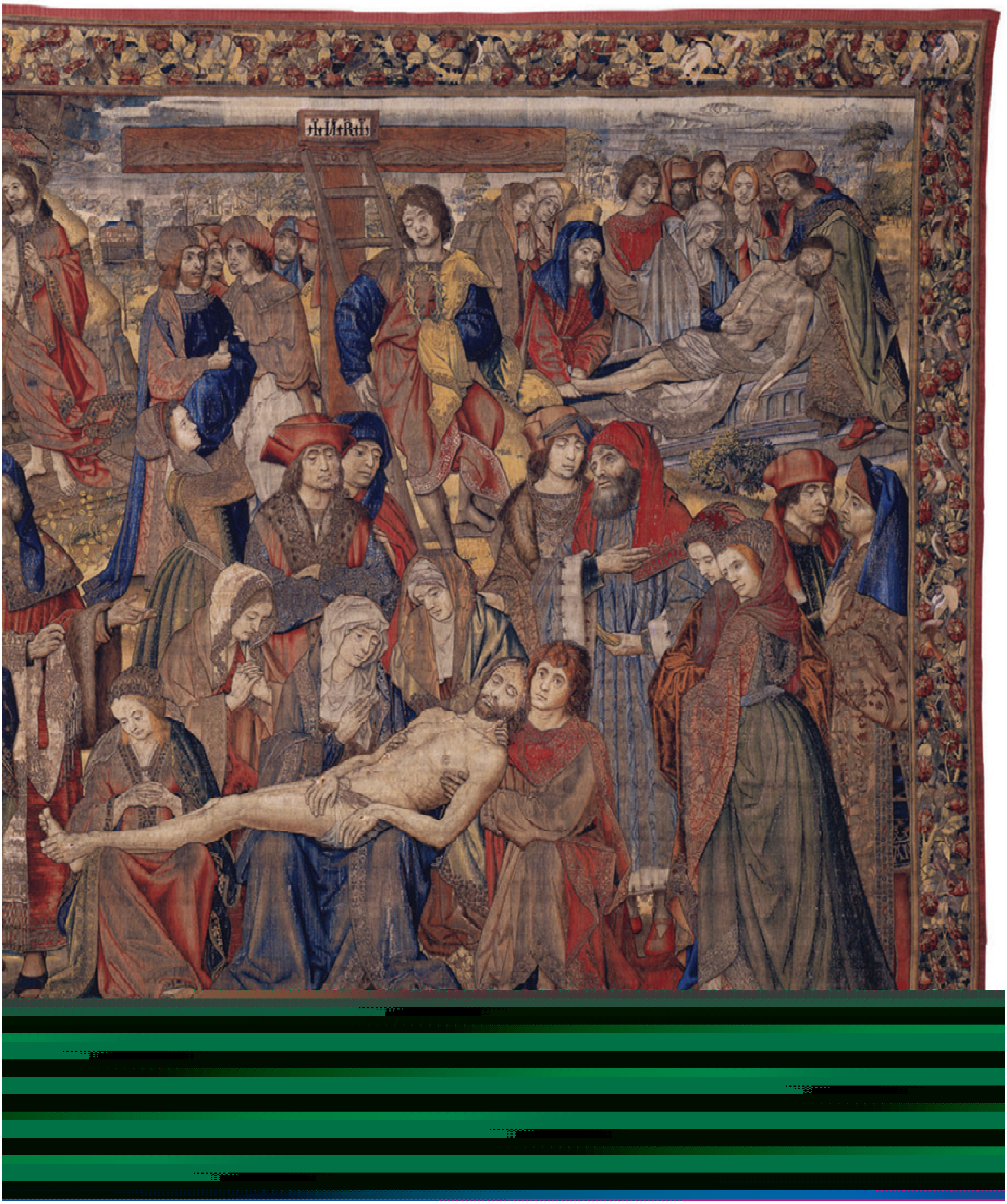
Provenance: 1861, acquired by the Musée Royal d'Antiquités, Brussels, from sale of goods of Mme van Antwerpen in Brussels.

References: Pinchart 1865; Destrée 1902; Destrée 1904, pp. 10–13; Brussels 1906, pp. 27–29; Crick-Kuntziger 1927b; Crick-Kuntziger 1956b, pp. 37–38, no. 20 (with bibliog.); Souchal in Paris 1973, pp. 180–82, no. 75; Delmarcel in Brussels 1976, pp. 73–74, 132–33, no. 17; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 67–69; Delmarcel in Brussels 2000, p. 106.

Condition: Lighter tones, particularly those woven in silk, are greatly faded. For example, Christ's blood, orginally red, appears white. The blue, red, and green wools read clearly, in part because of extensive restoration during the 1970s. A distinctive orange thread in certain areas results from a historic restoration, while the dark thread around the figures has also been replaced in many areas. The tapestry is unusual because much of the modeling of the figures, particularly the areas of flesh, is emphasized by small stripes of color applied to the surface after completion of weaving, rather than woven as an integral part of the tapestry, as was more usual. It is uncertain whether this staining is original to the tapestry or whether it was undertaken during a later restoration.

Recognized as one of finest products of Netherlandish tapestry production since its acquisition by the Musée Royal d'Antiquités, Brussels, in 1861, the *Lamentation* provides an intriguing example of the manner in which the influence of Italian art first began to manifest itself in Northern tapestry design in the early sixteenth century. The central group of the Virgin with the dead Christ on her lap and Mary Magdalen and Saint John supporting his feet and head is copied, in reverse and with some variations, from a *Pietà* painted by the master Perugino for the monks of San Giusto alla Mura, Florence, between 1493 and 1497 (fig. 70).[1] Although the unidentified artist of the tapestry has retained the monumental arrangement of the central group, it has been subsumed within a composition that is entirely Netherlandish in character. The plain garments





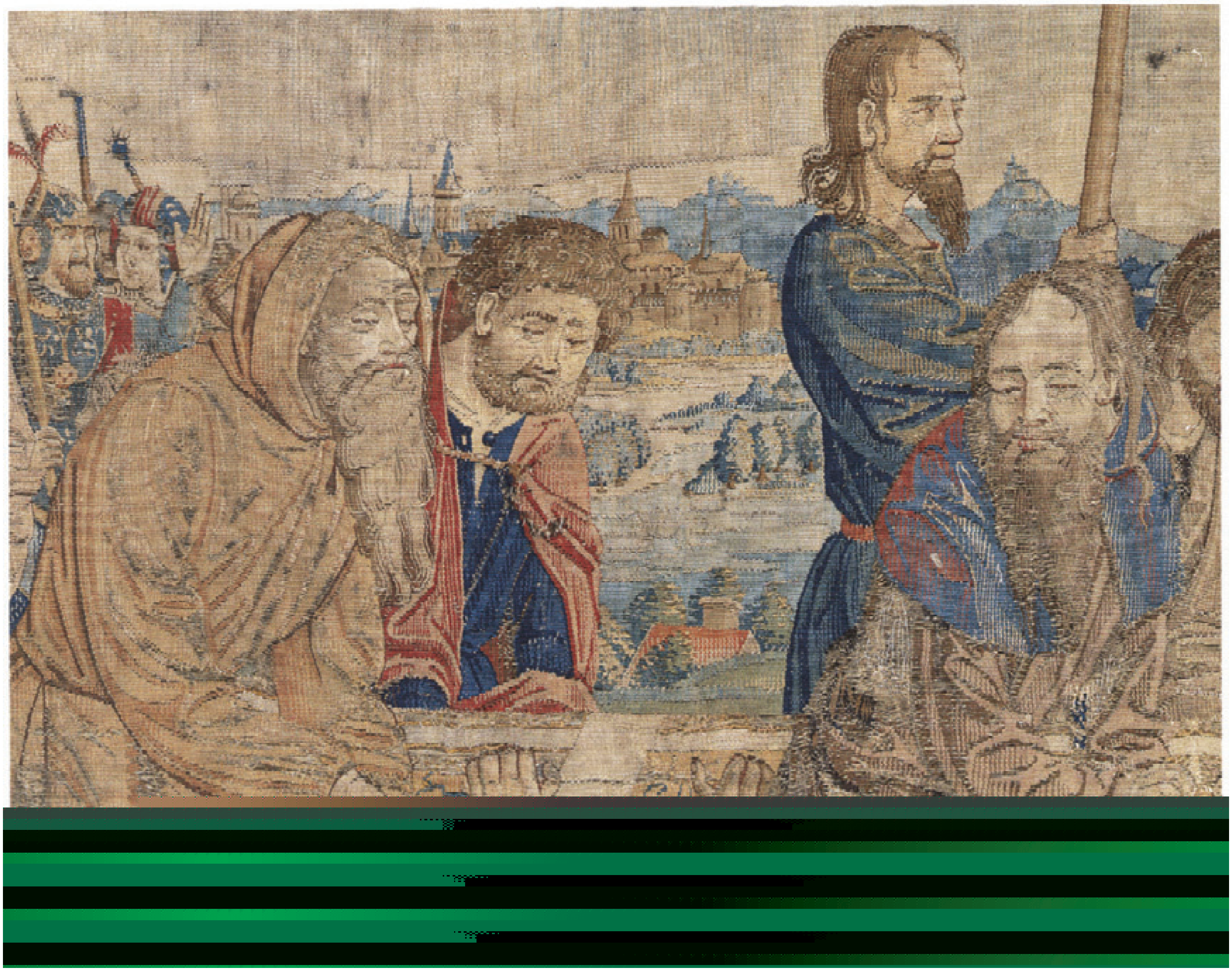
Detail of cat. no. 14

worn by Perugino's figures have been replaced with robes of sumptuous fabrics, cut in fuller style and with elaborate decorative embroidery; in place of the austere architectural setting of Perugino's painting, the figures in the tapestry are surrounded by a crowd of richly costumed onlookers. The richness of the composition is further enhanced by subsidiary scenes of Christ's Descent into Hell, and the Entombment, which are depicted in the upper corners of the tapestry. Thus, the powerful central composition of Perugino's painting is appropriated for the strong visual formula and pathos that it provides, rather than for any more profound awareness of, or interest in, the distinctive quattrocento style that it embodied.

Description

The tapestry comprises three narrative episodes, the Lamentation over the Dead Christ, the Descent into Hell, and the Entombment. Of these, the Lamentation occupies the main portion of the tapestry. This theme, which is not mentioned in the Scriptures, had developed in Byzantine art as an image of meditation on the Passion of Christ and the sufferings of Mary and had been popularized in Western art through the influence of texts such as the late thirteenth-century *Meditationes vitae Christi* of Pseudo-Bonaventura.[2] The central foreground of the composition is dominated by Christ, shown full length, parallel to the picture plane, naked save for a cloth around his lower torso; the main weight of his body is supported by the Virgin, over whose lap he is stretched (the letters MARIA appear on the border of her cloak). Her left hand supports Christ's neck, while her right hand rests lightly on her upper chest, the fingers slightly parted on her neck cloth in a gesture of great tenderness. Christ's upper torso is supported by Saint John, who kneels to the Virgin's left, with Christ's head on

Detail of cat. no. 14

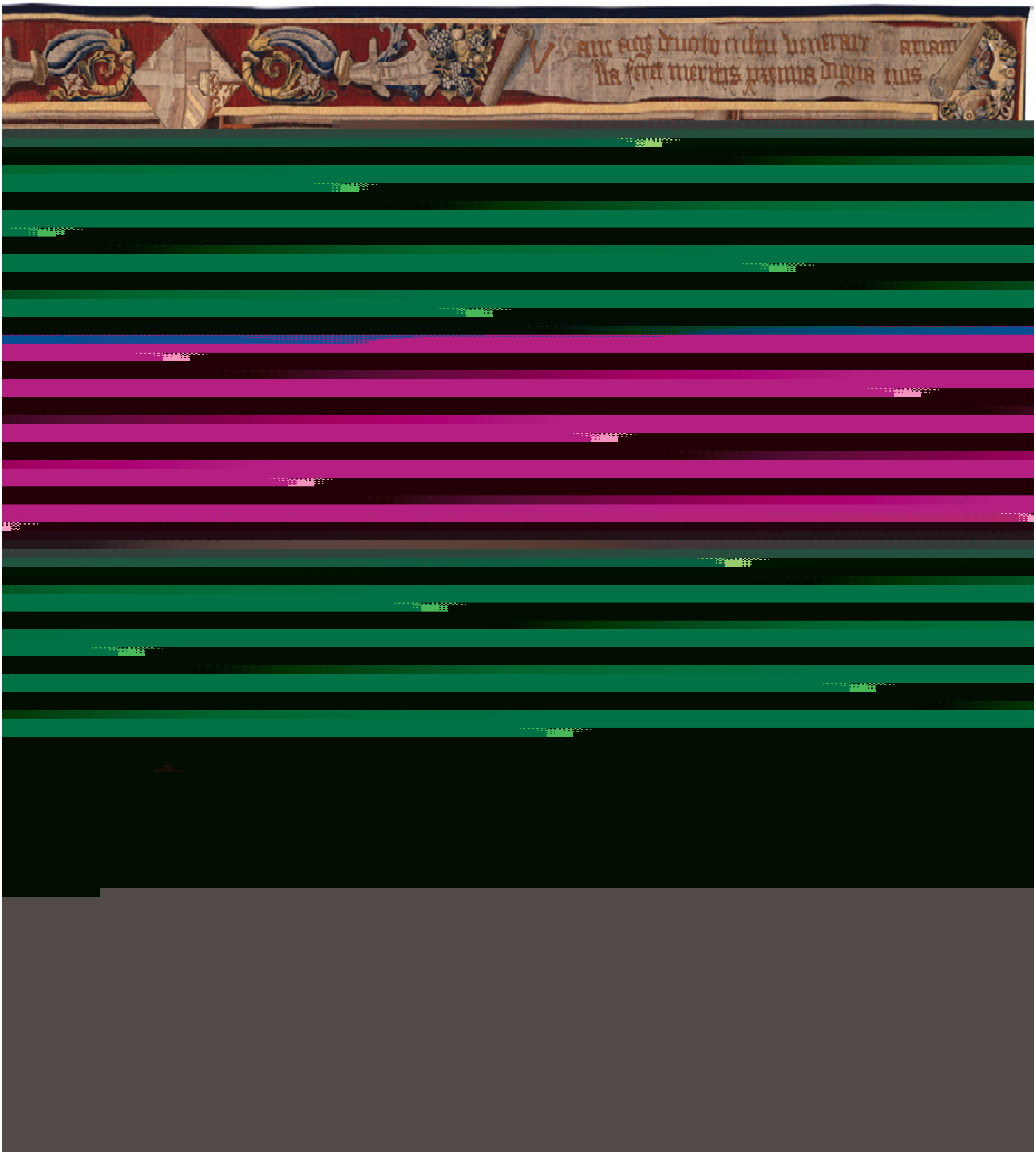


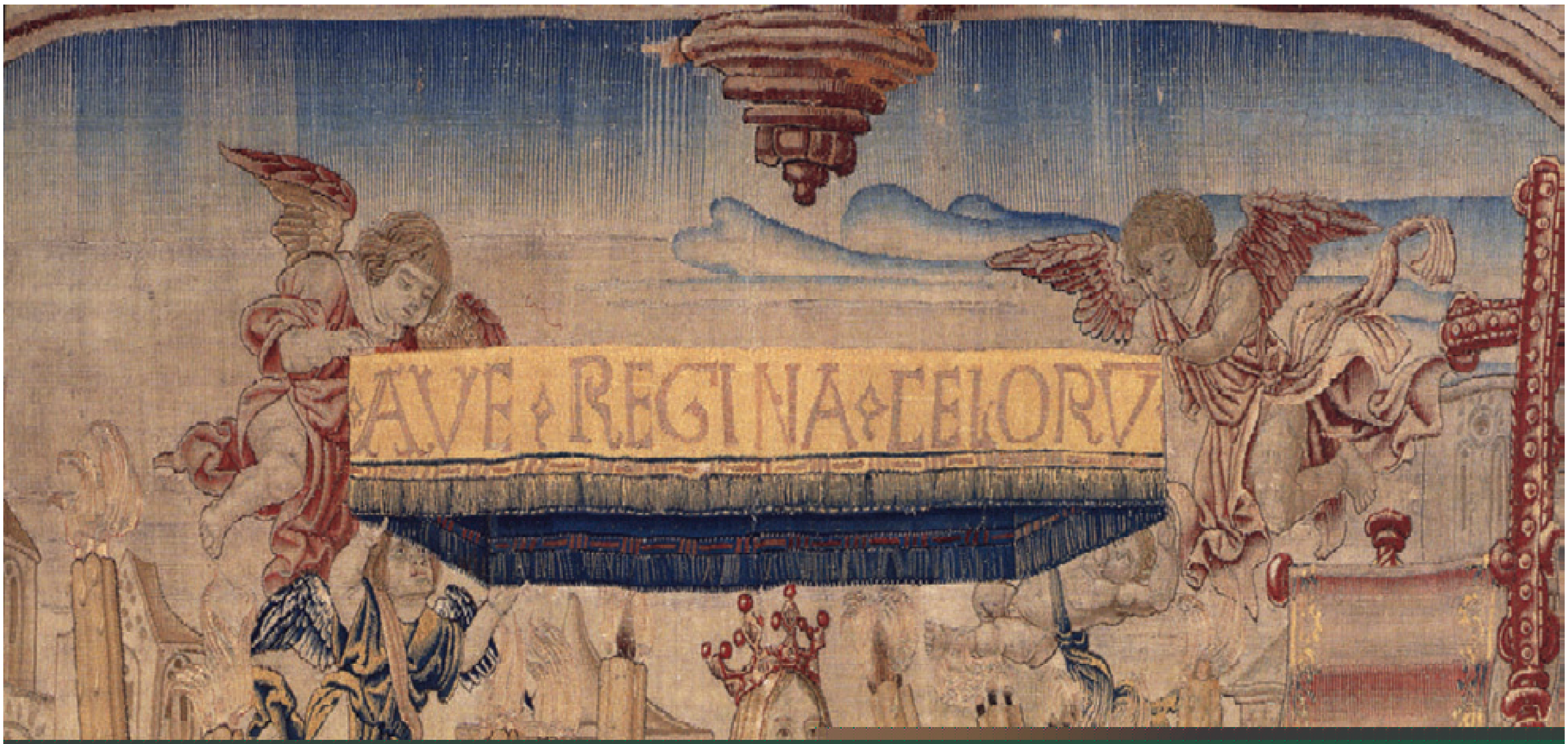
Detail of cat. no. 15

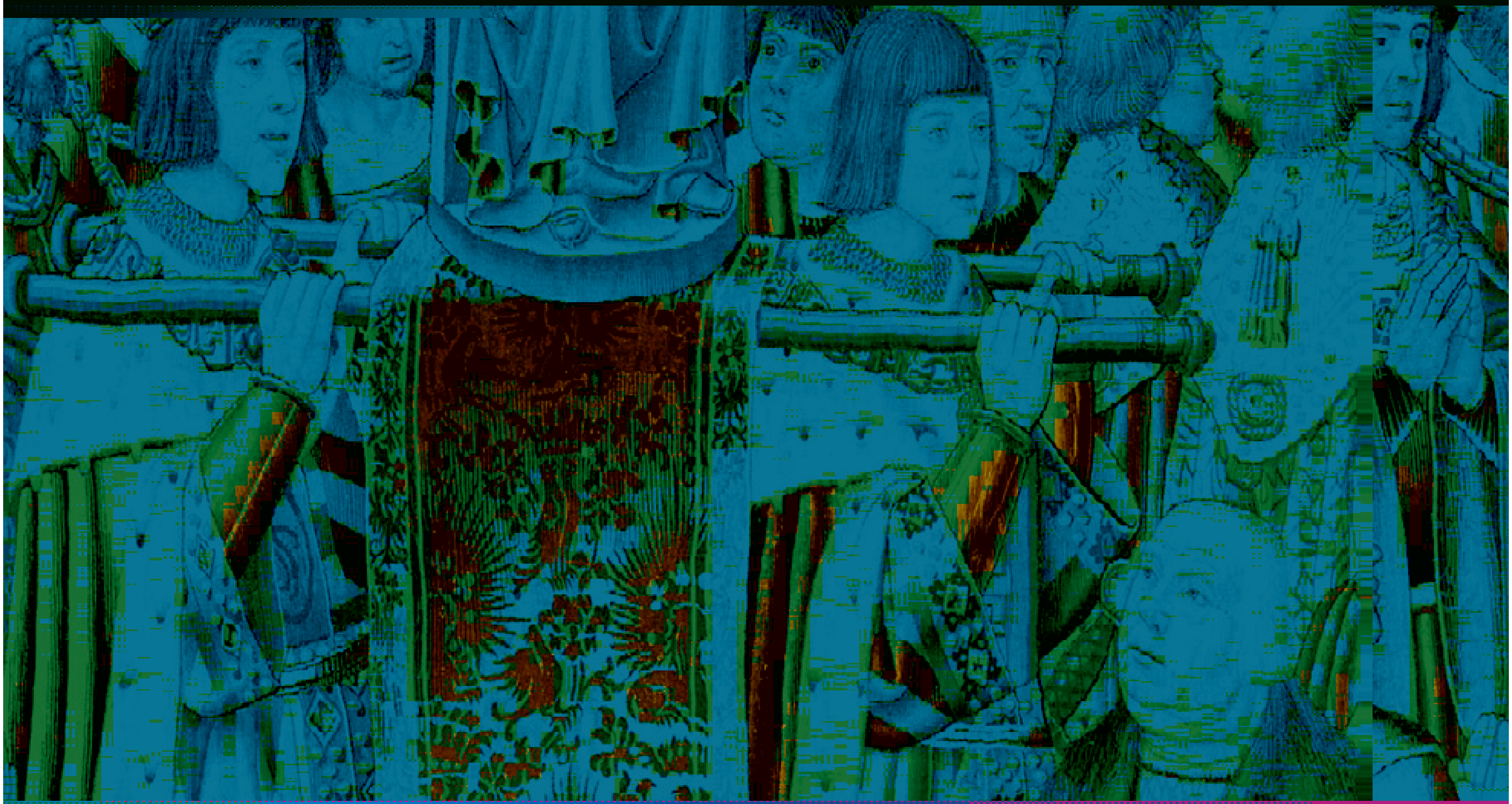
the Virgin's hand in the tapestry. (While these elements do not necessarily imply the direct involvement of Mantegna in the conception of the design, they certainly suggest an artist who was familiar with his work.) Whether the artist was from Lombardy or a French artist who had been fully exposed to Italian influence remains to be established. Souchal assumed that the cartoons were prepared by a Northern artist, because of what she perceived to be stylistic similarities between the landscapes and those in other extant choir tapestries of the period.[14] If this is correct, the complex nature of the perspectival interiors, the reliefs with which they are decorated, and the distinctive "dry" folds in the garments of many of the figures (rather than the more fluid folds characteristic of Netherlandish cartoon design) suggest that the preliminary designs must have been very detailed.

As Souchal wrote, the combination of these stylistic factors may well reflect the influence on Jacques d'Amboise of the tastes of his brother Georges, whose appetite for Italian art is well documented, most notably in the striking decorations undertaken at the Gaillon château from 1506.[15] Georges considered Mantegna to be the leading painter in the world and communicated his desire to obtain one of his works to Isabella d'Este in 1499. Unable to wrest the artist from the Gonzaga court, he had to be satisfied with a few works by the painter, including his portrait, and the reproduction of his most famous work, the *Triumphs of Caesar*, in the form of a frieze in the gallery at Gaillon. Georges also acquired paintings by other Italian artists, including a Perugino and a *Bacchus* by Leonardo da Vinci. Andrea Solario, Leonardo's pupil, worked between 1507 and 1509–10 at Gaillon, where he painted a fresco representing the whole d'Amboise family as well as various other works.[16]

Considering the active interest that Georges took in Italian art, Souchal has suggested that


Hanc aqs devoto cultu venerare Mariam
Illa feret meritis premia digna tuis


AVE REGINA CELORV



a genealogical series that van Orley is documented as having designed for the Nassau family in 1530 (fig. 142). Crick-Kuntziger's attribution has been accepted by most subsequent commentators, including the authors of detailed studies of van Orley's activity as a tapestry designer.[14]

As Crick-Kuntziger and, more recently, Farmer and Ainsworth have commented, the conception of the *Notre Dame du Sablon* tapestries marks a striking development in Netherlandish tapestry design. While van Orley followed a traditional formula in arranging the narrative within an architectural framework, the framework is represented not as the traditional multifaceted Gothic tracery, richly encrusted with jewels, but with motifs that are clearly intended to be Italian. Although some of the figures within the set are depicted in stiff and formulaic poses (perhaps resulting from van Orley's inexperience as a tapestry designer), there is no obvious recourse to established patterns, and the costumes avoid the highly decorated patternings and virtuoso contrasts of textures displayed by many contemporary high-quality tapestries. Most importantly, the narrative episodes have a much greater sense of depth than most contemporary Netherlandish tapestries and a much greater sense of realism. For example, in the first two tapestries, Soetkens's abode is shown as very simple, but visualized with great particularity, with a wooden stool, tile floor, chamber pot, clogs, and rush mat. Similar comments apply to the representation of the artist's workshop. The intense visualization of the legendary events of the story was entirely novel in Netherlandish tapestry design.[15]

Although Souchal and others have assumed that this new direction was stimulated by the arrival of the *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons, the absence of any Raphaelesque citations and figure types suggests that van Orley's inspiration lay elsewhere, perhaps in the *Last Supper* tapestry (fig. 67) woven after the Leonardo fresco design for Francis of Angoulême before he became Francis I, king of France, in 1515.[16] This is supported by the character of the borders, which were also novel in Netherlandish tapestry design. Rather than the floral borders then in vogue (or the grotesques of the *Acts of the Apostles*), the *Notre Dame du Sablon* borders are conceived in sculptural and architectural terms that encompass elements familiar from Italian art (albeit distorted through a Northern lens), including swags, wreaths, and candelabra. Again, these components suggest a possible influence from the *Last Supper* and the Louise of Savoy and Francis of Angoulême heraldic tapestry (fig. 64) woven between 1512 and 1514.

The *Notre Dame du Sablon* series is additionally important in that it embodies a sizable portrait gallery of the Habsburgs and of the family of Franz von Taxis, under the guise of the protagonists of the legend. While historic anecdote and archival evidence indicate that this was not a new phenomenon in tapestry design, few portraits can be securely identified today, so this set is valuable for providing explicit evidence of this practice. Van Orley was to develop the seamless incorporation of highly realistic portraits within a broader narrative to much greater effect during the 1520s with the *Battle of Pavia* (see cat. nos. 35, 36, and figs. 140, 147), the *Genealogy of the House of Nassau* (see fig. 142), and the *Hunts of Maximilian* (see cat. nos. 37–40 and figs. 109, 141).

Place of Manufacture

The place of manufacture is undocumented, but considering the place of residence of the patron, the subject matter of the tapestries, and the probable identity of the artist, it seems reasonable to suppose that the set was woven in Brussels. The materials, colors, and style of weaving are consistent with the quality of products that were evidently being produced in the town by this date.

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1. A. Van Ruymbeke in Brussels 1976, p. 85.
2. The vision was illustrated in the left section of the first tapestry, of which the lower part is in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, and the upper portion, formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, has been lost since World War II. The middle section, showing Beatrice requesting permission from the town magistrates, was acquired by the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, in 1963. The upper portion of the right section showed Beatrice taking the statue to the workshop of an artist (formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, also missing since World War II), and the lower half, the return of the statue to its niche (Île-de-France Villa Museum, Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat); A. Van Ruymbeke in Brussels 1976, pp. 86–88.
3. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; ibid., pp. 89–91.
4. Completely restored in 1963 and now at the Musée Communal, Brussels; ibid., pp. 92–93.
5. G. Derveaux-Van Ussel in Brussels 1976, pp. 145–46.
6. Le Maire 1955.
7. Crick-Kuntziger 1930a, p. 54.
8. Crick-Kuntziger 1956b, p. 32.
9. Crick-Kuntziger 1930a, p. 53; Le Maire 1935.
10. Crick-Kuntziger 1956b, p. 33; A. Van Ruymbeke in Brussels 1976, p. 85.
11. Le Maire 1954, pp. 214–15; Le Maire 1955, pp. 233–39.
12. Crick-Kuntziger 1956b, p. 33
13. Crick-Kuntziger 1930, pp. 12, 14.
14. Souchal in Paris 1973, p. 207; A. Van Ruymbeke in Brussels 1976; Farmer 1981, pp. 304–8; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 36–39.
15. Crick-Kuntziger 1930; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 36–39.
16. Souchal in Paris 1973, p. 207; A. Van Ruymbeke in Brussels 1976, p. 98.

17.

Nobilitas

Eighth in a set of nine tapestries known as
the *Honors* (*Los Honores*)
Design by Bernaert van Orley and other unidentified
artists, ca. 1517–20
Woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, Brussels,
ca. 1520–25
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
500 x 865 cm (16 ft. 4⅞ in. x 28 ft. 4½ in.)
7½–8 warps per cm
Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de la Granja de San
Ildefonso (TA–8/4, 10026278)

PROVENANCE: 1523–26, seven pieces of set in pawn to the Fuggers in Antwerp; spring 1526, purchased by Charles V; May 1527, lined and displayed at Valladolid on occasion of christening of Prince Philip (later Philip II); 1544, listed in inventory of Charles V's tapestries in Brussels; probably taken to Spain by Charles V in 1555 or by Philip II in 1559; 1562, removed from fortress of Simancas; 1576, exhibited at the monastery of Guadalupe for meeting of Philip II and King Sebastian of Portugal; 1599, listed in inventory of Philip II's possessions; by descent in the Spanish royal collection; 1713, cleaned and restored; 1713, 1747, and 1753, in use as winter decoration at the Buen Retiro palace, Madrid; 1751–53, restored and rewoven at the Real Fabrica de Santa Barbara, Madrid; since 1957, displayed at the Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso (near Segovia).[1]

REFERENCES: Mâle 1931, pp. 367–73; Crick-Kuntziger 1943, pp. 77–80; Steppe 1968, pp. 720–34; Delmarcel 1971; Steppe and Delmarcel 1974; Delmarcel 1977a; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, vol. 1, pp. 35–44; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 147–54; Mechelen 2000 (with bibliog.).

CONDITION: Excellent, considering the age and size. The tapestries have been conserved at the royal tapestry manufactory in Madrid on a number of occasions in the course of the last two centuries, but the original design, colors, and materials are well preserved.

With a total surface area of 403 square meters and incorporating depictions of 336 different figures, the nine-piece *Honors* set is one of the most sumptuous and visually complex group of tapestries produced in Brussels during the sixteenth century or, indeed, in any period or anywhere. The set embodies an elaborate allegorical program concerning the theological and cardinal virtues that a ruler—here identified with the Habsburg emperor through insignia and portraits—must practice in order to overcome the hazards of Fate, to achieve Fame, Nobility, and Honor, and to avoid Infamy. The weaving, if not the original conception, of the set was probably commissioned to celebrate the coronation of Charles V as king of Germany and his assumption of the title of Holy Roman Emperor-elect in 1520. The set derives its name from the subject of the fifth tapestry, the *Triumph of Honor,* which was sent to Charles V in 1526 as a sample to encourage him to pay for the whole set. Embracing an enormous range of classical and medieval sources, this manifesto of royal ethics provides a veritable compendium of northern European Renaissance thought and learning, which has recently been the subject of a detailed analysis by Delmarcel (to which the present text is heavily indebted).[2] At the time the set was woven, it was unquestionably the most ambitious propagandistic exercise in the tapestry medium that had ever been undertaken, an astonishing demonstration of the potential of high-quality Brussels tapestry production by the end of the 1510s.

Description and Iconography

Each of the nine tapestries in the set is conceived as a theatrical tableau, in which the principal allegory is elevated on a stage or pediment in the center of the composition, surrounded by a myriad of figures from religious and literary sources who exemplify that quality or its opposite. Following the order established by Delmarcel, the tapestries represent the following subjects: Fortuna (Fortune); Prudentia (Prudence); Virtus (Virtue); Fides (Faith); Honor (Honor); Fama (Fame); Justitia (Justice); Nobilitas (Nobility); Infamia (Infamy). The main premise of the set is introduced by the first tapestry, *Fortuna,* which depicts the Island of Fortune (fig. 128). Fortune rides blindfolded through the sky over her island, scattering roses on one side and stones on the other. Crowds of people attempt to swim to the island, some with success, some with disastrous consequences. In the center of the island a servant holds Fortune's wheel, which has the power to elevate men to the highest achievement, and then to cast them down again, a concept that was articulated in late antiquity by Boethius in *De consolatione philosophiae* (524) and that received wide dissemination in medieval didactic tracts. The wheel is shown from three angles. The one facing front represents the present (PRAESENS). The imperial crown, sword, and scepter appear on the wheel's upper rim, with the inscription HONOR below, while the date 1520 on a small cartouche on the platform at the right of the tapestry invites association between this ascendant position and the coronation of Charles at Aachen in October 1520. At either side of this central wheel two other wheels represent the future.

This visualization of the mutability of Fortune and the ascendancy of the Habsburg emperor sets the stage for the didactic exposition of the following tapestries. These embody the precept that a ruler who follows the path of Wisdom (as depicted in *Prudentia,* the second tapestry; fig. 129) will defeat Fortune's inconstancy by exercising Moderation and Fortitude (*Virtus,* the third tapestry). The fourth tapestry, *Fides,* depicts the Temple of the Seven Virtues, in which Faith is enthroned in the center, flanked by personifications of the other two theological virtues, Hope and Charity, with the cardinal (civil) virtues below: Wisdom, Moderation, Justice, and Fortitude. At the right of this panel the virtuous ascend a staircase that leads, in the next tapestry, *Honor,* to a grand court where Honor presides, surrounded by famous kings and princes as his judiciary. This tapestry was evidently designed to form the centerpiece to the entire ensemble because the staircase at the left is balanced by a complementary staircase at the right, from which other figures are ascending from the Temple of Good Fame, depicted in the succeeding tapestry, *Fama.* This, the sixth tapestry, is dominated by a figure of Fame sitting astride an elephant, who blows two trumpets, representing good and bad fame, as famous figures from the past move in procession below her stage. The seventh tapestry represents the Temple of Justice (*Justitia*), where Justice (the main public virtue of a prince according to medieval didactic treatises) is enthroned between Fortitude and Temperance. The ninth and final tapestry depicts the Procession of the Dishonorable (*Infamia;* fig. 130), with a figure

Patron and Date

The earliest documented reference to the set occurs in a contract between the weaver, Pieter van Aelst, and the Fuggers, the rich Augsburg bankers, drawn up at Whitsun of the year 1523, and relating to the partial repayment of a loan of 2,686 Flemish pounds, 12 shillings, and 6 stivers that van Aelst had received from the Fuggers on July 24, 1522. According to the contract, van Aelst repaid 1,000 pounds and as surety for the balance he pawned seven large tapestries of *Fortuna* woven with silk and gold, with a total surface area of 670 ells, that he valued at 3,050 pounds. As Steppe first recognized, in view of the enormous size of these tapestries and as *Fortuna* was the first tapestry in the set, there can be no doubt that these were seven of the *Honors* set.[9] Still unable to redeem the debt in January 1525, Pieter van Aelst made a contract with Wolf Haller von Hallerstein, agent of the Fuggers in Antwerp, according to which the Fuggers were entitled to sell the seven tapestries, along with two others pieces pawned to different creditors. Van Aelst urged, however, that they should first be offered to the emperor for whom they were made ("der keyserlycker maiesteyt, dair voiren die tapisseryen—alzoe hy Pieter vercleerde—gemaict zyn") to see if he wished to purchase them. The Fuggers agreed to this condition, and van Aelst arranged to send a sample, the *Triumph of Honor* (valued at 500 pounds), to Spain, where Charles lived between 1522 and 1529. As Haller von Hallerstein had close contacts with the Habsburg court, traveling to Spain with Charles in 1517 and negotiating the financing of the bribes that Charles distributed at the time of the imperial election in 1519, it is likely that the arrangements between van Aelst and the Fuggers were undertaken with Charles's knowledge. The date at which Charles finally paid for the tapestries can also be established with some precision. According to the first documentation of the set within the Habsburg collection, an inventory of Charles's tapestries compiled in Brussels in 1544, the nine pieces "dhonneur" were purchased in "civile" (Seville). As Charles only visited Seville on the occasion of his marriage to Isabella of Portugal between March 10 and May 14, 1526, the financing for the final purchase presumably derived from the dowry that Charles received during this visit. Confirmation that payment was made in 1526 is provided by an inventory drawn up in January 1527 regarding the estate of Jakob Fugger "the rich." It records that the Fuggers owed van Aelst and his associate Agostino Turchi 2,692 ducats and 147 maravedis from a total of 12,000 ducats paid for a "guldin tappetzerey," while Charles V is listed as a debtor for 12,091 ducats for a "guldin tappetzerey" by Pieter van Aelst.[10]

On the basis of the 1523 contract with van Aelst concerning the seven tapestries and the 1544 royal inventory, Delmarcel, the principal historian of this series, has suggested that the series may have been commissioned by Charles in celebration of his election on June 28, 1519, as the King of the Romans and Emperor-elect of the German Hereditary Lands, or of his coronation at Aachen on October 23, 1520, when the pope granted him the right to use the title emperor and to carry the imperial insignia of scepter, sword of state, and double crown. As noted above, the date 1520 appears in a small cartouche in the first tapestry of the set, which depicts the imperial insignia above the wheel of Fortune. Delmarcel takes this as the date at which the cartoons were painted and interprets the imperial insignia as a specific reference to Charles's coronation at Aachen on October 23, 1520, rather than as a more general demonstration of the supremacy of imperial power through the practice of the virtues.[11]

This assumption has important ramifications for the interpretation of other allusions to imperial insignia and the Burgundian Habsburg household that appear within the set, particularly within the *Nobilitas* tapestry. For example, for Delmarcel the escutcheon held by Civic Nobility—a two-headed eagle, sable on a field gules—alludes to the arms that Charles adopted following his election in 1519.[12] The figure of Joseph in his chariot below the arms is thus an allusion to Charles's joyful entries following his landing at Vlissingen in June 1520. Similarly, Delmarcel interpets the coat of arms that Brabo is handing to Caesar—a bar argent on a field gules—as a reference to Charles. As noted above, these arms are described in Lemaire's *Illustrations de Gaule* as the arms of the royal house of Austria, whose territories had included the duchy of Brabant from the twelfth century. Subsequently the arms were also adopted by some towns in Brabant. On this basis Delmarcel suggests that the escutcheon represents a conflation of the two districts and that the only person to whom this conflation can refer is Charles, who, from his majority in 1515, was the only duke of Brabant.[13] By implication, the portrayal of the anointing of David in the central scene of the tapestry is specifically a metaphor for Charles's coronation, rather than a more general celebration of the divine nature of the imperial election. Most important of all, the representation of Maximilian, Charles's grandfather, in the *Nobilitas* tapestry thus represents a posthumous tribute to the new emperor's forebear (Maximilian died on January 19, 1519), rather than a panegyric. Delmarcel finds support for his interpretation of the iconography—that the set was conceived as a moral incentive for the conduct of the new emperor—in the inscription on the final tapestry, which he takes as programmatic.[14]

Despite this undoubtedly valid reading of the iconography of the completed tapestries, it nonetheless leaves certain questions unanswered, mainly concerning the genesis of the the project: the dates at which the series was conceived, the program was elaborated, the preliminary designs were drawn up, and the full-scale cartoons were executed. Considering the size and quality of the tapestries, they would each have taken about two years to weave. Such large sets were normally woven in a staggered process, in groups of three or four pieces, but even if it is agreed that the first seven were all woven at the same time, and thus in a suitable state to mortgage at Whitsun 1523, the work must have begun by late spring 1521, only six or seven months after Charles's coronaton in October 1520. This hardly seems enough time for the conception of the iconographic scheme of this enormously complex set, its interpretation into a detailed design, and its translation into full-scale cartoons. In comparison, the cartoons for the *Conquest of Tunis,* of comparable scale and complexity, prepared for Charles V by Jan Vermeyen during the 1540s, took more than two years to complete (see pp. 391–92 below). Even allowing for the fact that the *Honors* cartoons may have been produced by a large group of artists working together on an important court commission, it seems unlikely that the design could have been conceived, and the cartoons painted, in anything less than eighteen months. Although the date of 1520 that appears in the first tapestry may therefore indicate the year in which that cartoon was painted (if it was not a later adaptation to a cartoon that had already been painted, in order to customize it with reference to the election at Aachen), it seems quite likely that the overall scheme of the set, and even some of the other cartoons, may have been prepared well before the October 1520 ceremony.

If we allow a period of between eighteen and twenty-four months for the elaboration of the designs and the execution of the cartoons, the conception of the series would then lie in the spring or early summer of 1519, a period coinciding with the imperial election in June of that year. This dating is certainly more acceptable than an assumption that the whole scheme was devised and rushed into production in 1520. There is, however, a further consideration. If the series was commissioned to celebrate Charles's election as Holy Roman Emperor in June 1519, why is no overt reference to Charles included within the tapestries, especially within the *Nobilitas* tapestry, in which his grandfather Maximilian is portrayed as Octavian, founder of the line of Germanic emperors, and his aunt Margaret of Austria appears as Esther, attending the coronation of David? Considering the frequency with which patrons were depicted in contemporary Brussels tapestry production, why is the figure of David not a more obvious portrait of Charles V? Although various arguments can be proposed to answer this question, they are all somewhat tenuous and in the absence of a clear and obvious explanation we cannot help but notice that the insignia that Delmarcel interprets as references to Charles might equally be taken as references to his grandfather or to the imperial role of the Habsburg house in general. For example, the arms carried by Civic Nobility were carried by Maximilian between 1508 and 1519, and those on the escutcheon that Brabo hands to Caesar could be simply a reference to the greater Austrian territories of Maximilian. Most significantly in this respect, the letters that appear at the top of the columns in the *Nobilitas* tapestry are stylized M's, presumably for Maximilian, rather than K's for Karolus.

While Delmarcel's assumption that the *Honors* set was planned and designed for Charles from 1520 onward has the attraction of simplicity and logic, the foregoing questions open up an alternative possibility, namely, that the original momentum for the *Honors* set came not from Charles but from his aunt Margaret of Austria (a possibility that Delmarcel acknowledges in passing but does not fully explore) and his grandfather Maximilian. Van Ysselsteyn has mooted the idea that the *Nobilitas* panel may have been commissioned by Maximilian, but the context in which this suggestion was made was so compromised by factual error and whimsicality that it has been largely disregarded, along with her assumption that the *Honors* set is composed of elements from three different design series.[15] Delmarcel rejected the possibility that the *Nobilitas* panel, or the set as a whole, could have been created as a panegyric for Maximilian, because the didactic text and implied address to Charles is so explicit in the final tapestry.[16] Yet, it must be asked whether these two elements were really so exclusive. On the contrary, it is far more likely that a commission for a didactic demonstration of the values embodied by the imperial role would have derived from the future emperor's guardians and mentors rather than from the future incumbent himself. And if Margaret and Maximilian were responsible for the conception and development of the scheme and preliminary plans (if not for the weaving and payment of the tapestries), the inclusion of themselves in the guise of guides and forebears follows naturally.

Margaret of Austria was evidently a keen, if rather impecunious, tapestry patron, whose court advisors were almost certainly responsible for some of the complex allegorical design series woven during the 1510s (such as the *Twelve Ages of Man*; see fig. 62, which has several points in common with the *Honors*). Similarly, although Maximilian was notoriously short of money for much of his reign, and not in a financial position to pay for very large tapestry commissions, we know that he did make a number of acquisitions from leading Tournai and Brussels workshops through the agency of Margaret, his daughter, during the 1510s. The lack of documentation relating to Maximilian's activity as a tapestry patron has generally led to the assumption that he was not especially interested in the medium. But was this really so? Considering his dynastic and familial links to the Burgundian court, and his evident interest in the arts as a tool for consolidating the Habsburg *imperium*, perhaps he may have played a more important part than hitherto realized. As Delmarcel himself has noted, the allegorical and triumphant character of the iconographic scheme of the *Honors* had much in common with one of Maximilian's well-documented propagandistic exercises, the enormous engraving of a triumphal arch, the *Gate of Honor*, between 1511 and 1518, which was designed by a team of German artists and printed from large woodcuts. This print featured three gateways that were dedicated to Honor, Nobility, and Fame, which are also featured in the *Honors* set as the highest goals of the Renaissance ruler.[17] The combination of the didactic tone of the *Honors* with the presence of portraits of Margaret and Maximilian, but not of Charles or his brother Ferdinand, certainly suggests that the concept of this series may have originated in the minds of the future emperor's guardians, rather than in that of the young incumbent himself. And if the set was conceived under the aegis of Maximilian and Margaret of Austria, as a celebration of the values represented by the Habsburg imperial rule, we might then conjecture that the development of the design had reached an advanced stage before Maximilian's death and that the execution of the set was then approved by Charles following his election.

Complementary questions in a discussion of the genesis of this design concern the political context in which the set was conceived and the audience for whom it was intended. Delmarcel's studies have demonstrated the extent to which much of the iconography and tone of the series derived from the *speculum principis*, or "mirror for princes," tradition, as manifested in literary and figurative form during the late medieval era. Although Delmarcel acknowledges that Charles conceived the set more as a tool of imperial propaganda than as an object of contemplation, his interpretation of and approach to it are colored by the notion that it represents the most glorious manifestation of this tradition.[18] Yet if the didactic program unquestionably provides the ostensible iconographic structure of the set, as is explicit in the moral conclusion that appears in the final scene, the extreme richness and scale of the set, as well as the enormous cost involved in producing it, clearly demonstrate that it was never envisaged as a didactic work of art in a narrow, meditative sense, for private contemplation and

Detail of cat. no. 17

reflection. On the contrary, as one of the most ambitious and expensive exercises of artistic patronage undertaken by the Habsburg court, it was intended for public display, a glorious affirmation of the values of the imperial dynasty, and of the qualities of leadership that the emperor's subjects might expect of their leader. As such, it was a fitting descendant to the *Story of Gideon* woven for Philip the Good seventy years earlier. Again, considering the scale of this exercise, and the circumstances in which the imperial election took place in 1519, it is more logical to suggest that the series was conceived in a period when Margaret and Maximilian had a vested interest in celebrating and ensuring the continuation of the Habsburg imperial dynasty.

Author of the Iconographic Program

As Delmarcel has demonstrated in his detailed study, the iconographic scheme synthesized an enormous range of ancient and medieval philosophical and didactic erudition the roots of which stretched back to works like Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (translated into French in 1372 for Charles V of France); Cicero's *De inventione* and *De officiis* (published in French in 1470 and 1493, respectively); Macrobius's fifth-century commentary on Cicero's "Somnium Scipionis," with a classification of the virtues that was to be very influential during the fifteenth century; and Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae,* explicating the theme of fortune, which had already been reproduced in sixty editions before 1500.[19] These classical meditations on the state of man in the world and the nature of the virtues had been expanded in such medieval texts as Alain de Lille's *De virtutibus et de vitiis et de donis spiritus sancti* (ca. 1150) and *Anticlaudianus* (1181–84)—a direct source for this series—and other thirteenth-century works by Thomas Aquinas, Peraldus, and Hugo Ripelinus. Much of this material was then reinterpreted in didactic works such as Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (1356–66), translated into French in 1378; Christine de Pisan's *Le livre de Prudence* (1405); and Martin le Franc's *L'estrif de Fortune et de Vertue* (1447).

A second, related, group of sources that evidently informed the conception of the *Honors* set were the didactic works known as "mirrors for princes" that were written for the instruction of young princes and rulers. These included John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159); Thomas Aquinas's *De regimine principum ad regem Cypri* (1265); and Aegidius Romanus's *De regimine principum* (1268–86), translated by Jean Wauquelin in the fifteenth century for Philip the Good. The continuing vitality of this didactic tradition is demonstrated by a series of publications that appeared in the period in which the *Honors* set was conceived: Erasmus's *Institutio principis christiani,* dedicated to Charles in 1516, Guillaume Budé's *L'institution du prince* (written in 1518–19 for Francis I of France), and Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Governour* (dedicated to Henry VIII in 1531). In turn, these treatises on the ethics of rule were supplemented by a rich variety of epitaphs and panegyrics written for the dukes of Burgundy and the house of Habsburg of which recent examples included Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Le temple d'honneur et de vertus* (1503) and Michel Riz's *Le changement de fortune en toute prosperité* (1506–7). The models and examples provided by the foregoing literature were supplemented by other exemplary texts, ancient and contemporary, such as Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (A.D. 31), Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium,* and Lemaire's *Illustrations de Gaule.* Finally, a wealth of illustrative material was also provided by Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* which received widespread dissemination in the *Ovide moralisé* and Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (1350–75, published in Latin in 1472 and in French in 1498).

If the foregoing sources provided the underlying philosophical and didactic ethos on which the *Honors* set is structured as well as an abundance of material for depiction of the central themes, a more immediate model for the dramatization and visual program of the set seems to have been the theatrical tableaux that were such an important part of the celebrations associated with the reception of a new monarch at one of his principalities during the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century. Some of these embodied very complex allegorical schemes with themes closely related to those of the *Honors* set. Delmarcel has demonstrated that the tableaux arranged for the joyful entry of Charles into various Netherlandish towns following the declaration of his majority in 1515 may have provided the immediate inspiration for the *Honors* set. Remy de Puys, the court historian, has left a detailed account of the entry into Bruges in April 1515 when twenty-seven stages were erected, of which the tableau of the fifth stage closely resembled that of the third tapestry in the *Honors* set, with a prince enthroned above the wheel of Fortune, and Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, and Prudence restraining Fortune from turning her wheel. Fortune carried a Latin inscription, which translates, "I who conquer all am conquered by virtue" and which reappears on the *Virtus* tapestry. Similar tableaux were arranged when Charles returned to the Low Countries in 1520, of which the most elaborate was staged at Antwerp on September 23. On this occasion, the program was produced and published by Pieter Gillis, town clerk of Antwerp (friend of Thomas More and Erasmus). The tableaux were mounted on thirteen stages, each forty feet long, which were constructed by 250 painters and 300 carpenters. Each represented the emperor—*autocrator*—accompanied by a virtuous attribute, trampling on the corresponding vice, a scheme that incorporated many parallels with the *Honors* tapestries.[20]

On the basis of various figures and concepts cited in works by Jean Lemaire de Belges, Margaret of Austria's official court historian, Mâle proposed that this leading humanist thinker and intellectual may have been responsible for the *Honors* program.[21] But since Lemaire fell from favor after 1512, Delmarcel has questioned this identification, suggesting instead that his successor, Remy de Puys, may have been the author. Delmarcel also invokes the name of Juan Luis Vives, who worked in Louvain between 1513 and 1523, and Erasmus, although as he correctly notes, the eulogistic tone of the *Honors* scheme is alien to the more satirical character of Erasmus's other written work.[22]

Designer and Cartoonists

Even allowing for the somewhat schematic design of the *Honors* set, and the reuse of certain figure and facial types, the physical preparation of preliminary designs from the complex libretto and the elaboration of these designs into full-scale cartoons must have necessitated the involvement of a large number of artists over an extended period of time. In a preliminary study of van Orley's tapestry designs, Crick-Kuntziger attributed the principal role in the design of the set to this artist, primarily on the basis of the similarity between the portraits of Margaret of Austria and Maximilian in the *Nobilitas* tapestry and van Orley's portrayals of these figures in his paintings and, to a lesser extent, between some of the figures and architectural details with those that appear in van Orley paintings of the 1510s.[23]

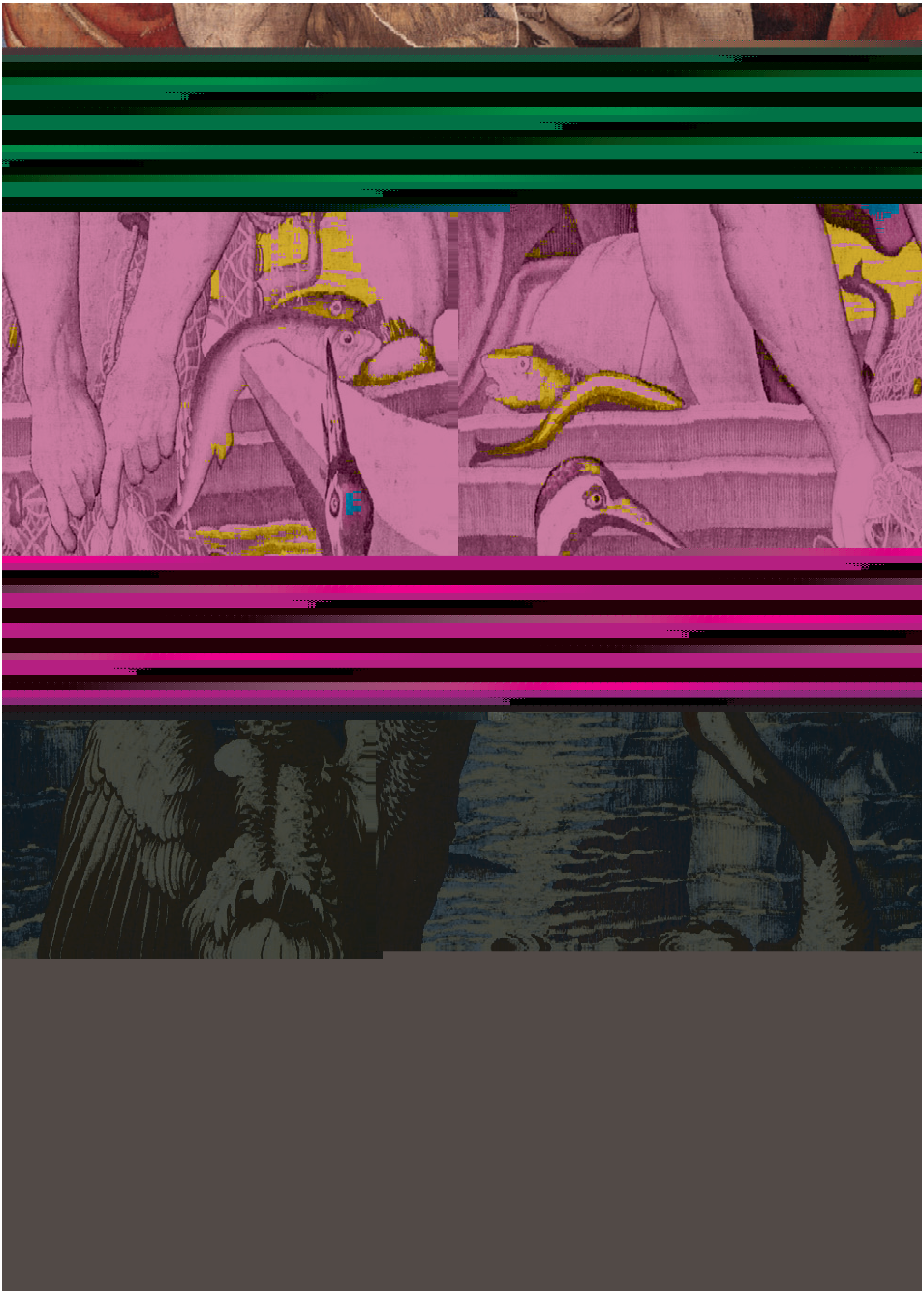
Subsequent authors have been more cautious in following this lead, and both Farmer and Ainsworth skirted the issue in their studies of van Orley's tapestry work, presumably because the conception and design of the *Honors* set are so out of character with those of the *Notre Dame du Sablon* set that van Orley is presumed to have designed about 1516–17 and the four-piece *Passion* set that he designed for Margaret of Austria as documented by a contract of 1520 (figs. 131–34).[24] With a new understanding of the chronology of the development of the *Passion* cycle between 1518 and 1522, and because of the possibility that the cartoons for the first two designs may have been painted by another artist altogether, or adapted by van Orley from a well-established model, the relationship of this artist to the *Honors* designs becomes even more complex.[25] In fact, as Delmarcel has suggested in his various publications on the *Honors* set, the enigmatic character of the set must depend on the involvement of a number of artists besides van Orley.[26]

Study of the designs reveals that there is a contrast in style between the figures in various tapestries. This contrast is most apparent when comparing the first and last tapestries, *Fortuna* (fig. 128) and *Infamia* (fig. 130), with the second and third tapestries, *Virtus* and *Prudentia* (fig. 129). While the greater dramatization of the figures in *Fortuna* and *Infamia* may, in part, depend upon the nature of the subjects illustrated in these scenes, these tapestries also demonstrate a much greater degree of characterization in the faces and gestures of the figures (who do indeed display traits that correspond to those that appear in later designs that are attributed to van Orley), whereas those in *Virtus* and *Prudentia,* especially the female figures, are more stylized and formulaic. While this complex question requires further investigation, it suggests that we are dealing with a collaborative work in which several different artists were involved, perhaps one in which van Orley may only have played an important role at a relatively late stage in the execution of the cartoons. Delmarcel suggests that the portrait of a man included in the panel of *Honor* is very close to a portrayal of Floris of Egmond by Jan Gossart, called Mabuse (1478–1532).[27] Other figures and facial types are strongly reminiscent of those in earlier design series, such as the *Triumphs of Petrarch* (see cat. no. 13), from 1507–10, and the *Moralidades,* or in the contemporary work of artists like Quentin Massys, or the less well defined material attributed to Adriaan van den Houte.[28] In view of the dominant presence of the van Orley–type figures in the *Fortuna* and *Infamia* designs, and to a lesser extent in those for *Fama* and *Nobilitas,* it seems quite possible that van Orley was brought in to work on a scheme that was essentially undertaken under the direction of another artist altogether. Certainly, the assumption that van Orley would have been put in charge of this enormous series simply on the strength of his work on the *Notre Dame du Sablon* set and the work that he had undertaken for Margaret during the mid-1510s, primarily portrait paintings, seems questionable. It is just as likely that he may have worked alongside a distinguished group of peers, including Gossart, Massys, and Vellert.

Workshop

The tapestries were woven in the workshop of Pieter van Edingen, called Pieter van Aelst, one of the leading tapestry merchants of the day (see above, pp. 131–33). Each of these tapestries would have required a loom more than five meters in length and the continuous engagement of five or six highly skilled weavers for a period of approximately two years. Assuming that the bulk of the set was woven between 1520 and 1523, this was a period in which van Aelst was also acting as the middleman for a number of major commissions from the Vatican (see pp. 197–99, 225–45, 263–64 below) and other commissions for Henry VIII, king of England. Single-handedly, he must thus have engaged a significant portion of the best workshops and large numbers of the most highly skilled weavers in Brussels during the early 1520s, an extraordinary domination of the industry that was in marked contrast to the more diversified control that developed from about 1530.

1. Mechelen 2000, pp. 10–13.
2. Mechelen 2000.
3. Ibid., pp. 18, 47ff. Transcription and translation of inscription from ibid., pp. 154, 156.
Ergo perpetuus, si tibi Vis, Honor
Fama ac Nobilitas clara refulgeat,
Nec Fortuna sua te laceret rota,
Vel famosa notis Improbitas suis:
Fac pictura probo que docet ordine
Fac quinis Ratio sensibus imperet
Et prudens recolas horcus, Homo, deus
Quam seuus, fragilis, quamque seuerus est
Iam pressis vicium calcibus obterens
Cunctas excucies nequicias procul.
Mox Astreae virgo clarior Hespero
Et Virtus reliquis cincta sororibus
Sic ornare animum se venient tuum,
Quod dignum omnigenis te facient laudis
Et desyderii compos eris. Vale.
4. Ibid., pp. 125–41.
5. Ibid., p. 125.
6. Ibid., pp. 127–28.
7. Ibid., p. 138.
8. Ibid., p. 134.
9. Steppe 1968, pp. 729–33.
10. Mechelen 2000, pp. 9–10.
11. Ibid., p. 16.
12. Ibid., pp. 16–17.
13. Ibid., p. 17.
14. Ibid., p. 16.
15. Van Ysselsteyn 1969, p. 126.
16. Mechelen 2000, p. 16.
17. Ibid., pp. 20, 24.
18. Ibid., pp. 19, 28, 154–57.
19. Ibid., pp. 18–20.
20. Ibid., pp. 20–22.
21. Mâle 1931, p. 345.
22. Mechelen 2000, p. 28.
23. Crick-Kuntziger 1943, pp. 77–80.
24. Farmer 1981, p. 308; Ainsworth 1982, p. 28.
25. Delmarcel 1992.
26. Mechelen 2000, pp. 29–35.
27. Ibid., p. 31.
28. Ibid., pp. 31, 43–44.



The Acts of the Apostles Tapestries and Raphael's Cartoons

The sequence of ten tapestries traditionally known as the *Acts of the Apostles* was commissioned by Pope Leo X in 1515 and woven in Brussels from cartoons designed and painted by Raphael. On December 26, 1519, the first seven tapestries to arrive in Rome were displayed in the Sistine Chapel, the location for which the set was intended. Their novelty and beauty were immediately recognized.

According to Paris de Grassis, master of ceremonies of the papal chapel under Julius II and Leo X, general opinion had it that there was nothing more beautiful in the world.[1] The Venetian connoisseur Marcantonio Michiel noted too that they were considered one of the finest things of their kind that had ever been made, surpassing the tapestries in Julius II's "anticamera," those woven for the Gonzaga from designs by Mantegna, and those made for the king of Naples (all long since lost, together with any knowledge of their appearance and origins).[2]

The *Acts* embodied an iconographic program that was intended to complement the existing decorations in the Sistine Chapel and to celebrate Leo as Christ's representative on earth. Raphael conceived this scheme as a vast woven fresco incorporating lifesize figures acting in fully realized illusionistic settings. Although a number of earlier designs had included modest attempts in this respect, the scale, drama, artistry, and status of Raphael's achievement took tapestry design in a wholly new direction. Through the medium of engraved and woven copies, the *Acts* were among the most effective ambassadors of the Italian High Renaissance style in northern Europe in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and through their influence on Netherlandish artists such as Bernaert van Orley and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, they fundamentally altered the subsequent development of Netherlandish tapestry design.[3]

PATRON AND LOCATION

Giovanni de' Medici (1475–1521), the future Leo X, was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Educated by the humanists who frequented the Palazzo Medici in Florence, he grew up among the works of art that his grandfather and father had amassed. Named as a cardinal in 1492, he was forced into exile in 1494 when his elder brother, Piero de' Medici (1471–1503), was expelled from Florence. Although Giovanni spent most of the following eight years in Italy, he also traveled to Germany, the Low Countries, and France in 1499. From 1500 on he resided in Rome, where he surrounded himself with artists and writers. Appointed papal legate to Bologna in 1512, he secured the return of the Medici to Florence in 1512, and following Julius II's death in 1513, was elected to succeed him as Pope Leo X at the age of thirty-seven. His new position allowed him to continue his artistic patronage on a munificent scale, and he was to become notoriously extravagant in this respect. Under his direction Raphael continued to decorate the Stanze, the papal state apartments (the first two rooms had been completed under Julius II). At the same time Leo turned his attention to the further embellishment of the Sistine Chapel.[4]

Built between 1477 and 1480 by Sixtus IV, the Sistine Chapel was the setting for the principal religious observances of the papal calendar; it was also, as it still is, the place in which the college of cardinals met in conclave to elect a new pope. It thus enjoyed a privileged status within the Vatican and in a broader sense the Catholic world, and Paris de Grassis described it as the first chapel of Christendom "both in its majesty and structure."[5] It assumed special liturgical significance during the second decade of the sixteenth century because of construction on Saint Peter's (for which Julius II had laid the foundation stone on April 18, 1506); the basilica was in effect at this time an open-air arena, poorly suited to the celebration of major feasts.

The chapel was divided into two sections by a screen (*cancellata*), which, at the date of Leo's accession, occupied a position roughly in its center. The upper chapel was reserved for a congregation of about two hundred, including the college of cardinals, heads of the monastic and mendicant orders, senior members of the pope's household, ambassadors, leading political figures of Rome, and visiting ecclesiastic and secular dignitaries. The lower chapel was occupied by lesser members of the papal household and the laity, including pilgrims and spectators.[6]

Fig. 72. Detail of cat. no. 24: *The Miraculous Draft of Fishes* from the *Acts of the Apostles*

At Leo's accession, the decorations of the chapel were already the finest and most elaborate within the confines of the Vatican. The upper walls had been painted in the early 1480s with frescoes depicting the Life of Christ and the Life of Moses beneath a cycle of papal portraits; these frescoes were by leading artists of the day, including Perugino, Botticelli, Signorelli, and Ghirlandaio. The lower register was decorated with fictive hangings brocaded with the della Rovere arms of Sixtus IV. The latest and most splendid addition was the ceiling frescoes of the Sibyls, Prophets, and scenes of Genesis that Michelangelo had executed at Julius II's behest between 1508 and 1512. Spurred by this precedent and evidently intending to leave his own mark, Leo initiated a series of measures to further augment the magnificence of the chapel. Shortly after his election he ordered the replacement of some of the windows and a new cover for the papal throne. He also expanded the choir. Later, in 1518, he charged Paris de Grassis to commission a new, silver-gilt pulpit, new candlesticks, and new vestments—"for he desired, by all means, whatever sustained the *maiestas papalis* in the liturgy."[7] Leo's greatest contribution to the *maiestas papalis,* however, was the commission for a new set of tapestries to decorate the lower walls of the chapel.

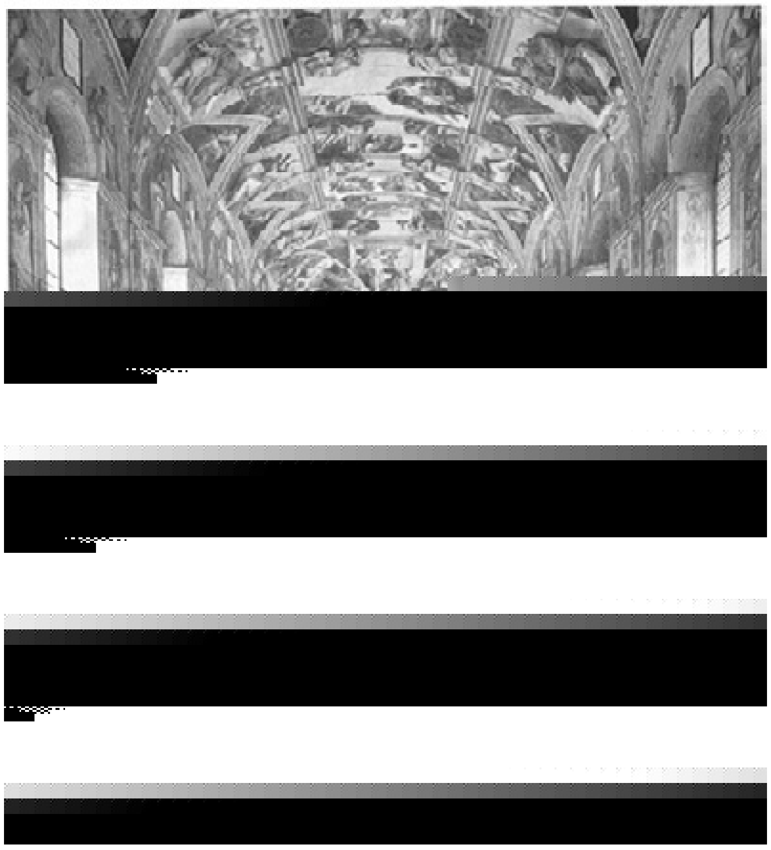


Fig. 73. View of the Sistine Chapel with the altar at the far end

Tapestry had long been a key element in the magnificence of the papacy. Evidence that it already figured in the decorations of the Sistine Chapel is provided by the hooks that were installed for it in the walls under Sixtus IV and, more generally, by analogy with subsequent practice.[8] As the walls were also painted with trompe l'oeil hangings under Sixtus IV, it seems that real textile hangings and tapestries were used only on special occasions, a practice that would have been consistent with that in other religious institutions. On Christmas Eve 1513, Leo commanded Paris de Grassis to deck the upper chapel with golden tapestries that normally hung in the tribune of Saint Peter's, and he also ordered tapestries to be hung in the lower chapel. No mention of gold was made in connection with the latter, leading Shearman to suggest that it was Leo's intention to symbolize *maiestas* only within the most priviledged part of the chapel. This would also have been consistent with the practice at the leading European courts, where progressions of increasingly fine tapestries served to dramatize the hierarchic sequence of presence chambers.[9]

The forty-seven tapestries in use in the Sistine Chapel before the arrival of the *Acts* set are listed in an inventory of 1518. Twenty of these pieces depicted scenes of the Passion, but they were evidently not a unified set. The other twenty-seven tapestries comprised four groups of "diverse histories."[10] However they were hung, the effect of these heterogeneous elements must have lacked uniformity, in contrast to some of the large commissioned sets that Leo could have encountered during his travels in northern Europe.

The circumstances in which the plan to develop a set of tapestries for the Sistine Chapel was conceived and the voices that played a part in this scheme are undocumented. Generally speaking, however, Leo was following the example set by his Medici forebears and their contemporaries, and by his papal predecessors; many had commissioned custom-made tapestries for their residences and churches.[11] The nature of Julius II's tapestries that were said by Michiel to have been surpassed by the *Acts of the Apostles* is particularly intriguing in this context. They can probably be identified with a *Story of Heliodorus* listed in the 1518 inventory; the subject is not recorded in any other tapestry inventories of the time, and the designs for the set may therefore have been commissioned by Julius from an unidentified Italian artist.[12] In selecting a leading artist at his court for the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries, Leo was thus following a model that was relatively well established in Italy. Nonetheless, the location, purpose, and expense of the commission were exceptional by any standards.

The Artist and His Designs

Raphael (1483–1520) was at the height of his career when Leo commissioned the Sistine Chapel cartoons from him.[13] In 1504 his

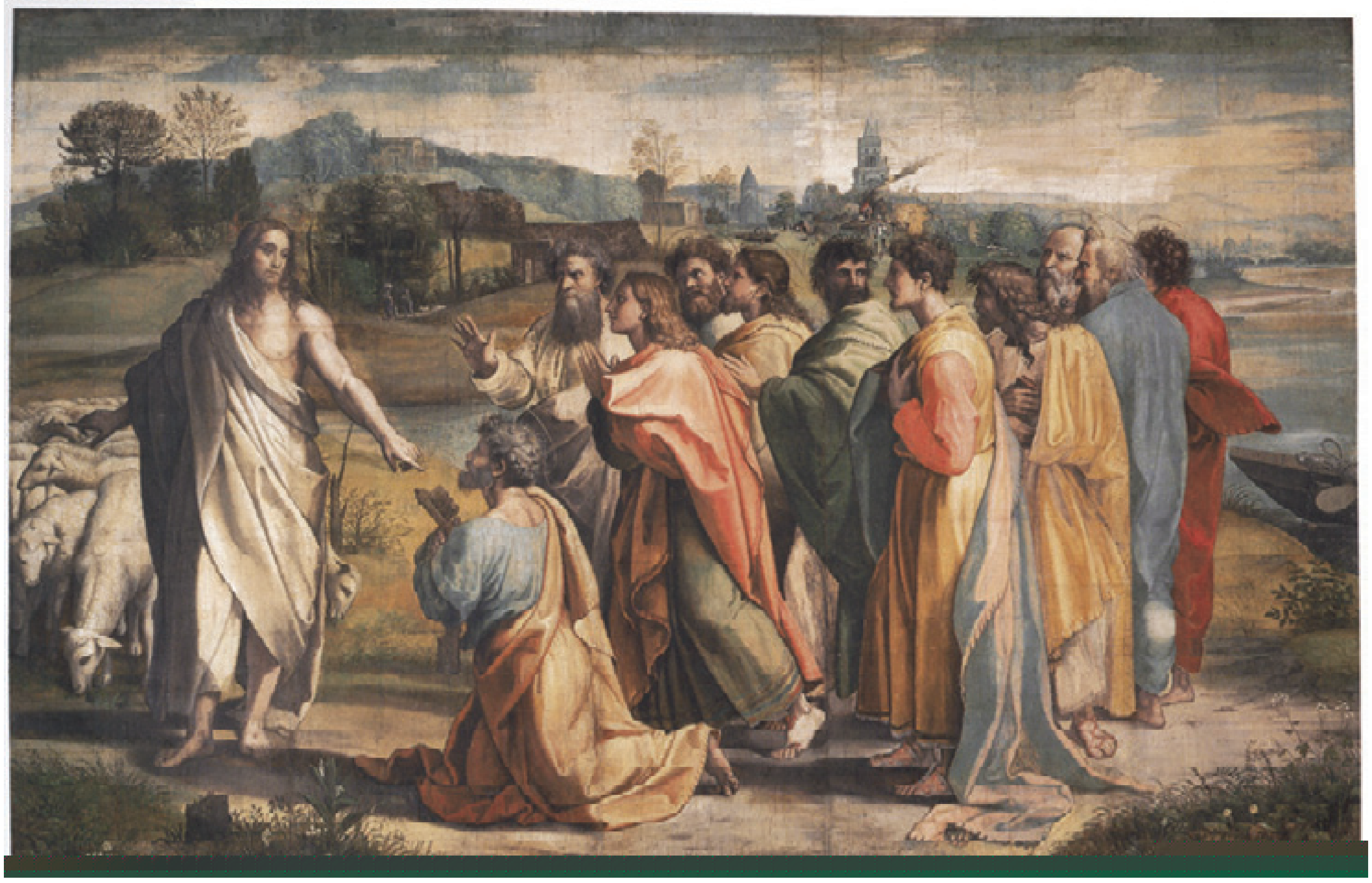


Fig. 77. *The Charge to Peter.* Cartoon for the tapestry by Raphael and assistants, 1515–16. Body color on paper mounted on canvas, 340 x 530 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

reveals relatively little trace of underdrawing. As Bambach has more recently asserted, however, this may be in part because it was common practice to erase underdrawing immediately prior to the application of the paint, and in part because Raphael painted sections of the design freehand, relying only on the detailed *modelli* that he and his workshop had prepared.[22]

The paint appears to have been applied relatively thickly rather than in the more transparent washes that were traditional in Netherlandish production since at least the mid-fifteenth century and that continued to be used throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, as seen in extant cartoons from the 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s. This may reflect no more than Raphael's unfamiliarity with the preparation of tapestry cartoons, but it may also have been determined in part by his anticipation of their ultimate destiny. Since it was not unknown for patrons to repurchase the cartoons for particularly important commissions, Raphael and Leo may well have envisaged that these cartoons would return to Rome, where they could have been exhibited in the Sistine Chapel itself (as was the practice in a number of northern churches) or in another venue. Connoisseurs were also collecting cartoons by

Fig. 78. *Heads of Three Apostles.* Fragment of a duplicate cartoon of the *Charge to Peter,* between 1516 and 1533. Chalk, body color, and ink on paper, 57 x 75 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly

by July 1519.[44] Paris de Grassis and Marcantonio Michiel, quoted earlier in this essay, described the display of seven tapestries in the Sistine Chapel on December 26, 1519 (missing on this occasion were the *Stoning of Stephen, Paul in Prison,* and *Paul Preaching at Athens*). The set was mentioned in a general citation in a supplement to the 1518 inventory, and the ten pieces were listed individually in the 1521 inventory taken after Leo's death.

The identity of the merchant-entrepreneur who was responsible for arranging and supervising the weaving of the tapestries was first established by Müntz on the basis of a legal document about the delivery to Clement VII in 1531 of a set of tapestries of the *Life of Christ.* According to the sworn testimony of qualified witnesses, these tapestries were woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, described as the papal tapissier. The document goes on to attest that the *Life of Christ* tapestries were of even finer quality than the set of Peter and Paul that the same van Aelst had woven for the papal—that is, the Sistine—chapel.[45] Van Aelst was the leading merchant-entrepreneur in the Brussels tapestry industry at this period, engaged in the provision of tapestries to the Habsburg court and the king of England. That he was chosen to execute Leo X's commission is further evidence of his dominant role in the organization and capitalization of high-quality Brussels production.

We can only guess at the technical discussions that followed the arrival of Raphael's designs in Brussels, and the difficulties that the weavers experienced in translating them into wool, silk, and metallic thread. As previous commentators have noted, the weavers introduced a number of changes into the designs, apparently with a view to clarifying certain compositional elements. For example, Peter's outer robe, painted as an orange tan in the cartoons of the *Charge to Peter,* the *Healing of the Lame Man,* and the *Death of Ananias,* has been changed to a strong red in the tapestries, where it now stands out somewhat sharply against the faded tones of the rest. Not all the color shifts, however, were deliberate. Some are the result of the deterioration in the pigments of the cartoon or of the tapestry.[46] Christ's robe in the cartoon of the *Miraculous Draft of Fishes,* for example, which now appears white, was originally painted red, as can still be seen in the cartoon from its reflection in the water and as it was woven in the tapestry. Perhaps the best record of the original coloration and subtlety of Raphael's palette is to be found in the very fine *Acts of the Apostles* woven for Charles I at the Mortlake works between 1626 and 1636 and now in the Mobilier National, Paris; at the time of writing, this set has never been published in color.[47]

A different type of "clarification" was introduced into the *Charge to Peter,* where the weavers separated the line of the apostles' heads from the landscape behind by the addition of a thin strip of grass. (Raphael's cartoon has been cut immediately above the apostles' heads at the point where this insertion was made. It is unclear whether the strip was added to the cartoon itself or whether the latter was cut in the process of preparing a working copy—an alternative suggested by the Chantilly cartoon fragments, which incorporate the added strip as part of their design.) The division was almost certainly made to allow the weavers who specialized in flesh and hair to work at the same time as the less skilled hands responsible for the background landscape.[48] In contrast to the tapestry in the Vatican set and in that made subsequently for Henry VIII, two later versions woven in the late 1540s or early 1550s (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, fig. 81; and Palazzo Ducale, Mantua) reproduce the faces overlapping the landscape as Raphael had conceived them. Along with other variations of foreground detail, this suggests that the Madrid and Mantua pieces were woven not from Raphael's original cartoon, or the first working cartoon prepared in Brussels, but from a second working cartoon made sometime between the early and late 1540s.

Two other changes that have received much attention in the *Charge to Peter* are the introduction of a tree in the upper right landscape next to Christ's left shoulder, apparently added by the weavers to fill in an area that they may have perceived to be blank and lacking in visual interest (although it is susceptible to symbolic interpretation), and the stars that appear on Christ's robe. Whether such drastic changes would have been made without the approval of the patron or the designer or both is open to question. The once-gold stars, however, like the gold edging applied to the proconsul's cloak in the *Conversion of the Proconsul,* may reflect a more decorative formula to which the weavers were accustomed. The stars were a singularly unfortunate addition because over time the metal thread has tarnished and has stained the surrounding textile, making it difficult for us to imagine the pristine effect of the gold. The reverse of the tapestry shows that this area was actually executed with great subtlety.[49]

Such deviations from the cartoons are relatively minor in comparison with the weavers' fidelity to them as a whole. Indeed, the fact that the weavers succeeded so well in reproducing Raphael's designs is a testament to the sophistication of the industry that had developed in Brussels in the preceding thirty years and the technical advances made during this period, enhancing the weavers' skill at representing different tactile and painterly effects. Writing some years later, Vasari commented: "This work was executed so marvellously, that it arouses astonishment in whoever beholds it, wondering how it could have been possible to weave the hair and beards in such detail, and to give softness to the flesh with mere threads; and it is truly rather a miracle than the work of

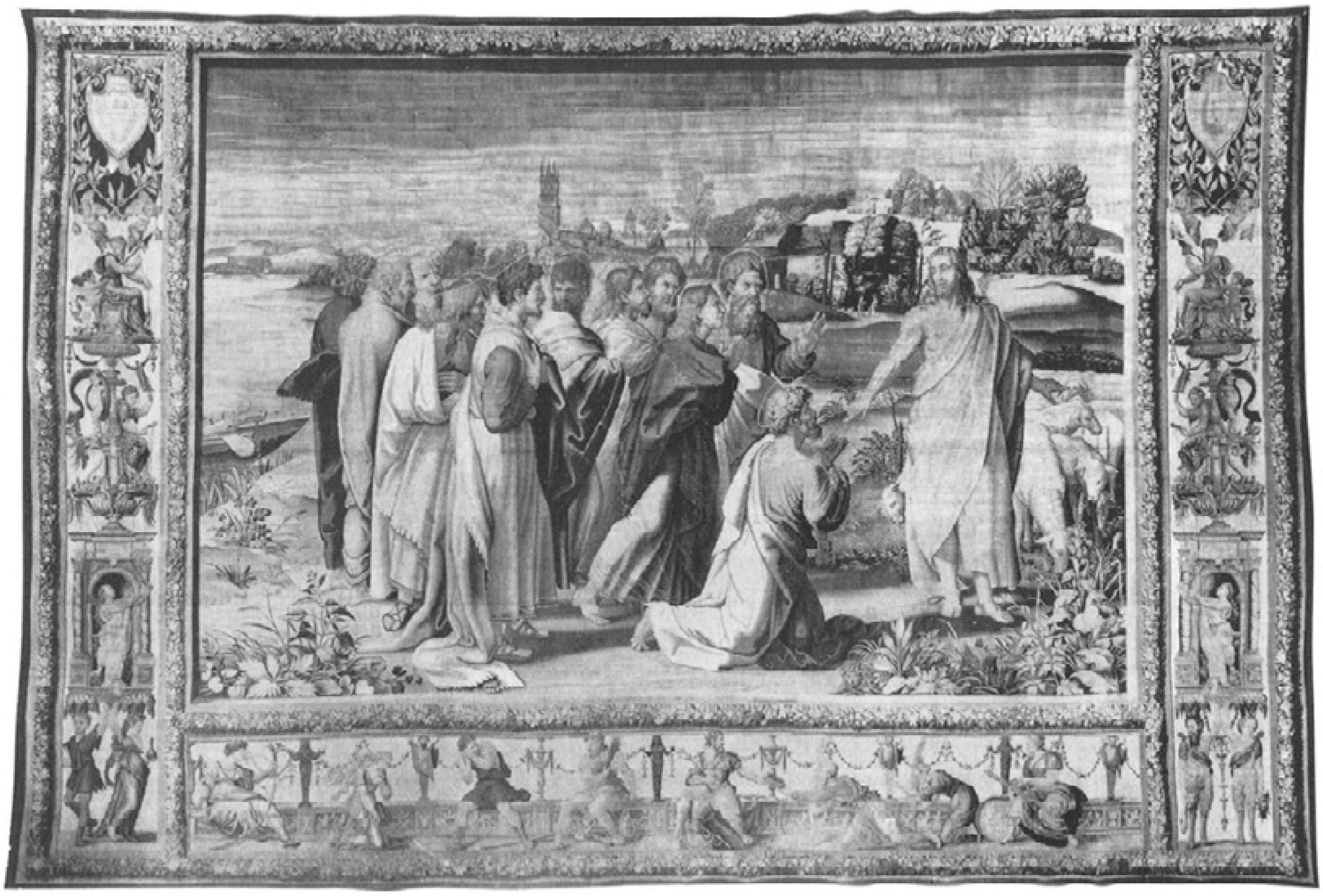


Fig. 81. *The Charge to Peter* from the *Acts of the Apostles.* Tapestry designed by Raphael, woven in Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 483 x 721 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

human art, seeing that in these tapestries are animals, water, and buildings, all made in such a way that they seem to be not woven, but really wrought with the brush."[50]

Standing in front of the tapestries today, we need to remember that their modern appearance is severely compromised by the passage of almost five hundred years. The colors have faded, the metallic thread is tarnished, the silks have lost their sheen, the wool has been abraded, and the uniformity of the surface has been disrupted by generations of repairs. An effort of imagination is required in order to grasp the original impact of these masterpieces of tapestry art.

The sum of 2,000 ducats for each tapestry that Antonio de Beatis noted in 1517 was echoed two years later by Paris de Grassis, following the display in the Sistine Chapel of the first seven tapestries to reach Rome.[51] Marcantonio Michiel gives a lower figure: "The designs for these tapestries for the Pope were made by Raphael of Urbino, an excellent painter, who received from the Pope one hundred ducats each, and the silk and gold in them are most abundant, and the weaving cost 1,500 ducats each, so that they cost in all, as the Pope himself said, 1,600 ducats apiece, though it was estimated and spread about that they were worth 2,000."[52] While this account has a convincing ring, the difference in the total it quotes may reflect the pope's attempts to rein in contemporary gossip about the cost of the tapestries; in his biography of Leo, Paolo Giovio recorded that he was rumored to have paid for them with money improperly diverted from funds raised for a new crusade and the building of Saint Peter's.[53] If Michiel's figure is correct, it suggests that the whole set cost some 16,000 ducats, more than five times the sum that Julius II paid Michelangelo for frescoing the Sistine ceiling. The lion's share of this amount must have been due to the lavish use of silver and gold thread in the weaving. Shearman compares the figure with the somewhat greater cost of the chorister's wages between 1515 and 1521 and the valuation of 17,785 ducats placed on the papal tiara in 1521. Such comparisons are misleading if they are taken to indicate that expenditure of that kind was unexceptional. On the contrary, the Sistine choir was one of the finest in Christendom, while the tiara in question was laden with precious jewels. The fact remains that the cost of the *Acts of the Apostles* was an enormous financial commitment for a single artistic ensemble.

THE ORIGINAL NUMBER AND HANGING OF THE TAPESTRIES

As we have seen, Beatis's information in 1517 was that sixteen tapestries were being woven for the pope. Only ten were delivered, however, and no additional cartoons or preparatory drawings have come to light. The discrepancy might be dismissed as a mistake on the part of Beatis or his informant, except for the fact that sixteen tapestries would have been a logical number: there were then sixteen frescoes in the upper register of the Sistine Chapel (Michelangelo's *Last Judgment,* painted in 1536–41, eliminated two from the altar wall), and the tapestries appear to have been conceived to hang directly beneath them. The number and dimensions of the pieces delivered also raise problems regarding their original placement in the chapel.

Contemporary accounts indicate that the tapestries were hung for special events. Although they could have been arranged differently on different occasions, their varying widths, the narrative and visual continuity of the compositions, and the light sources indicated by the shadows on the fictive frames and borders all suggest that they were designed for specific locations. Identification of these locations is complicated by structural changes made to the chapel since the tapestries were woven. The most significant of these was the repositioning of the *cancellata* between 1549 and 1578, from a position approximately midway from the altar to one about two-thirds of the way down, increasing the space allotted to the upper chapel; another change involved the removal of windows on the altar wall and the piercing of doors on either side of the altar.[54] The loss of an unknown number of border elements in the aftermath of the Sack of Rome in 1527 adds to the uncertainties, as do the distortions that may have been introduced by repairs made after the tapestries were retrieved during the 1540s.

The seminal study of the number and intended location of the tapestries remains Shearman's 1972 monograph.[55] Working with a scaled reconstruction of the original floor plan, Shearman proposed that, like the frescoes in the upper register which radiate out from the altar in sixteen bays each separated by fictive pilasters decorated *all'antica,* the two cycles of the *Acts* would also have started at the altar, beginning on either side with the first scene in

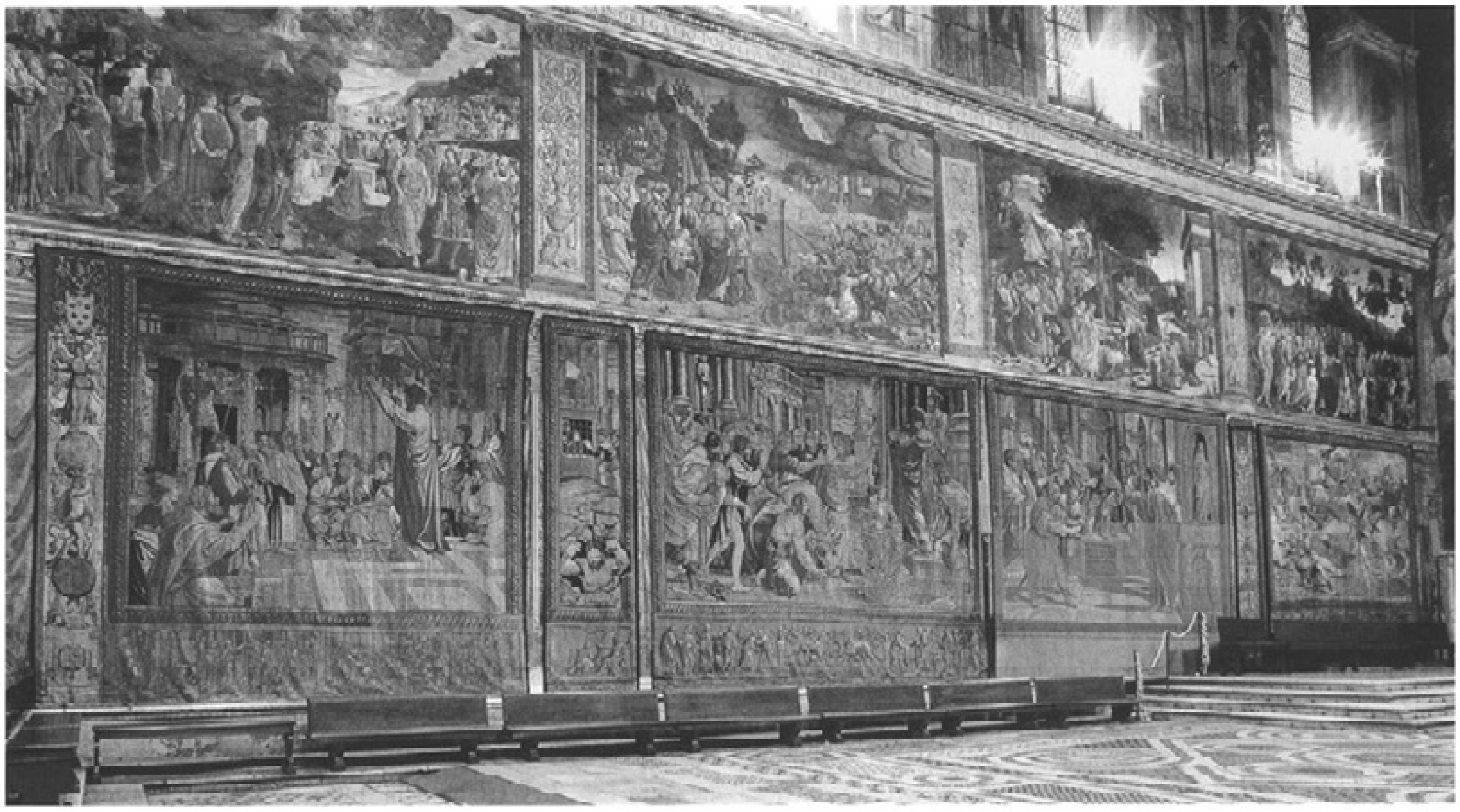


Fig. 82. View of the Sistine Chapel with the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries in situ, 1983

each cycle. Both the *Miraculous Draft of Fishes,* for the Petrine sequence, and the *Stoning of Stephen,* for the Pauline, are less than the standard width and fit such a location, whereas the other panels do not.[56] The reconstruction is on more problematic ground when it comes to determining the respective sides of the altar to which the cycles were allocated, and on this question, as well as on the number of tapestries commissioned, scholarly opinion is at present divided.

Shearman, who believes that the set was probably complete in ten pieces,[57] takes the view that the Petrine sequence was intended to hang below the frescoes of the *Life of Christ,* to the *left* of the altar (the congregation's right), with the Pauline cycle below the *Life of Moses* on the other side; and his reconstruction is organized accordingly. Two issues raise doubts about this arrangement. In response to what was apparently a long-standing debate that became more heated during the mid-1510s, perhaps as a result of the discussions connected with the *Acts* commission, Paris de Grassis wrote a treatise in about 1515 to the effect that images of Saint Peter should properly appear to the *right* of the altar, the reverse, that is, of their placement in the reconstruction. Shearman discounts this evidence, on the grounds that there is a note of wounded pride in Grassis's writing that can be attributed to the latter having been overruled precisely in the matter of the *Acts* tapestries.[58] In practical terms, whereas in the reconstruction the Petrine tapestries fit snugly in the bays below the *Life of Christ,* this is not true of the Pauline sequence below the *Life of Moses:* there the tapestry borders do not align with the fictive pilasters separating the frescoes above if the narrow *Paul in Prison* is to be accommodated inside the *cancellata;* and the last of the sequence, *Paul Preaching at Athens,* falls outside the *cancellata.* Shearman defends this apparent incongruity on the grounds that there is a hierarchical distinction between the upper and lower chapels, and that Saint Paul's preaching in Athens is paralleled by the pope's role as disseminator of the word of God to the world at large, represented in the Sistine by the congregation in the lower chapel.[59]

Shearman's reconstruction was subsequently challenged by Gilbert, in a paper published following the display of the *Acts* in the Sistine Chapel for the Raphael quincentennial in 1983 (fig. 82).[60] Gilbert argues that the positioning of the Petrine sequence to the right of the altar, under the *Life of Moses,* would have been entirely in line with current thought, as exemplified in Grassis's text.[61] On a formal level, he points out that if the two sequences were designed to hang on the walls opposite those to which Shearman assigned them, the borders of the tapestries would have aligned with the frescoed pilasters above them. An added attraction of this theory is that the narrow panel of *Paul in Prison* would then have fitted in the equally narrow space next to the *cantoria* (and outside the *cancellata*), the only such space in the Sistine Chapel.[62]

Crediting Beatis's statement in 1517 that the weavers were working on a set of sixteen tapestries, Gilbert believes that the ten pieces delivered between 1519 and 1521 were indeed only part of the original scheme. In support of this view, he points to the unusual asymmetry of the set as delivered and as it would have fitted on the walls of the chapel (regardless of how the two cycles were hung); and to the fact that sixteen tapestries, matching the number of frescoes in the upper register, would have been appropriate for the decoration of the lower. Scenes now missing from the narrative sequence that Gilbert suggests might have been originally envisaged include Peter's escape from prison (to be hung opposite the rare depiction of Paul's escape) and the saints' martyrdoms.[63]

Shearman has held fast to his reconstruction in subsequent publications, without engaging the issues raised by Gilbert.[64] Later commentators, recognizing the problematic nature of the debate, have been unable to advance conclusive arguments either way. Both Harprath and Fermor, for example, have discussed the controversy over the relationship of Petrine imagery to the altar in 1515, and the difficulty of establishing whether a firm conclusion had been reached by the date at which the tapestries were woven.[65] Fermor has also noted that the typological connections between the tapestries and the frescoes above them are open to a wealth of different interpretations in whatever position the tapestries were hung, a point that Shearman himself had made.[66]

More recently, Weddigen has published a new version of Shearman's plan and a defense of his reconstruction.[67] Weddigen supports the argument that the set was complete in ten pieces on the grounds that Beatis's account is unsubstantiated by any other evidence in the shape of documents or drawings, and that Leo continued to place expensive tapestry commissions with the Brussels workshops, suggesting his satisfaction with the fulfillment of this particular order.[68]

The question of the intended number and disposition of the *Acts* tapestries in the Sistine Chapel clearly requires much more detailed discussion than is possible here. All other issues aside, however, the present writer finds the formal correspondence between the borders of the tapestries and the divisions between the frescoes above them a persuasive argument in favor of Gilbert's theories.[69] It seems to me inconceivable that, in planning his designs, Raphael would have ignored such a fundamental element of the chapel's fictive structure as the frescoed pilasters and the rhythm that they established. And if the tapestry borders were aligned centrally beneath the fresco divisions, the scene of *Paul in*

Prison could not have fitted where Shearman places it, just inside the screen. Out of that position on the wall, its narrow dimensions make no sense. By contrast, they are explained perfectly if the piece were hung opposite, in the lower chapel beyond the *cantoria*.

On the number of tapestries planned, it also seems to me that Beatis's report in 1517 is not be ignored. The absence of supporting documentation or drawings does not mean that a sixteen-piece set was never envisaged. We have, after all, no preparatory sketches for the *Stoning of Stephen,* but it was most certainly woven. Nor does the existence of an initial concept inevitably lead to its realization in full. Had a sixteen-piece set of the *Acts of the Apostles* been planned, it may have been interrupted sometime in 1517 or 1518, for reasons about which we can only speculate. One consideration could have been the expense of the papal war with the della Rovere family over the duchy of Urbino in 1517, which necessitated a loan of 800,000 ducats. A temporary halt in the production of the *Acts* might have left Leo less interested in subsequently pursuing the project, especially when new tapestry commissions, such as the *Triumphs of the Gods* and the *Giochi di putti,* were being developed. Or a change of plan could simply have been due to a confluence of different factors, not least the many other demands on Raphael's time during the years preceding his premature death in 1521: the Stanza dell'Incendio, his work on Saint Peter's, his responsibilites for the antiquities of Rome, and the development of other tapestry projects.

Whatever the facts, and this is clearly a debate to which there can be no decisive answer unless new evidence emerges, the ten *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries delivered to Rome between 1519 and 1521 work together as a remarkably coherent group and were an immensely impressive, costly enhancement of the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. The irony is that the tapestries could only have hung as an ensemble in their intended positions between 1521 and 1527, when they were looted and dispersed during the Sack of Rome, a dispersal from which they were retrieved in piecemeal fashion over the following two decades. By the time they had been reunited, the *cancellata* had been moved, and with it the logic of their original placement no longer applied.

LATER WEAVINGS

After the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries were woven for Leo X by Pieter van Aelst, a set of cartoons—either Raphael's originals or working copies—evidently remained in Brussels, presumably in van Aelst's hands. Perhaps because of contractual obligations, they were not used again during his lifetime, but within a year or two of his death about 1533 a duplicate set of the *Acts* was woven for Francis I, king of France, in a Brussels workshop working for Willem Dermoyen and Daniel and Antoon Bombergen. Three pieces had been completed before 1534, and the 1542 inventory of Francis's tapestries lists a set of nine (less the narrow scene of *Paul in Prison*), along with an associated throne canopy.[70] In place of the episodes from the lives of Leo X and Saint Peter shown in the lower borders of the Vatican set, Francis I's tapestries were completed with allegorical scenes that appear to have been designed in his honor.[71] The set remained in the French royal collection until 1797, when it was burned in order to extract the silver and gold from the metallic thread with which it was woven.

The next reproduction we know of was a set made for Henry VIII in about 1540 that was delivered to Westminster Palace in 1542 (not a gift to Henry from Leo as tradition asserted).[72] Sold from the British royal collection at the time of the Commonwealth sale (1649–54), the set entered the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin in the nineteenth century and is presumed to have been destroyed in 1945. Photographs made earlier show that it was woven with the adapted lower borders designed for Francis and that although the *Charge to Peter* incorporated the same landscape changes as the Vatican set, other scenes incorporated variations in the landscape details akin to those in subsequent weavings. Sometime after Henry VIII's tapestries were completed, the cartoons appear to have passed into the hands of the Brussels merchant Jan van Tieghem, whose mark appears on two later sets woven in the late 1540s or early 1550s, one now in Madrid, which was made for Emperor Charles V or King Philip II of Spain, and the other in Mantua, which bears the arms of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (cat. no. 24).The *Charge to Peter* in these later sets does not have the additional strip of landscape present in the Chantilly cartoon fragments and in the sets woven for Leo X and Henry VIII (and, presumably, Francis I's set), but the variation of other foreground details is consistent with those of Henry's set. Such discrepancies support the idea that Francis's set, Henry's set, and those in Mantua and Madrid were all made from a set of working cartoons (whether these working cartoons had all been made in 1516–17 and then adapted, or whether they were first prepared for Francis I's set is a matter of conjecture, although the latter seems more probable). They also provide circumstantial evidence that when Cardinal Granvelle was told in 1573 that the original cartoons were too damaged to use and that a second set had been substituted, the reference was to a first and second set of working cartoons, not to the originals by Raphael. While these issues require further investigation, they certainly call into question the assumption that the original cartoons were in Brussels at all after about 1530.

The history of the cartoons becomes clearer after 1623, when seven of the originals, now lacking their borders, were acquired by the prince of Wales, later Charles I of England, from an unknown source in Genoa for use at the Mortlake tapestry manufactory (founded in 1619). At Mortlake several very high quality weavings of the seven designs purchased by the crown were made for Charles between 1626 and 1642 from working cartoons painted by Francis Cleyn.[73] By this time the original cartoons for the *Stoning of Stephen* and the *Conversion of Saul* seem to have entered the collection of Ferdinand II de' Medici, as Francis Crane, the director of the Mortlake works, attempted—apparently without success—to acquire copies of them through the intervention of Amerigo Salvetti, the Florentine resident in London.[74] The cartoons in the English royal collection were permanently reassembled during the 1690s and in 1699 were installed in a gallery specially designed by Sir Christopher Wren at Hampton Court. From this point on they became the object of considerable attention. Among their notable admirers the Jonathan Richardsons, father and son, writing in the following century, celebrated the cartoons as masterpieces of narrative and history painting and did much to establish their status as the epitome of Roman High Renaissance art.[7] Moved to Buckingham House in 1763, the cartoons were returned to Hampton Court by George III in 1804. In 1865 they were transferred to South Kensington—now the Victoria and Albert Museum—where they remain to this day, a grand testament to the contribution that Raphael made to the tapestry medium in the 1510s.

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1. "Qui ut fuit universale judicium sunt res, qua non est aliquid in orbe nunc pulchrius"; Shearman 1972, p. 13, n. 77.
2. "Queste feste di Natale il Papa messe fuori in Capella 7 pezzi di razzo perchè l'ottavo non era fornito fatti in ponente, che furono giudicata la più bella cosa, che sia stata fatta in eo genere a nostri giorni, benchè fussino celebri li razzi di Papa Giulio de l'anticamera, li razzi del Marchese di Mantova del disegno del Mantegna et li razzi di Alfonso, overo Federico re di Napoli"; Golzio 1936, pp. 103–4; Shearman 1972, p. 38, n. 75 (both partial citations); for the passage in full, see Smit 1993b, p. 58, n. 3.
3. The critical study of the Raphael cartoons and the Sistine Chapel tapestries, to which the present writer is heavily indebted, is John Shearman's monograph (1972) on the subject, developed from an earlier publication (White and Shearman 1958). I am also particularly indebted to subsequent essays by Gilbert (1987; on the original disposition of the tapestries), Fermor (1996; on the restoration of the cartoons), and Weddigen (1999; on the antique sources of the designs).
4. Kemper 1999.
5. "[I]sta cappella tam in maestate quam in structura . . . prima mundi"; Shearman 1972, p. 3.
6. Ibid., pp. 21–22.
7. "[Q]uia omnino volebat, quod maestas Papalis in re divina servaretur"; Ibid., pp. 9–10, 10 n. 59, 13.
8. Ibid., pp. 4–5; Smit 1993a, pp. 20, 260; Smit 1993b.
9. Shearman 1972, p. 9.
10. Ibid., pp. 5–6.
11. See pp. 85–101 above; for the Vatican precedents, see ibid., p. 6.
12. Smit 1993b, pp. 54–55.
13. On Raphael's life and art, see Jones and Penny 1983, with bibliog.
14. Shearman 1972, pp. 2–3, nn. 9, 10.
15. Ibid., p. 102, n. 41.
16. On Raphael's design process, see ibid., pp. 91–137.
17. Ibid., pp. 109–11.
18. See ibid., p. 111.
19. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see ibid., pp. 111–16 (with bibliog.); Fermor 1996, pp. 60–64, 66–70; Fermor and Derbyshire 1998; and Bambach forthcoming.
20. Fermor and Derbyshire 1998.
21. Shearman 1972, pp. 111–15; Fermor and Derbyshire 1998, esp. pp. 244–46.
22. Fermor and Derbyshire 1998; Bambach forthcoming.
23. Shearman 1972, p. 139; Jones and Penny 1983, p. 175.
24. Shearman 1972, pp. 136–37; Fermor 1996, p. 60.
25. Peronnet in Chantilly 1997, p. 79; Menei and Caylux 1997, pp. 164–65.
26. Peronnet in Chantilly 1997, pp. 78–80.
27. Fermor and Derbyshire 1998, p. 236.
28. Shearman 1972, p. 139.
29. Piquard 1950, pp. 113, 124; Shearman 1972, p. 145, n. 67.
30. See p. 202. The seven cartoons now in the British royal collection were acquired by the crown in Genoa in 1623. The English subsequently made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain copies of the *Stoning of Stephen* and the *Conversion of Saul*, both now lost but then apparently in the collection of Ferdinand II de' Medici.
31. Jones and Penny 1983, pp. 147–54.
32. Shearman 1972, p. 90; Shearman 1992, pp. 202–7.
33. Shearman 1972, p. 61, nn. 94, 95.
34. Ibid., p. 61, n. 92.
35. Ibid., p. 61.
36. Romeo 1990; Weddigen 1999.
37. Shearman 1972, p. 89; Harprath 1986, pp. 123–24.
38. Shearman 1972, p. 89, n. 256.
39. Ibid., p. 135.
40. Jones and Penny 1983, pp. 186–87.
41. Shearman 1972, pp. 127–31.
42. Ibid., p. 130, nn. 171–73.
43. "Lli (sc: Brussels) papa Leone fa lavorare xvi panni de razza, secondo dicano per la cappella de Sixto quale è nel palazzo Apostolico de Roma, per la magior parte di seta et d'oro; consta il pezzo MM ducati d'oro. Fuimo al loco ad verderli lavorare, et un pezzo de la demostratione quando Christo donò le chiavi ad san Pietro, che è bellissimo, il vedimo fornito"; ibid., p. 42, n. 104.
44. Cordellier and Py 1992, p. 263.
45. Müntz 1876b, p. 246; Müntz 1883, pp. 141–44.
46. Fermor and Derbyshire 1998, pp. 246, 249.
47. J. Coural in Paris 1983, pp. 398–408.
48. Shearman 1972, p. 139; Peronnet in Chantilly 1997, pp. 77–78; Fermor and Derbyshire 1998, pp. 249–50.
49. Shearman 1972, p. 134; Fermor 1996, p. 90.
50. "La quale opera fu tanto miracolosamente condotta, che reca maraviglia il vederla, ed il pensare come sia possibile avere sfilato i capegli e le barbe, e dato col filo morbidezza alle carni: opera certo piuttosto di miracolo che di artificio umano, perchè in essi son acque, animali, casamenti, e talmente ben fatti, che non tessuti, ma paiono veramente fatti col pennello"; Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 4, p. 370; translation, 1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 739.

51. Shearman 1972, p. 13, n. 77.
52. "Il disegno di detti razzi del Papa furono fatti da Raffaello da Urbino, pittore eccellente, per li quali el ne hebbe dal Papa Ducati 100 per uno, et la seda et oro de li quali sono abundantissimi, et la fattura costorono 1500 Ducati el pezzo, sì che costavano in tutto, come il Papa istesso disse, ducati 1600 il pezzo per ben che si giudicasse, et divulgasse valer Ducati 2000"; Golzio 1936, pp. 103–4.
53. Shearman 1972, p. 13.
54. Ibid., pp. 22–30.
55. Ibid., pp. 21–44.
56. Ibid., pp. 32, 34–35.
57. Ibid., pp. 42–43.
58. Ibid., pp. 38–41.
59. Ibid., pp. 69–70.
60. Gilbert 1987.
61. Ibid., p. 546.
62. Ibid., p. 544.
63. Ibid., p. 542.
64. Shearman 1986; Shearman 1992, pp. 202–7.
65. Harprath 1984, p. 246; Harprath 1986; Fermor 1996, pp. 15–16.
66. Shearman 1972, p. 34.
67. Weddigen 1998.
68. Weddigen concedes that the plan may require some modification regarding the number of original borders (ibid., pp. 271–72). An issue that remains to be adequately analyzed is the extent to which the arrangement of the surviving borders is the result of repairs and reweaving after the tapestries, dispersed following the Sack of Rome, were recovered for the Vatican collections; see Shearman 1972, p. 141; De Strobel in Bonn and Vatican City 1999, pp. 544–45.
69. Fermor deflects the issue by suggesting that the tapestries may have stretched over the course of time (Fermor 1996, p. 16, n. 21), but if anything the opposite would have been the case. Comparison of the dimensions of extant 16th-century tapestries and those listed for them in contemporary inventories invariably demonstrate that they have shrunk slightly along the length of the warp. For example, the *Story of Abraham* tapestries at Hampton Court, each about 8 m long, have shrunk on the average 25 cm.
70. T. Campbell 1996c, pp. 443–45.
71. Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 151–57.
72. T. Campbell 1996d, pp. 69–75.
73. Shearman 1972, pp. 144–64.
74. Howarth 1994, pp. 155–56.
75. Shearman 1972, pp. 151–52.

18.

The Charge to Peter

From a ten-piece set of the *Acts of the Apostles*
Design by Raphael, 1515
Cartoon by Raphael and assistants, 1515–16
Woven in the workshop of, or on behalf of, Pieter van Aelst, Brussels, 1516–17
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
490 x 640 cm (16 ft. 1 in. x 21 ft.)
7 warps per cm
Vatican Museums, Vatican City (3868)

Provenance: Ca. 1515, commissioned by Pope Leo X; 1517, completed tapestry viewed by Antonio de Beatis in Brussels; December 26, 1519, one of seven pieces of the set exhibited in the Sistine Chapel; 1521, listed in an inventory of Leo X's possessions; pawned after the death of Leo X; September 17, 1526, stolen by the Colonna during the sack of the Vatican Palace but returned shortly afterward; May 1527, stolen by imperial troops during the Sack of Rome; late 1530s, returned to the Vatican; 1544, listed in the papal tapestry inventory; 1578, illustrated in an engraved view of the Sistine Chapel and on regular display there for the next 200 years; from the 17th century, among tapestries displayed on processional route for the Feast of Corpus Christi; 1798, removed to Paris by Napoleonic troops; 1799, possibly one of six pieces exhibited in the Musée du Louvre; 1808, returned to the Vatican; since 1814, continuously exhibited in the Vatican; since 1932, Pinacoteca Vaticana.

References: Dussler 1971, pp. 101–2; Shearman 1972 (with bibliog.); F. Mancinelli in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco 1982, pp. 53–56; Joannides 1983, pp. 222–25; Cordellier and Py 1992, p. 264; Fermor 1996; Fermor and Derbyshire 1998; Weddigen 1999.

Condition: Moderate. The lighter spectrum of wools and silks is faded and discolored, giving the tapestry a sepia tonality. An impression of the freshness and subtlety of the original coloration is provided by the detail of the reverse (p. 205).

19.

Fragment of a Studio Drawing

Raphael, 1515
Stylus and red chalk on paper
25.3 x 13.4 cm (10 x 5¼ in.)
Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (3854)

Provenance: Everard Jabach collection (L. 2961); 1671, entered the Cabinet du Roi; mark of the commission of the Musée du Louvre (L. 1899) and Conservatory (L. 2207).

References: Fischel and Oberhuber 1972, no. 442; Shearman 1972, p. 96, n. 13; Joannides 1983, p. 223; Cordellier and Py 1982, pp. 264, 267 (with bibliog.); London and other cities 1999, pp. 104–7.

20.

Fragment of a Studio Drawing

Raphael, 1515
Red chalk over stylus with traces of leadpoint on paper; cut in two pieces and rejoined
8.1 x 23.2 cm (3⅛ x 9⅛ in.), maximum
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Woodner Collection (1993.51.2)

Provenance: Possibly Pierre Crozat collection, Paris; private collection, sold Christie's, London, November 29, 1977, nos. 33 and 34; John R. Gaines collection, Lexington, Kentucky; sold, Sotheby's, New York, November 17, 1986, no. 8; Ian Woodner collection; 1993, given to the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

References: Fischel and Oberhuber 1972, nos. 443–44; Joannides 1983, p. 223; London 1987, pp. 43–44; Oberhuber in Washington 1995, pp. 159–61 (with bibliog.); London and other cities 1999, p. 104.

21.

Counterproof

Workshop of Raphael, 1515
Offset from a drawing in red chalk over stylus
25.8 x 37.5 cm (10⅛ x 14¾ in.)
The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (12751)

Provenance: 1696, Bonfiglioli inventory; 1721, seen by Jonathan Richardson in the Palazzo Bonfiglioli, Bologna; Consul Joseph Smith; George III, Inventory A, vol. 3, p. 48.

References: Popham and Wilde 1949, no. 802; Shearman 1972, p. 96, n. 12; London 1983, no. 155; New York 1987, no. 26; London and other cities 1999, pp. 104–7 (with bibliog.).

22.

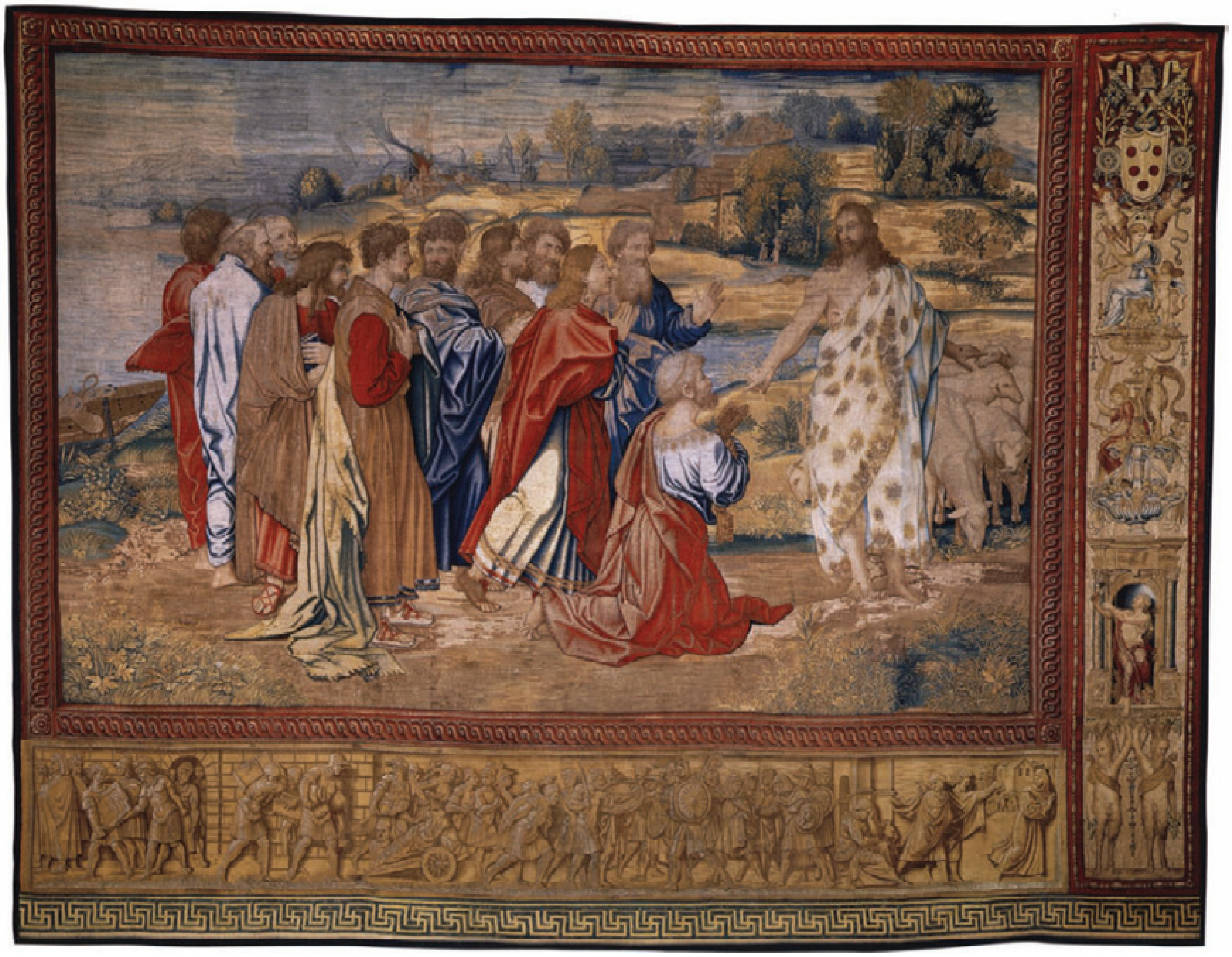
Modello

Raphael, 1515
Black chalk underdrawing, pen and brown ink, warm bister wash, white heightening on sepia-tinted paper, squared in black chalk; pentimenti in the keys and some draperies
22.1 x 35.4 cm (8¾ x 13⅞ in.)
Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (3863)

Provenance: 1526, possibly to be identified with drawing recorded in collection of Cardinal Marino Grimani; according to Pierre Crozat, purchased in Flanders by Jacques Stella; cited as "étant chez Stella" in a letter of J. Schinkelle to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici; 1693–97, recorded in Claudine Bouzonnet Stella inventory; 1701, Louis Bauyn, seigneur of Cormery, recorded in Bauyn inventory; Philip II, duke of Orléans, regent of France; March–April 1753, Pierre-Jean Mariette sale, Paris, no. 228; purchased for the Cabinet du Roi (L. 1886).

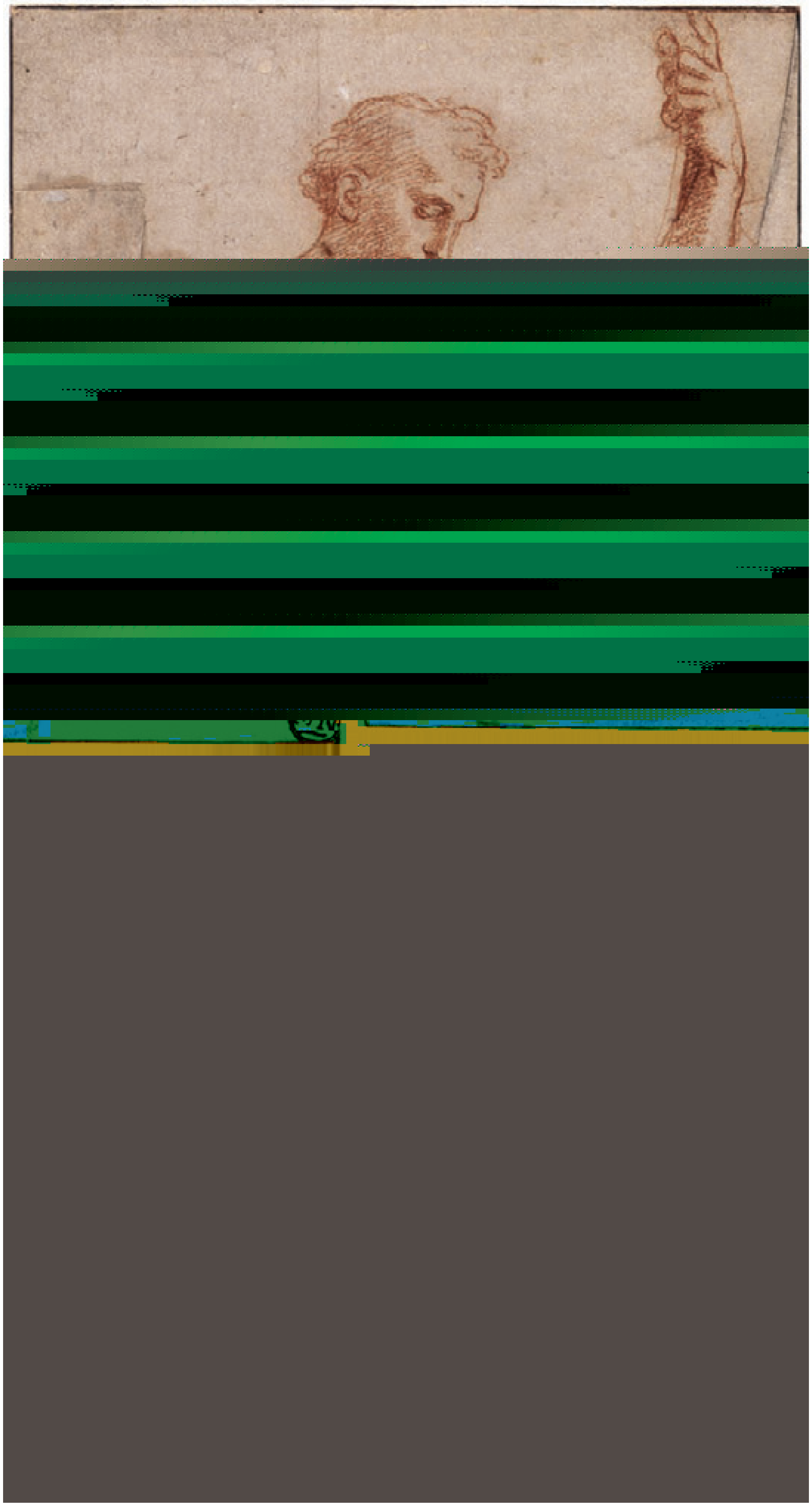
References: Fischel and Oberhuber 1972, no. 441; Shearman 1972, p. 97, n. 18, fig. 51; Joannides 1983, p. 224; Cordellier and Py 1992, pp. 264, 269, 270 (with bibliog.).

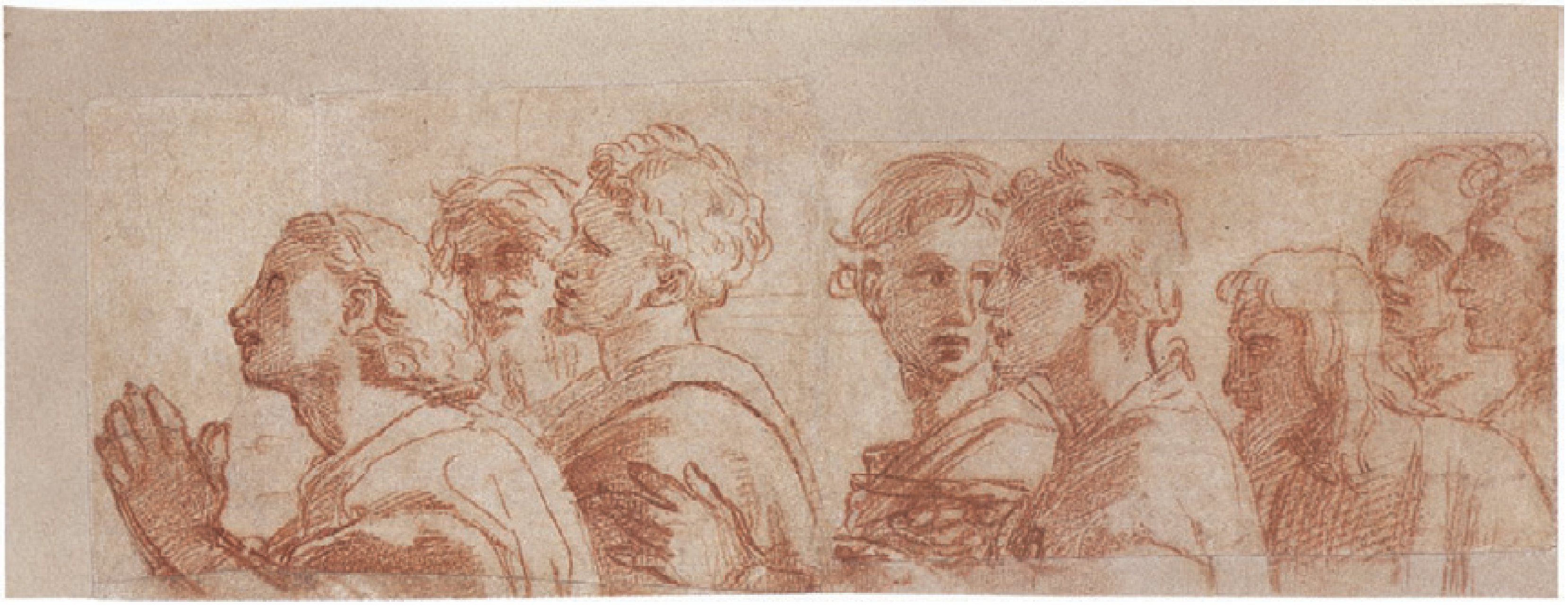
The *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries and the cartoons from which they were woven are among the most famous works of art ever produced, widely regarded as seminal documents in the history of the Italian Renaissance. The ten cartoons were commissioned by Leo X in the early summer of 1515, and with the aid of his studio assistants, Raphael completed them by December 1516. The tapestries, woven in Brussels, were all in Rome by 1521. Because the tapestries were intended for use in the Sistine Chapel, their commission provided Raphael with an opportunity to measure his artistic skills against those of his rival, Michelangelo, who had completed the enormous ceiling frescoes of the chapel in 1512. Stimulated by this challenge, Raphael conceived designs that were novel in almost every way, essentially being the first, full-scale application of Roman High Renaissance aesthetics to the tapestry medium. A number of preparatory drawings in his own hand and those of his assistants attest to the care with which Raphael attended to this high-profile and lucrative commission. Of the development of the ten compositions, that for the *Charge to Peter*, the second tapestry in the set, is particularly well documented by the survival of preparatory drawings, the *modello*, and



18

Detail of the reverse of cat. no. 18





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the cartoon. The present exhibition provides a unique opportunity to confront the preparatory drawings with the tapestry that was eventually woven of this design. For discussion of the circumstances, iconography, and development of the *Acts of the Apostles,* see pages 187–203 above.

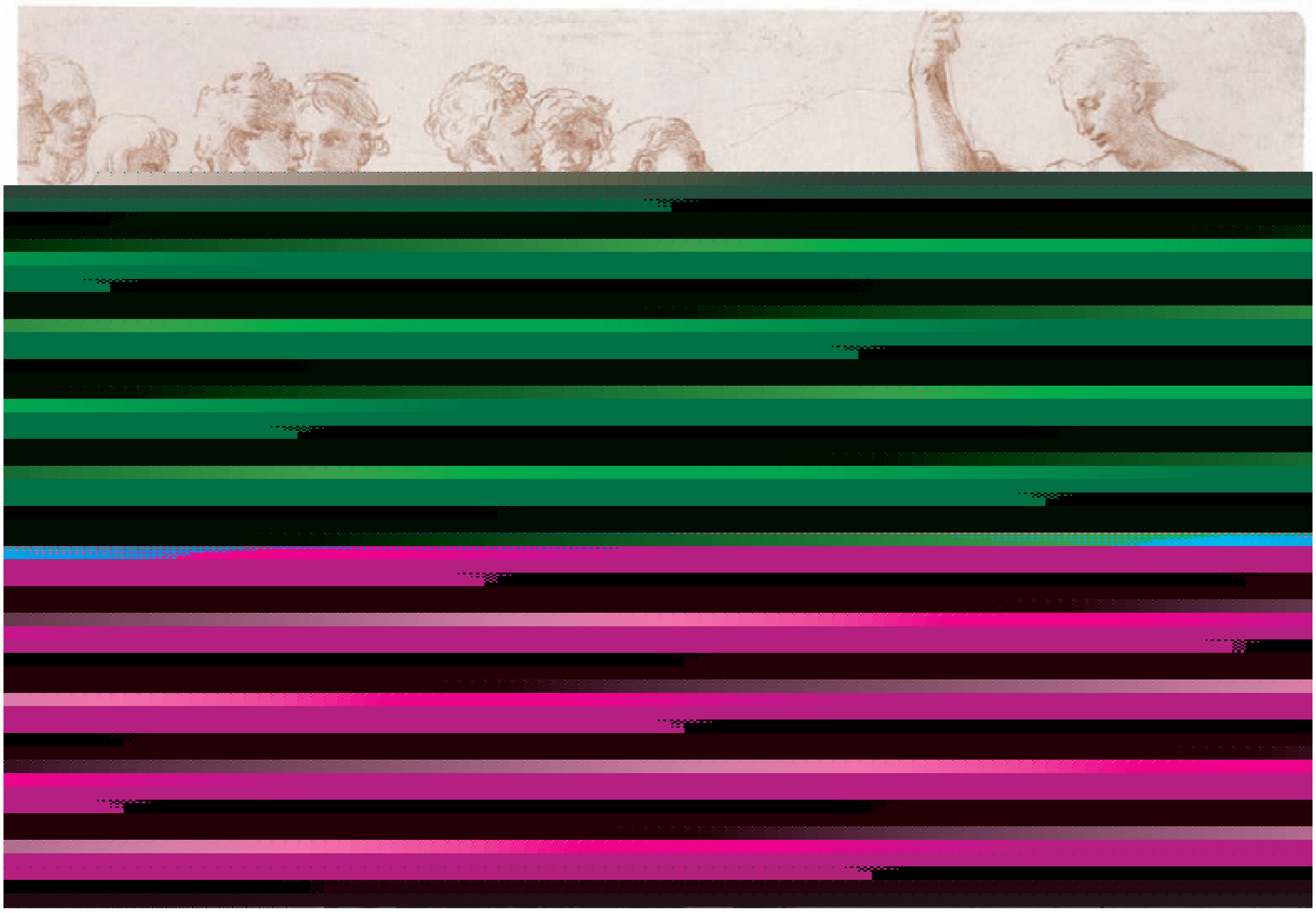
Description of the Tapestry

Like the first tapestry in the set, the *Miraculous Draft of Fishes,* the second tapestry, the *Charge to Peter,* illustrates Peter's ascendancy among the apostles and the specific manner in which Christ singled him out to be his vicar on earth following his death. The scene conflates two scriptural texts: the Gospel of Matthew 16:15–19, which records the moment when Christ told Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven"; and the Gospel of John 21:1–17, when Christ appeared to seven disciples and told Peter, "Feed my sheep." Peter kneels in the right foreground of the tapestry holding two large keys in his arms. He looks up at Christ, who stands in front of him, pointing to the keys with his right hand, and to a flock of sheep behind him with his left hand. The ten other apostles stand behind Peter in a group that extends across the center and left foreground of the tapestry. All of them look at Christ except a figure in the center who turns to look at the man behind him. The closeness of the disciples' heads to one another emphasizes the rapt attention they are paying to this moment of designation, while their diverse expressions and gestures describe their varying characters and emotions. To the left, the prow of a rowboat is drawn up on the bank of Lake Tiberius, which curves around behind the group, dividing the foreground from the landscape beyond. Although the foreground is featureless, it is defined by subtle modulations that suggest beaten earth and small pebbles, articulating the space occupied by the otherwise friezelike group of disciples. In the distance can be seen three figures walking along a tree-lined path beyond which various buildings are visible, including a temple and a building that is on fire.

The central scene is surrounded by a fictive porphyry frame decorated with a running guilloche design and rosettes in the corners; the shadows in the scene indicate illumination from the left. The tapestry is completed at the right by a border that encloses, within a bead-and-reel edging, an elaborate multitiered architectural structure in which the figures of the three Fates are decorously posed beneath the arms and papal insignia of Leo X, all supported at the bottom by two satyrs. Beneath, a fictive bronze relief depicts the events of November 1494: the flight of Giovanni de' Medici from Florence disguised as a monk and, in the main scene, the sack of a palace that could be either Giovanni's palace Sant'Antonio or the Palazzo Medici in the Via Larga. Below this, the tapestry is completed with a running Greek key design in yellow on a dark blue ground.

Iconography and Visual Sources

As Shearman has demonstrated in his detailed analysis of the *Acts of the Apostles,* the citation of texts by Matthew and John as proof of Petrine, and thus papal, authority had a long and venerable history. Although two of Raphael's most immediate visual sources, Perugino's fresco in the Sistine Chapel and Pollaiuolo's relief for Sixtus IV's ciborium, only alluded to Matthew's text, the precedent for the conflation of the texts derived from late antiquity, as demonstrated by an inscription of the second half of the fifth century in the vestibule of Old Saint Peter's.[1] The importance of these texts as the principal proofs of Petrine authority is demonstrated by their recurrent use in bulls published by Leo in 1513, 1514, 1516, and 1521 (the last appointing Henry VIII Defensor Fidei [Defender of the Faith]—to which he responded, most appropriately in the circumstances but with considerable irony for us now, with the gift of a "gold-embroidered chasuble with an image of Christ giving the keys to Saint Peter, with the arms of the king of England").[2] As Shearman has demonstrated, these texts (along with the injunction to Peter on the occasion of the Miraculous Draft of Fishes) were among the foremost arguments presented for papal primacy in contemporary exegetical texts such as Domenico Jacobazzi's *De concilio tractatus* and Giovanni Francesco Poggio's *De veri pastoris munere.*[3] The exact significance of the doctrine of the keys is somewhat vague, but according



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to Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas, they symbolized Peter's power to remit sins.[4] This power is illustrated in the two subsequent tapestries in the series, the *Healing of the Lame Man* and the *Death of Ananias.*[5]

As Shearman's analysis of the *Acts* tapestries has shown, Raphael assimilated an astonishing breadth of antique and modern sources, as he did in his other mature works, a range that was acknowledged in his own day and cited as proof of his genius. In this case, the principal model must have been Pollaiuolo's relief of the same subject, which provided the inspiration for the pose of the figures for Peter and John in the life study for this design. Donatello's relief of the Assumption (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) may also have suggested the depiction of some of the disciples' reactions.[6] As in the *Miraculous Draft,* Christ's face appears to be derived from the purported true effigy of Christ on an antique emerald cameo that Sultan Bajazet II gave to Innocent VIII. The original was lost, but Raphael's model may have been one of the bronze medals reproducing the effigy that was struck in the late fifteenth century.[7]

Preliminary Drawings

The process by which Raphael arrived at the finished design is remarkably well documented. Two preliminary drawings and a counterproof of one of them have survived. They demonstrate the ingenuity, artistic skill, and imagination that Raphael brought to the design of this panel, which, as we have seen, occupied a significant place within the iconography of the set as a whole.

The first of the drawings, executed in red chalk and stylus, is now dismembered but can be reconstructed from three fragments and with the aid of a counterproof that was made before its division. The largest fragment represents a standing figure corresponding to that of Christ in the final composition (cat. no. 19), while the two smaller fragments (now joined as one) depict the frieze of apostles' heads (cat. no. 20).[8] The missing elements of the composition are provided by a counterproof now at Windsor (cat. no. 21). Dressed in everyday clothes, the models are so close to the figures in the final composition as to suggest that the study was made while Raphael was developing an initial sketch from the imagination. Now lost, it may have been similar to the Windsor *Miraculous Draft* drawing, as Raphael sought to develop anatomy and physiognomies with greater realism.[9]

The counterproof records the appearance of the dismembered drawing in reverse. Made by pressing a sheet of dampened paper against the original chalk drawing, the counterproof is of unclear purpose, but it was probably meant to provide Raphael with an idea of how the composition would work in the eventual orientation of the completed tapestry. Claims that the counterproof was reworked by Giulio Romano appear to be unfounded.[10]

As Shearman has noted, the studio studies were presumably accompanied by various drapery and landscape studies, whose results were all subsumed within a more finished *modello* that survives at the Louvre (cat. no. 22), the high

regrouping that was ultimately rejected seems inappropriate.[15] The clumsy revisions of the figure of Christ, which combines the upward-pointing finger of the initial drawing with a very poorly drawn left hand, along with the exclamatory raised arms of the hindmost disciple, are not indicative of a Raphael-school model. Rather, they suggest that the engraver was unaware of the double significance of Christ's gesture, or that he chose to omit it, along with the landscape and the flock of sheep, to concentrate on the drama of the principal figures.

Cartoon and Tapestry

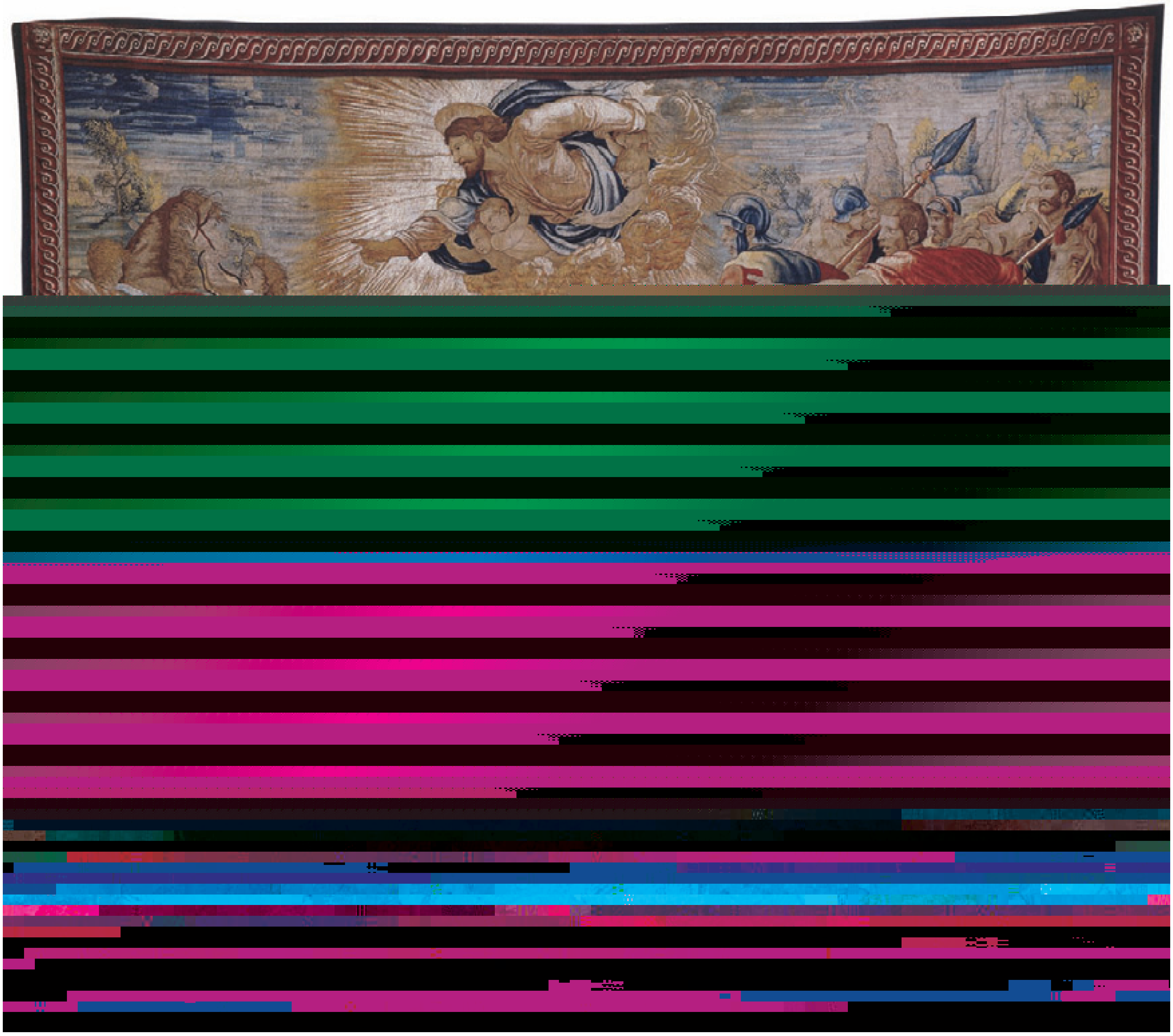
All the significant changes that appear in the *modello* were retained in the cartoon. There is general consensus among leading connoisseurs of Raphael's work that the *Charge to Peter* cartoon was largely executed by the master himself.[16] The appearance of the cartoon and the tapestry have been altered by differential fading over the years. Traces of madder in Christ's now-white robe indicate that it was originally tinted, and this is confirmed by the reverse of the tapestry, where the robe is a delicate lilac (detail, p. 205). Similarly, dye analysis of the gown of the disciple behind Peter, which now appears gray in the cartoon and green in the tapestry, shows that it originally was dark green with purple in the shadowed areas.[17]

The tapestry varies in distinctive ways from the cartoon in its present state. Raphael's cartoon leaves little space between the heads of the apostles and the landscape above them. By contrast, in the tapestry there is a space of several inches. The explanation is probably provided by a cut in the cartoon that runs around the heads of the disciples, presumably indicating the point at which the heads were separated from the background by the insertion of a small strip of landscape. The reason this extra section was added is uncertain. It has generally been assumed that it was done to allow space between the areas in which specialist weavers were working on the heads and less specialized weavers were working on the landscape.[18] But it may also have been introduced from a sense that the design of the tapestry would read more clearly if the landscape was removed above the hair of the disciples. The earliest reweaving of the design of which visual record survives, made for Henry VIII about 1540, shows the same distance between heads and landscape, but those woven in the van Tieghem workshop in the 1540s or 1550s have no gap.[19]

The recent discovery of three fragments from a duplicate cartoon of the *Charge to Peter* (see fig. 78), which appear to date from the early sixteenth century and which incorporate the additional strip of landscape as an integral part of the design, suggests that the Leonine tapestry and that of Henry VIII may have been woven from a working copy of Raphael's cartoon rather than from the original.

Comparison of the Raphael cartoon and the completed tapestry reveals two other areas of change that may have been introduced into the working cartoon. A blasted tree has been added to the right of Christ's left shoulder, presumably to compensate for the additional space created by the raising of the skyline, and Christ's robe, plain in the cartoon, is ornamented with stars in the tapestry. As both of these details tend to elaborate areas in the cartoon that were unadorned, it has generally been assumed that these additions were made in the workshop by the weavers, under the influence of the tradition with which they were familiar, in which decoration and symbolic distinctions rather than verisimilitude were emphasized, and in which large bare areas were considered inappropriate. The stars on Christ's robe also underline his importance. The discovery that the tapestry may have been woven from a working cartoon rather than from the original shifts the responsibility for these changes from the weavers to the Netherlandish artists responsible for painting the working cartoons. As this appears to have been the first tapestry of the set to be completed, it is possible that these changes were made in an attempt to make the design more visually interesting—in traditional Netherlandish terms. However, considering the enormous cost of this commission, it seems unlikely that the Netherlandish cartoonists would unilaterally have made such changes; perhaps they were following instructions contained in correspondence between Brussels and Rome.

1. Dussler 1971, p. 101; Shearman 1972, p. 55.
2. "[P]ianeta figurata tutta, e riccamata d'oro, dove Xpo dà le chiave a San Piero, con l'arme del re d'Inghilterra"; Shearman 1972, pp. 65 n. 118, 66.
3. Ibid., p. 65.
4. Ibid., p. 66.
5. Ibid., pp. 66–67.
6. Ibid., p. 119, with bibliog.
7. Ibid., pp. 50, 55, n. 63, and figs. 30–32.
8. Turner in London 1987, no. 12.
9. Shearman 1972, p. 97.
10. London and other cities 1999, p. 104.
11. Cordellier and Py 1992, pp. 264, 270.
12. Bartsch 1854–76, vol. 15, p. 434, no. 5 II; Petrioli Tofani 1986–, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 504–5, no. 1216 E.
13. Shearman 1972, pp. 54 n. 61, 55.
14. London and other cities 1999, p. 106.
15. Bartsch 1854–76, vol. 15, p. 17, no. 6; Shearman 1972, p. 97, n. 19, fig. 80; Cordellier and Py 1992, p. 264.
16. Fermor 1996, pp. 66–67; Bambach forthcoming.
17. Fermor and Derbyshire 1998, p. 249. Important evidence regarding the original colors of the cartoons is provided by the very high-quality set after this design woven for Charles I at the Mortlake manufactory between 1625 and 1636, now in the Mobilier National, Paris. See Hefford forthcoming.
18. Shearman 1972, pp. 139–40.
19. T. Campbell 1996d, pp. 72–73.



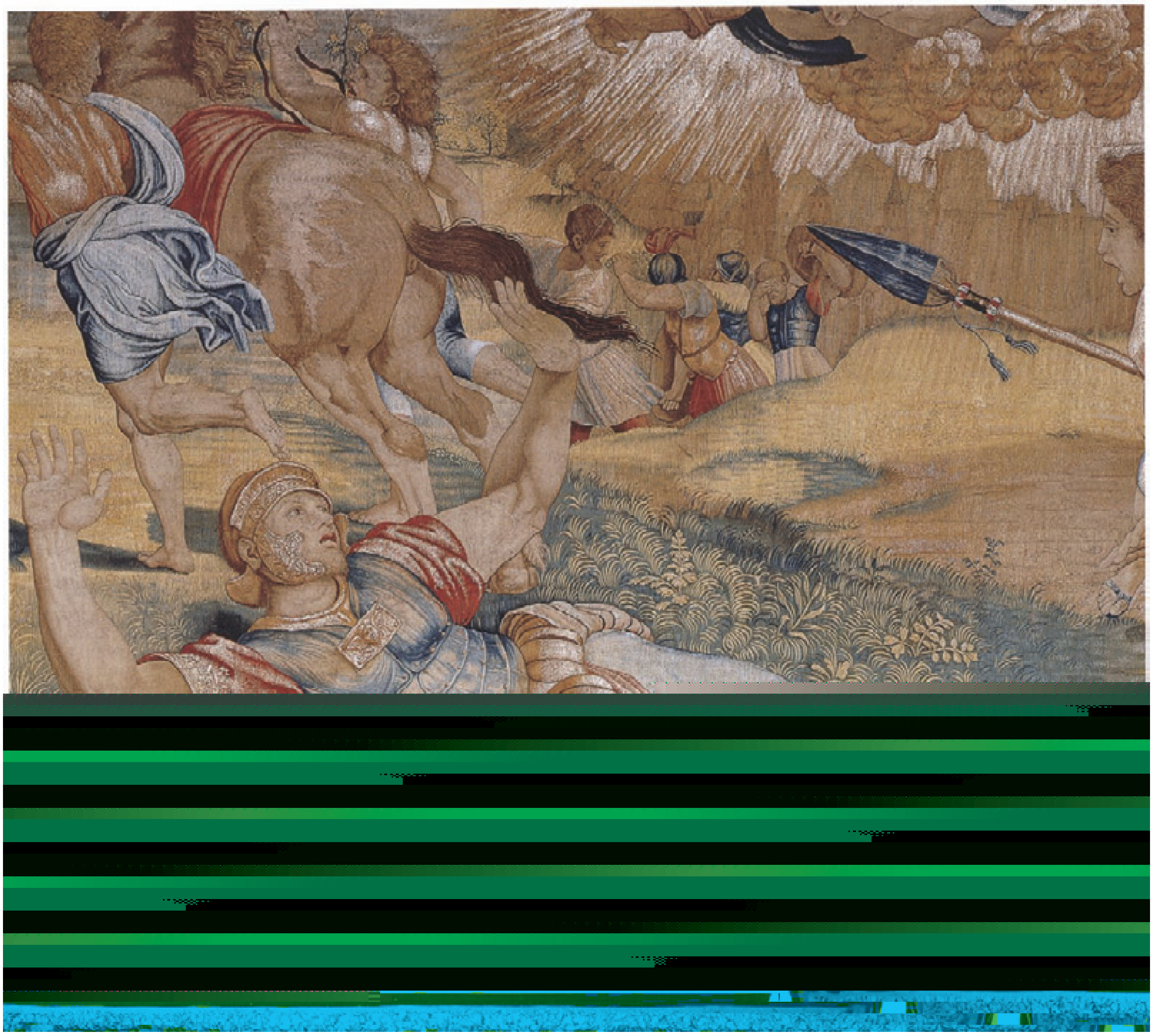
23

23.

The Conversion of Saul

From a ten-piece set of the *Acts of the Apostles*
Design by Raphael, ca. 1516
Woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, Brussels, ca. 1517–20
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
484 x 540 cm (16 ft. 2½ in. x 17 ft. 8½ in.)
7 warps per cm
Vatican Museums, Vatican City (3872)

PROVENANCE: Ca. 1515, commissioned by Pope Leo X; December 26, 1519, one of seven pieces of the set exhibited in the Sistine Chapel; 1521, listed in an inventory of Leo X's possessions; pawned after the death of Leo X; September 17, 1526, stolen by the Colonna during the sack of the Vatican Palace but returned shortly afterward; May 1527, stolen by imperial troops during the Sack of Rome; acquired by Ferrante Gonzaga along with at least one other piece; hijacked by pirates as it was in transit to Isabella d'Este; 1528, purchased by Zuanantonio Venier in Venice from a sea captain (along with *Paul Preaching at Athens*), after which it was said to have been seized by pirates and taken to Tunisia; 1554, returned to the Vatican as a gift by Constable Anne de Montmorency (at which time an inscription was added to the border, now missing); after 1554, on regular display in Sistine Chapel for the next two centuries; from the 17th century, among tapestries displayed on



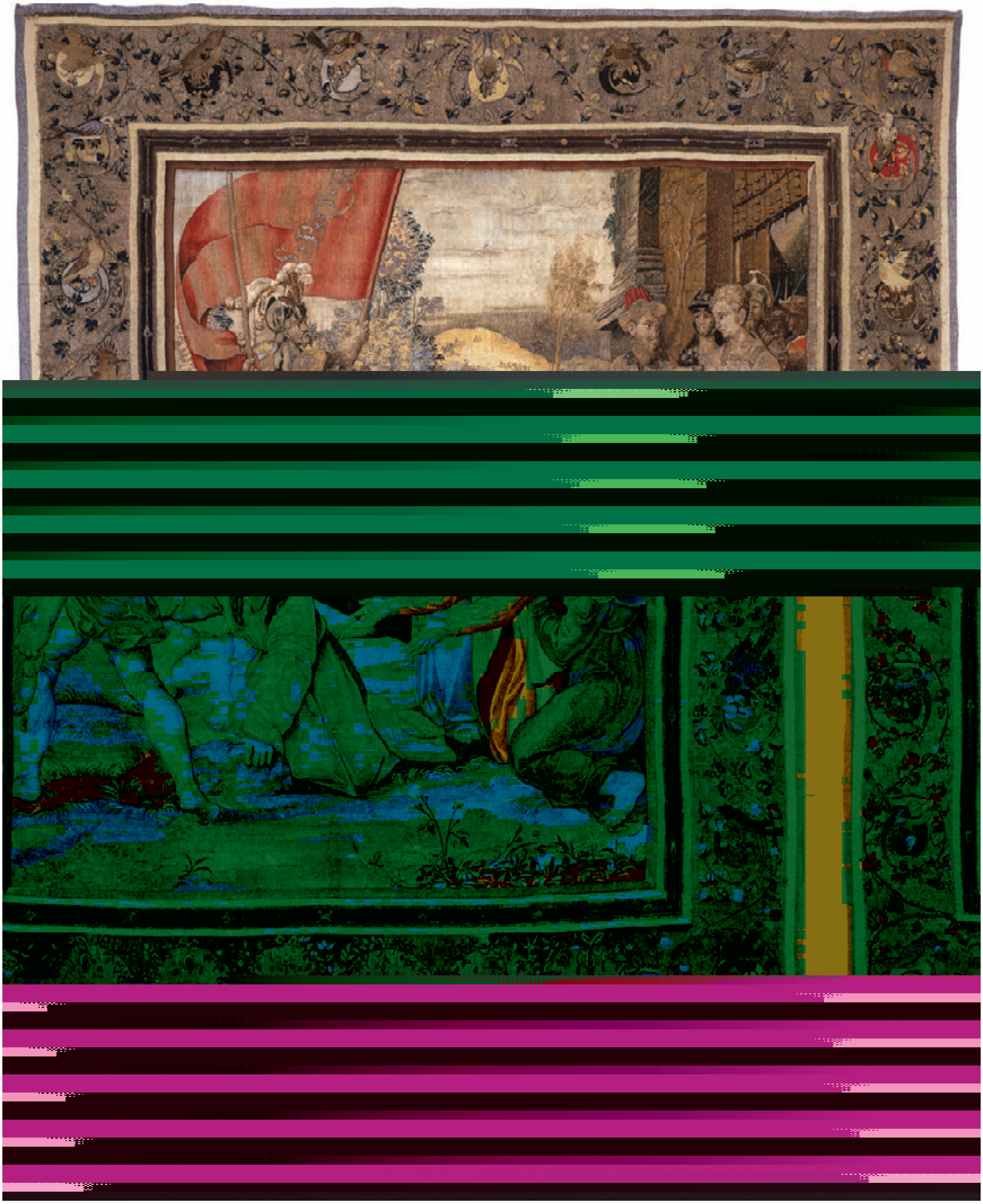
Detail of cat. no. 23

Saul is bearded and wears the costume of his command as a Roman soldier, an elaborate helmet and a tooled-leather cuirass. Beside him is his sword, which is the instrument of his eventual martyrdom and which becomes his emblem. The careful attention to these garments attests to Raphael's fascination with the artifacts of ancient Rome. Behind Saul, his companions clamor to catch his frightened and fleeing horse. From the right, other soldiers on horseback rush in; the men gesture toward Saul, their mouths wide with shouting; the animals, sleek and powerful, are quickly reined in, tails flying. In the foreground, a soldier dashes past, brandishing a spear.

The main scene is bordered by a red and gold guilloche frame with a lion's head in each of the four corners. The wide lower border is conceived as a bronze relief with scenes of Saul consenting to the death of Saint Stephen and persecuting Christians, illustrating the biblical text: "As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison" (Acts 8:3). A border decorated with a gold and black Greek key pattern is beneath the frieze.

Design and Sources

Raphael's cartoon for the *Conversion of Saul* has been lost. In 1521 it was recorded as in the collection of Cardinal Domenico Grimani in Venice, apparently acquired very shortly after the set was woven in Brussels. The fact that it was obtained by a collector immediately after the weaving suggests how highly prized Raphael's cartoons were as works of art, independent of



raising his spear threateningly with his right hand. Behind the foreground tableau, the centurion in charge of the convoy appears among a troop of mounted soldiers who are emerging from the town gates, the foremost of whom carries a Roman standard with the letters S.P.Q.R. (Senatus populusque romanus; the Senate and the People of Rome).

Although the formal elements of Raphael's composition are derived from a variety of sources, they have been transformed by the wholly realistic manner in which they are portrayed and by the intensity of suffering and grief with which the scene is imbued. The effect is achieved through the range of emotions displayed by Christ and the three Marys; through specific details such as the drops of blood and tears on Christ's face and the tears on the Virgin's and women's faces; through the brutal reality of the soldiers; and by incidental details, such as the flag flapping in the wind and the centurion pointing his baton as he gives an order, oblivious to the emotional drama taking place only a few feet away.

Context, Iconography, and Date of Raphael's Painting

Built between 1508 and 1515, with funding from Giacomo Basilico, the church of Santa Maria dello Spasimo was devoted to the "Spasimo" of the Virgin, an unusual dedication that reflects the contemporary interest among laypeople and confraternities in the emotional experience of the Virgin during the Passion, and the theological debate that this interest had stimulated.[5] Tommaso de Vio, known as Cajetan, one of the leading Dominican theologians of the day and subsequently the master general of the Dominicans and a protégé of Pope Julius II, published a treatise in 1506, *De Spasimo beatae virginis Mariae,* in which he argued that the Virgin cannot have yielded to ultimate despair and fainted ("lo Spasimo") during the Passion—as she was often depicted in devotional images of the time—because of the incorruptibility of her flesh, her presence at the Crucifixion, and the sustaining Grace with which she was blessed.[6] Although this publication did not prevent Basilico's petition for the dedication of his church, the influence of this thinking is readily apparent in Raphael's painting, where the Virgin's waking anguish forms the principal drama of the composition, but in which, despite the dedication of the church, she is most clearly not fainting.

The conception of Raphael's painting is generally dated about 1515–16, toward the end of the six-year period for which Giacomo Basilico agreed to provide funding for construction of the church—a dating that is confirmed on stylistic grounds. A terminus post quem is provided by the date of 1515, which appears on the Lucas van Leyden engraving from which Raphael drew the figure of Christ, while a terminus ante quem of 1517 is provided by the date of an engraving after Raphael's painting by Agostino Veneziano. Veneziano produced a second edition of his engraving in 1519, which is virtually indistinguishable from the original except for date.[7] The painting was dispatched to Palermo at a date unknown, but its journey was not without incident. Vasari records that following shipwreck near Genoa and subsequent salvage, accounted miraculous by contemporaries, the painting was only delivered to Palermo through papal intervention.[8] It was documented in situ in 1520. Transferred to Santo Spirito in 1573, the painting was sold to Philip IV of Spain in 1661 and is now in the Prado.

The Bibbiena Tapestry: Artists, Date, and Workshop

The earliest weaving of a tapestry after the Raphael painting was executed for Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi (1470–1520), called Bibbiena, sometime between the conception of Raphael's painting of this subject and the cardinal's death, thus between 1515/16 and 1520.[9] Five years older than Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, Bibbiena had served as his secretary since the 1490s, and following Giovanni's election as Pope Leo X in 1513, he made Bibbiena his treasurer general and then cardinal. As one of Leo's most important advisors, he was portrayed behind his patron in the *Battle of Ostia* fresco (ca. 1515–17; Stanza dell'Incendio, Vatican). Subsequently he acted as papal legate to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I in 1516 and as ambassador to King Francis I of France in 1518. Renowned for his wit (he leads the discussion on humor in Baldassare Castiglione's *Il cortegiano,* published in 1528), his close relationship to Leo X was reflected in the way his artistic patronage emulated that of the pope in many respects. Bibbiena was on close terms with Raphael, proposing a marriage between the artist and one of his relatives and inheriting Raphael's house after the artist's death. He was portrayed by Raphael, and Raphael and his assistants decorated the *stufetta* (bathroom) and *loggetta* of Bibbiena's apartments, located near Leo's own apartments on the third floor of the Vatican Palace, between 1516 and 1519, the subjects apparently chosen by the cardinal himself. The commission for a tapestry version of the *Spasimo* must have been made shortly after Leo's commission to Raphael for the *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons, perhaps when Raphael and his assistants were decorating the *stufetta.* The small dimensions of the tapestry suggest that it was intended as an altarpiece for the cardinal's private chapel, where it appears to have hung on the occasion of the requiem celebrated after his death.[10]

Although the main scene duplicates, on smaller scale, Raphael's painting, the border is an innovation. The scrolling vine and the naturalistic birds—on a ground of gold—are reminiscent of, but somewhat more etiolated than, those that appeared on the carved frame of Raphael's *Santa Cecilia,* painted about 1514 for the chapel of Santa Cecilia in San Giovanni in Monte.[11] The tapestry incorporates Bibbiena's coat of arms in the lower border, and visual plays on the name Dovizi (*dovizia* means abundance): the cornucopia (*corni di dovizia*), with protruding ears of corn in the upper corners, and the strings of pearls flanking the borders. The lyre-playing crickets in the lower corners refer to his love of music. The border design of Bibbiena's tapestry has traditionally been attributed to Giovanni da Udine, because the decorative elements and very naturalistic birds and flowers are similar to those he employed in the Vatican Loggia and the *loggetta* of Cardinal Bibbiena.[12] Nesselrath suggested that the cartoon may have been prepared by two Raphael pupils working together, as was their standard practice in so many other projects, one pupil executing the main scene and Giovanni da Udine the border. As Adelson has noted, the main scene of the Bibbiena tapestry reflects certain changes to the design of the painting, most evidently in the clothes of the figures: the soldier pulling Christ by a rope is depicted in a tunic rather than jacket and trousers, the soldier holding the spear wears a helmet, and Simon of Cyrene has no leggings. But the similarity between the detail and color of the landscapes and the yellow tone of the foreground figures, rare in Netherlandish tapestries,

Detail of cat. no. 25

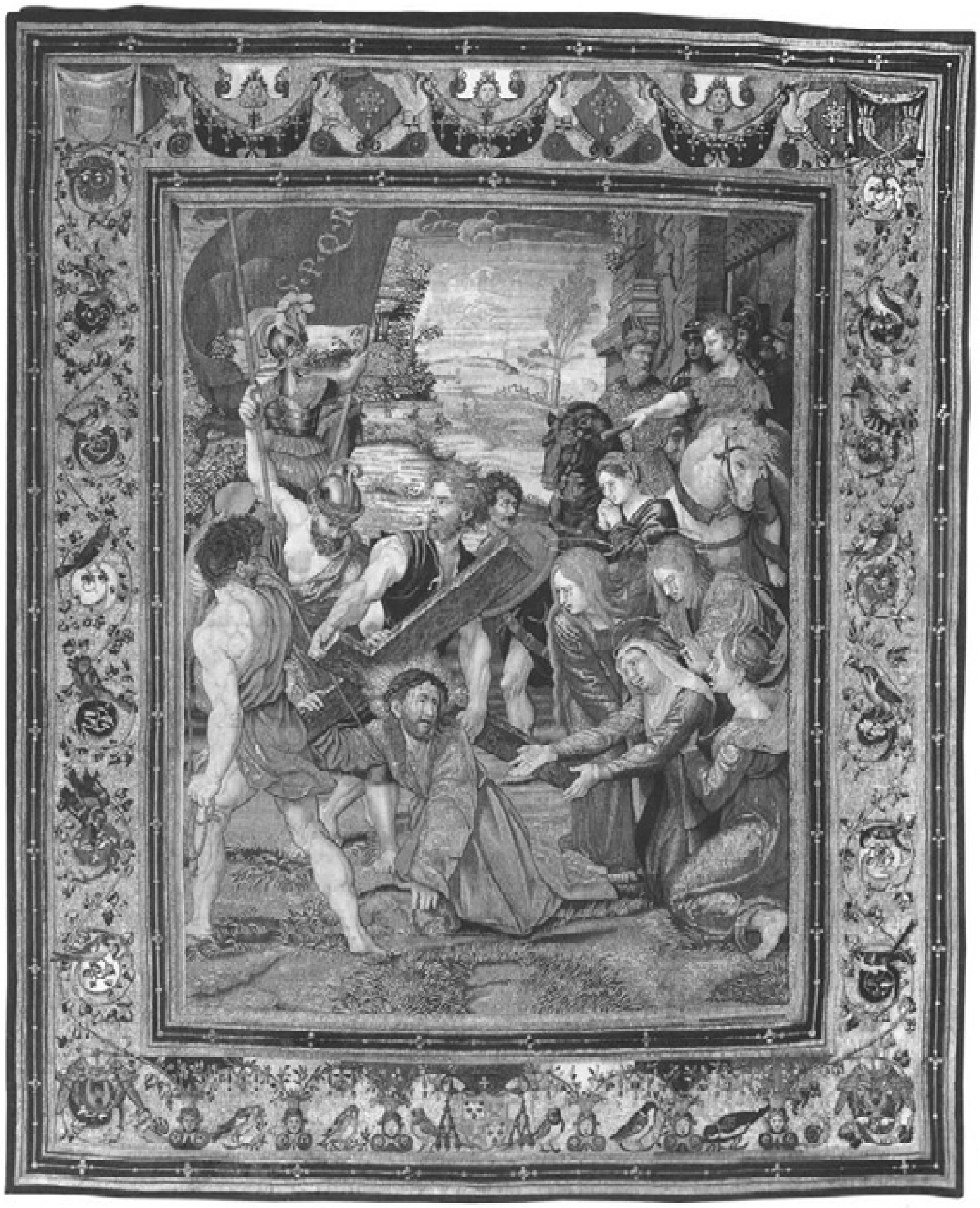


Fig. 85. *Christ Carrying the Cross.* Tapestry woven from a cartoon here attributed to Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine (after Raphael), ca. 1517–20. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 193 x 158 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican City

had led Adelson to suggest that the cartoonist was familiar with the original painting or a good copy and not just the engraving. In noting the differences between the painting and the tapestry, Adelson suggested a possible similarity between the figures in the tapestry design and those in certain of the images in the Vatican Loggia, such as the David and Goliath scene, which are attributed to Perino del Vaga (1501–1547) by Dacos.[13] The second tapestry version of this design (cat. no. 25) derived from a Genoese collection and was attributed to Perino at the end of the seventeenth century; this old attribution lends circumstantial support to Adelson's unproven suggestion.[14]

In view of the close links between Cardinal Bibbiena and Pope Leo X, the fact that the former commissioned his tapestry of the *Spasimo* at the same time that the Raphael *Acts of the Apostles* were being woven for Leo, and because of the high technical quality of Bibbiena's *Spasimo* tapestry, Adelson attributed the manufacture of Bibbiena's weaving to a workshop producing tapestries for Pieter van Aelst, a theory that, although unsubstantiated by any documentation, is highly plausible.[15]

The differences between the costume of the figures in the Raphael painting and those in the tapestry probably reflect alterations made by the cartoonist; nevertheless, another alteration may well derive from the weavers' intervention. As is readily apparent, Bibbiena's tapestry does not reproduce the chiaroscuro effect that dramatizes the original painting. The strong contrasts of light and shade that Italian Renaissance artists appreciated so much are technically difficult to reproduce in tapestry and were also avoided in the Netherlandish manufactories because of the difficulties inherent in utilizing very dark wools and silks. Because of the metallic oxide required as a mordant in the production of many brown and black tones, these hues were less stable than those of lighter colors, since the metallic element led to the rapid disintegration of the wool and silk. This factor was evidently long recognized in the Northern weaving industry, with the consequence that dark tones were almost inevitably reproduced with dark blue wool rather than brown and black. This technique was used throughout the fifteenth century, and well into the sixteenth century, although the illusionistic demands placed upon the weavers gradually led to the introduction of a wider and more vulnerable range of tones from the 1520s. The combination of these factors probably accounts for the evident reduction of light-and-shade contrast between Raphael's painting and the tapestry copy made for Cardinal Bibbiena.

The Balbi Tapestry

The earliest reference to this tapestry, which came to light only in recent years, is in the 1688 inventory of Francesco Maria Balbi (1619–1704). There it is described as a "rappresentante Nostro Signore che va al Monte Calvario, di Raffaello" and attributed to "Perin del Vaga."[16]

The Balbi were an important and rich Genoese family of merchants. Francesco Maria Balbi was the principal inheritor of the estates and belongings amassed during the sixteenth century by his ancestors. The family fortune was established by his great-grandfather Nicolò Balbi (d. 1549), a silk merchant, and it is possible that he was the original owner of this tapestry. The late-seventeenth-century attribution of the cartoon to Perino del Vaga, who worked in Genoa between 1528 and 1538, provides circumstantial support for the idea that the tapestry arrived in Genoa in a period coinciding with Nicolò Balbi's success. It is to be hoped that further research on the copious archival materials relating to the Balbi family will shed more light on this question.[17]

There are various differences between the Bibbiena and Balbi tapestries that suggest they were not woven from the same cartoon. Quite apart from the fact that the latter omits the coat of arms and corner details that refer to Bibbiena, the border of the Balbi tapestry is in reverse to that of the earlier weaving, whereas the main scene of the tapestry is in the same orientation. As Adelson has suggested, the most probable explanation for this is that the cartoon from which the Balbi tapestry was woven was not the original used for the Bibbiena tapestry, but a copy, made in Italy, from the Bibbiena tapestry itself. While the cartoonist would have had to take pains to reverse the design of the main field to account for reversal in weaving process, he would not have needed to worry so much about the border, as this was not specific to any particular direction. Traditionally, the execution of this second cartoon has been attributed to Perino del Vaga, on the basis of the fact that he was working in Genoa between 1528 and 1538 and on the basis of the attribution of the design of this tapestry in the Francesco Maria Balbi inventory.

Generally speaking, the reduction in contrast between light and dark begun in the Bibbiena tapestry is even more marked in the Balbi tapestry. Another change that has occurred in the reproduction process—whether because of deficiencies in the cartoon or through the weavers' interpretation—is the diminution of the emotional intensity of the scene. In the original painting and in the Bibbiena tapestry, the Virgin's face expresses both anguish and resignation, while the countenances of her sobbing companions articulate an evocative and moving range of emotions. These subtleties are lost in the Balbi copy, where the faces are less expressive and differentiated.

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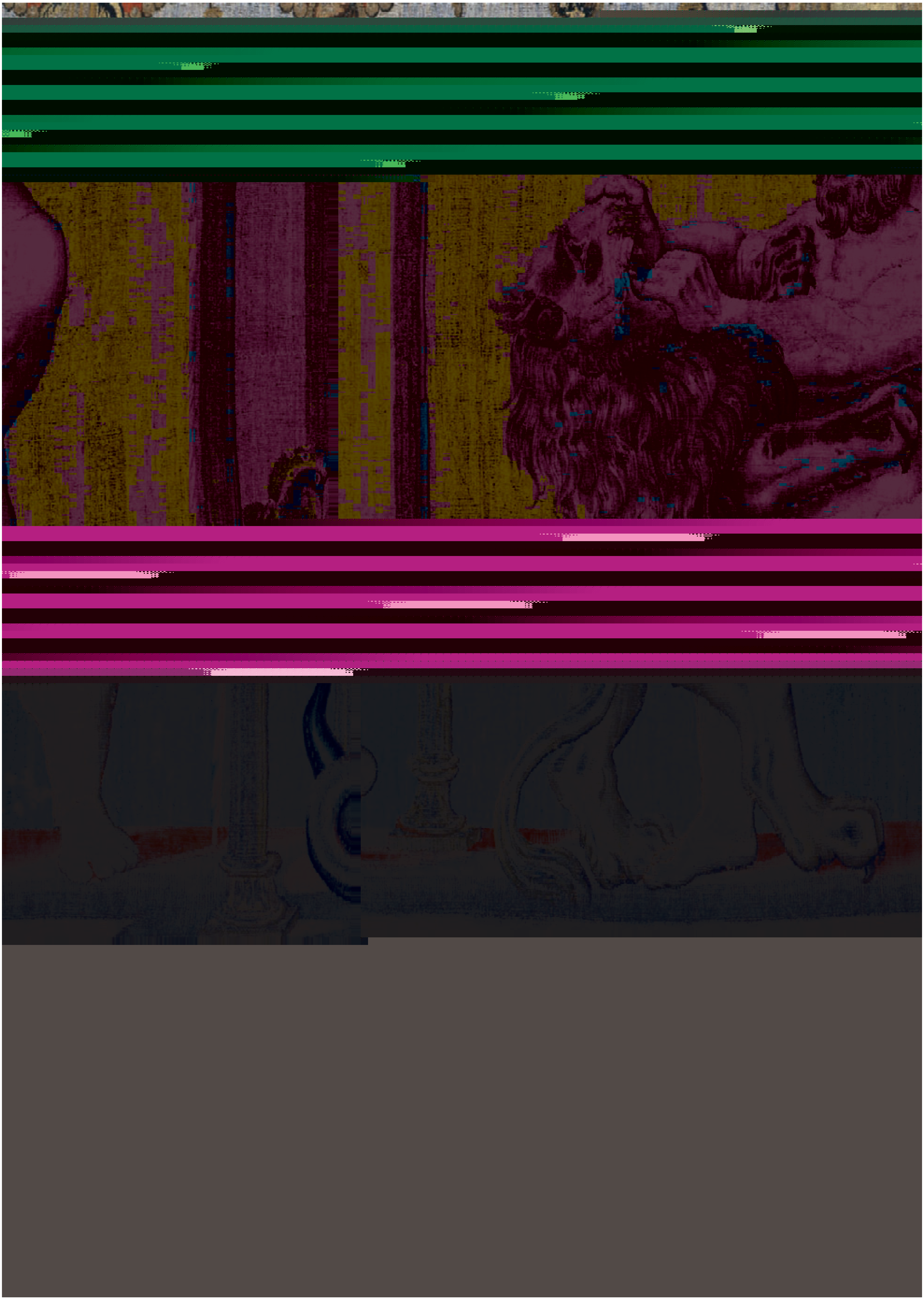
1. For the Raphael painting, see Dussler 1971, p. 44; H. S. Ettlinger 1982; Quednau 1983, pp. 167–71; Gardner von Teuffel in Vatican City 1984, pp. 272–77 (with bibliog.); and Gardner von Teuffel 1987, pp. 20–24.
2. H. S. Ettlinger 1982, p. 15.
3. Quednau 1983, pp. 167–71.
4. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 136–37; Quednau 1983, p. 170.
5. Gardner von Teuffel 1987, pp. 18–23.
6. H. S. Ettlinger 1982; Gardner von Teuffel 1987, pp. 22–24.
7. Gardner von Teuffel in Vatican City 1984, pp. 276–77.
8. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 4, pp. 357–58.
9. Vatican Museums, Rome, inv. no. 3840; Adelson in Vatican City 1984, pp. 277–80 (with bibliog.); Nesselrath in Bonn and Vatican City 1999, pp. 356, 546–47.
10. Nesselrath in Bonn and Vatican City 1999, p. 547.
11. Dussler 1971, pp. 39–40; Gardner von Teuffel 1987, pp. 4–6.
12. Adelson in Vatican City 1984, p. 278.
13. Dacos 1977, no. XLIIIa; Adelson in Vatican City 1984, p. 278; Nesselrath in Bonn and Vatican City 1999, p. 546.
14. Nesselrath in Bonn and Vatican City 1999, p. 546.
15. Adelson in Vatican City 1984, p. 278.
16. Boggero and Simonetti 1983, p. 149; Adelson in Vatican City 1984, pp. 278–80.
17. Grendi 1997, pp. 95–133.



Designs for the Papacy by the Raphael Workshop, 1517-30

The splendor and beauty of the tapestries woven from Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons were immediately recognized by contemporaries, and the success of this commission evidently encouraged Popes Leo X and Clement VII to order other series of tapestry designs in the late 1510s and early 1520s. Yet, while the *Acts* tapestries have survived in their entirety, along with seven of the original cartoons, only one of these other sets survives in an almost complete form (eleven of twelve pieces of the *Life of Christ*), and three other ensembles are known only from preparatory drawings and later copies. This loss, combined with the canonical status to which Raphael's designs have been elevated since the eighteenth century, has tended to obscure the artistic and iconographic importance of the other sets, of which at least two cost much more than the original *Acts*. Although the loss of these sets is a major impediment to investigation, a surprising amount about their appearance can be deduced from the preparatory drawings, cartoon fragments, and later copies. Despite the fact that a number of important studies of these sets have been written, the materials on which they draw are widely dispersed, and the studies themselves are not readily accessible. The goal of this section, therefore, is to introduce the basic evidence regarding these sets as the foundation for further consideration of their stylistic and iconographic significance.

GROTESQUES OF LEO X (TRIUMPHS OF THE GODS)

The first Raphael-school design we should consider depicted mythological gods in an elaborate grotesque surrounding. The circumstances in which the designs were conceived and the first weaving produced are undocumented, and the earliest extant reference to the set is provided by the 1544 papal tapestry inventory, which describes it as "Panni otto d'oro et seta, grotteschi di diversi colori" (Eight panels in gold and silk, grotesques of various colors), with a total surface area of 630 square ells. The subjects are listed as "la Nave et Trionfo di Venere," the "Forze d'Hercole," "Fortuna," "le sette Muse," "le sette virtù," "le Trionfo di Marte," "del Trionfo di Bacco," "del Arte liberali."[1] The set is listed in similar terms in the 1550, 1555, and 1592–1608 inventories.[2] Then, in the new inventory of 1608 it is listed as "Arazzi otto nominati Grottesce di Leone Xmo" (Eight tapestries called the Grotesques of Leo X).[3] Later inventories add no new information except that of 1644–55, when the set was described as "quali servono in apparar le stanza della Bologna à San Pietro"([those] which serve to hang in the Bologna apartment at Saint Peter's).[4] The set was hanging in the apartments of Pius V in 1767, but its subsequent fate is unknown.[5] It may have been looted and destroyed by the Napoleonic troops.

Remarkably, despite the evident splendor and scale of this set, it has never been the subject of detailed attention, largely because of the far-flung and relatively little-known materials on which any such study would necessarily be based. Yet the idiosyncratic description in the 1544 inventory does allow for reconstructing the appearance of the set based on sixteenth-century reweavings from the original cartoons and seventeenth-century copies of one of those sets made at the Gobelins Manufactory.

Reconstruction of the "Grotesques" Series

The earliest reweaving, apparently made from the original cartoons, was a seven-piece set acquired by Henry VIII in 1542, of which two pieces survive at Hampton Court, a *Triumph of Hercules* (cat. no. 26) and a *Triumph of Bacchus* (fig. 87).[6] Three pieces from a later weaving, thought to date from about 1560–70, survive in the Mobilier National in Paris.[7] They carry the mark of Frans Geubels (fl. ca. 1545–85), and they have a floral border rather than the architectural border that surrounded the papal set and Henry VIII's set. One is a duplicate of the *Triumph of Bacchus;* the other two depict the *Triumph of Minerva* (fig. 89) and the *Triumph of Venus* (fig. 88). The last is especially interesting because Venus is depicted in a ship, providing circumstantial evidence that these tapestries were woven from the same cartoons as those used for the papal set.

The three Mobilier National tapestries derive from a seven-piece set of which Louis XIV appears to have acquired three pieces before 1663.[8] The other four pieces of the set were purchased in 1673 at the sale of the goods of Casimir, former king of Poland

Fig. 86. Detail of cat. no. 26: *The Triumph of Hercules* from Henry VIII's set of the *Triumphs of the Gods*

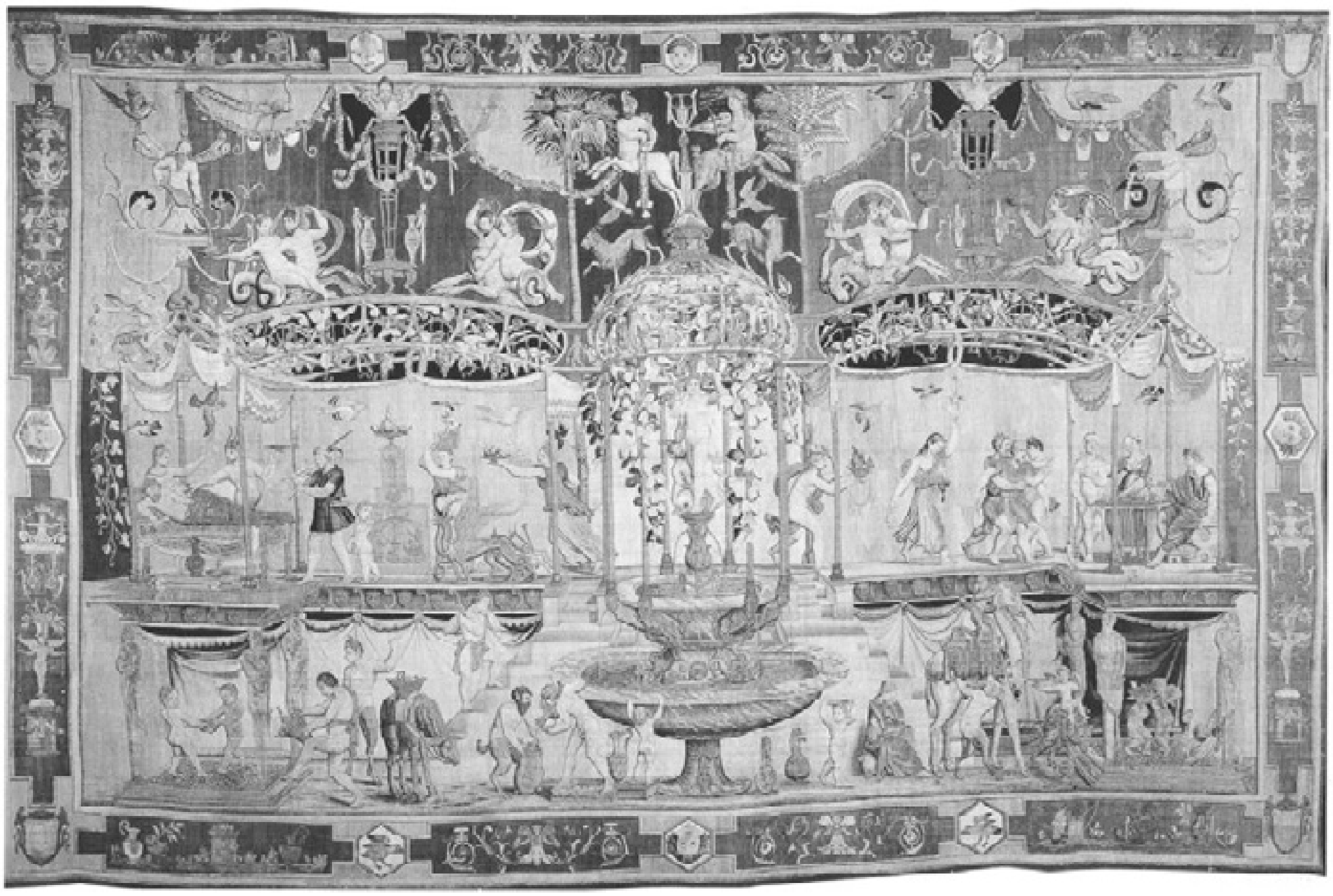


Fig. 87. *The Triumph of Bacchus* from Henry VIII's set of the *Triumphs of the Gods.* Tapestry design here attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giovanni da Udine, ca. 1517–20, woven in Brussels, ca. 1540–42. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread,

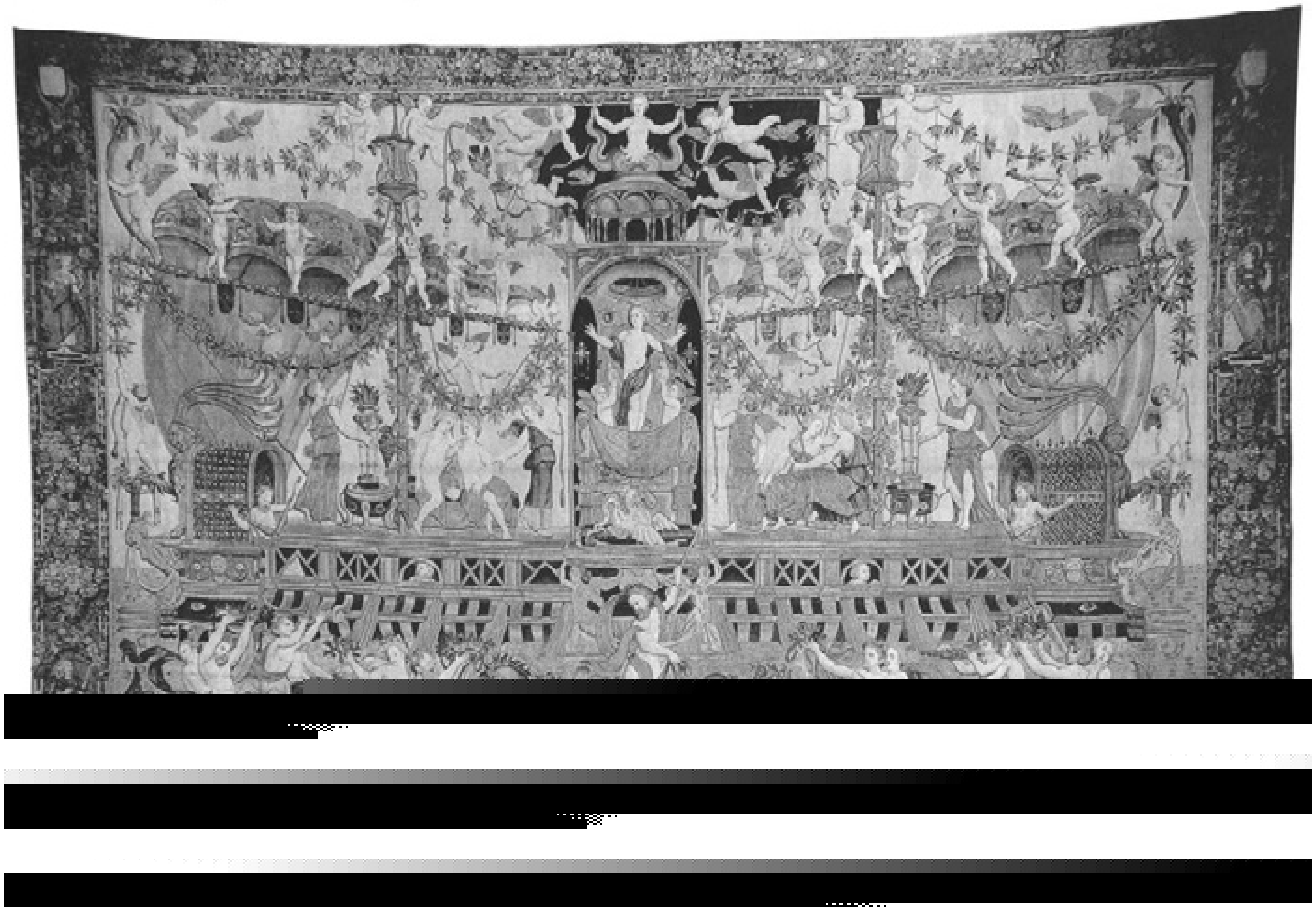


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Fig. 88. *The Triumph of Venus* from the *Triumphs of the Gods.* Tapestry design here attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giovanni da Udine, ca. 1517–20, woven in the Brussels workshop of Frans Geubels, ca. 1560. Wool and silk, 501 x 739 cm. Mobilier National, Paris

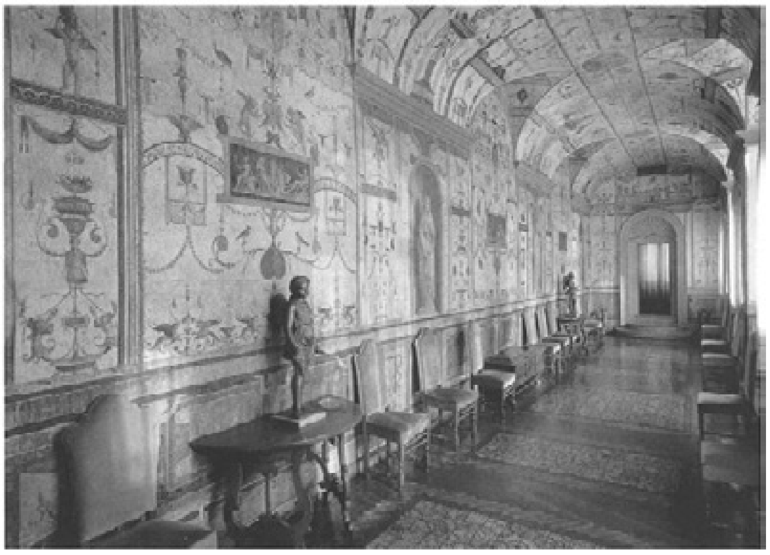


Fig. 92. View of the Bibbiena *loggetta*, Vatican Palace, Rome

noted, Fenaille's title was also inaccurate, as the scene represents Grammar among the Liberal Arts. Similarly, he noted that the scene traditionally titled the *Triumph of Religion* should more accurately be called *Faith among the Virtues.*[14] Thus, later weavings and copies allow us to identify eight scenes that correspond to the subjects given for the papal set in the 1544 inventory: the Triumph of Venus ("la Nave et Trionfo di Venere"), the Triumph of Hercules ("Forze d'Hercole"), the Triumph of Mars ("le Trionfo di Marte"), the Triumph of Bacchus ("del Trionfo di Bacco"), the Triumph of Minerva ("Fortuna"), the Triumph of Apollo ("le sette Muse"), Faith among the Virtues ("le sette virtù"), and Grammar among the Liberal Arts ("del Arte liberali").

Composition, Style, and Designer

With the circumstantial evidence outlined above, we can deduce the general appearance and iconography of the lost papal set of *Grotesques.* Each of the tapestries featured a central god or personification within a decorative gallery, surrounded by appropriate figures from classical mythology and fanciful grotesque decorations. Although the borders of the *Acts of the Apostles* had featured some grotesque and candelabra-like elements, the *Triumphs of the Gods* was the first tapestry series in which the grotesques were applied as an all-over decorative formula. The stylistic links between these designs and other contemporary works of the Raphael school is readily apparent. For example, several of the personifications of the Liberal Arts in the scene of that subject and at least two of the vignettes of Hercules' Labors are copied directly from two of the *Acts* borders. More generally, the compositional device of placing classical gods within whimsical filigree architectural pavilions—obviously inspired by those in the Domus Aurea—is closely related to the decorations in Cardinal Bibbiena's *loggetta,* painted by the Raphael school in 1517 (fig. 92).[15] Elements in the *loggetta* frescoes that reappear in the *Triumph of Bacchus* design include a figure of Bacchus under a garden pavilion with attendant figures approaching from both sides, beneath an arcade with an upper awning.[16] The figure of Bacchus in the tapestry, although altered, also demonstrates the designer's awareness of Sansovino's sculpture of Bacchus (executed in Florence in 1511–12 for Gherardo Bartolini and installed in his garden in 1519) or of its classical prototype (which was in the Villa Farnesina in the seventeenth century).[17]

The design of the tapestry series has generally been attributed to Giovanni da Udine on the basis of Vasari's remark that this specialist in still lifes and decorative work had "also executed the cartoons for some tapestries full of grotesques, which are in the first rooms of the Consistory."[18] As Vasari had met Giovanni in March 1550, when the latter was taking part in a Jubilee-year pilgrimage to Rome, and as Vasari's *Lives* project was already well under way, we may assume that information he provided about this artist was based on the artist's own account. The attribution is certainly supported by the close formal and stylistic links that the tapestry designs share with the stucco and painted decorations Giovanni executed in the Bibbiena *loggetta,* in the Sala dei Pontifici, and at the Villa Madama in the early 1520s.[19]

Other artists who must almost certainly have been involved were Giovanni Francesco Penni and Perino del Vaga. We know from Vasari's *Lives* that Penni assisted Raphael with the borders of the *Acts of the Apostles.* As a number of the figures from those borders reappear in the main field of the *Grotesques* tapestries, and as they are stylistically indistinguishable from many of the other figures, it seems reasonable to suppose that Penni was responsible for a number of these. Perino del Vaga's involvement is also suggested by his collaboration with Giovanni da Udine on the ceiling of the Sala dei Pontifici in the late 1510s. And in light of the way so much of Penni's work seems to have been based on compositional sketches by Raphael and Giulio Romano, we might also suspect that Giulio played a part in the conception of some of the figural groups.

Patron, Iconography, and Use

The fact that the set was described as the "Grottesce di Leone Xmo" in the 1608 Vatican inventory led Müntz and many subsequent writers simply to assume that the set was designed for this pope. The close relationship between the style of the tapestry designs and that of the decorations that Giovanni da Udine and his colleagues executed for Bibbiena and Leo between 1517 and 1519 and in the Villa Madama in 1520 certainly appears to support this theory, but the lack of documentation for the set leaves open the possibility that it could have been conceived after Clement's election in November 1523. Here, however, the iconography of the set may provide us with circumstantial evidence.

As noted above, several of the figures in the *Grotesques* are copied verbatim from those in the borders of the *Acts of the Apostles*, along with accompanying decorative elements. Shearman's study of the *Acts* suggested that the borders embodied some sort of allegorical celebration of Leo X and that the key to this interpretation was provided by vignettes of Hercules, which appear to have been included because Hercules was taken as a prototype for Leo X in the commentaries and panegyric texts published during his pontificate.[20] As Forti Grazzini has recently observed, Shearman's discussion of the figure of Hercules in the *Acts* border probably holds the key to a fuller understanding of the iconography of the *Grotesques* set, which included a panel devoted exclusively to the *Triumph of Hercules* (cat. no. 26).[21] The obvious resonance of the *Triumph of Hercules* panel for Leo, and the recurrent appearance of lions throughout the tapestries suggest that this series was, indeed, conceived and woven for Leo, rather than for Clement. Although the complex scenes require detailed elucidation, it seems likely that the series embodied a broad meditation on the trials and achievements of Leo's reign and carried the implicit suggestion that this reign had resulted in the establishment of a new era of spiritual and intellectual harmony, as demonstrated by the scenes *Faith among the Virtues* and *Grammar among the Liberal Arts.*

The location for which the *Grotesques* were intended is uncertain. Vasari stated that they were hung in the first rooms of the Consistory ("prime stanze del Concistoro").[22] As consistorial meetings seem to have taken place in a variety of locations during the first half of the sixteenth century, this information is ambiguous. One intriguing possibility is that the *Grotesques* were intended for the Sala dei Pontifici, which is a large room immediately below the Sala di Costantino and which was certainly used for papal consistories under Leo's predecessors and successors and, in all likelihood, under Leo himself. It was, as well, a setting for feasts and other ceremonies.[23] Use of the room during Leo's reign was interrupted by the need to replace the ceiling, work that was effected during 1518–19.[24] According to Vasari, the grotesque paintings and stucco decoration of the new ceiling were undertaken by Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine.[25] The ceiling was completed in fall 1520.[26] The decorative scheme combines Leo's horoscope, represented by the planets and signs of the zodiac, and, in the central tondo, a celebration of papal dominion as symbolized by the four winged figures who hold the papal tiara and keys.[27] The *Grotesques* tapestries would obviously have been stylistically and iconographically appropriate beneath this display of papal power presiding over the constellations. Considering the coincidence between the date of replacement and decoration of the ceiling in this room and the date suggested here for the design and execution of the tapestries, the possible relationship between the two ensembles calls for further investigation.

The Cartoons

If the *Grotesques* were designed for Leo X this raises a further question. The *Acts* cartoons were painted in Rome, but the cartoons for the next papal commission for which we have evidence, the *Giochi di putti,* were executed in Brussels by Tommaso Vincidor (known as Bologna), who was sent there for that purpose in June 1520. Were the *Grotesque* cartoons also executed in Brussels, and if so when?

Vincidor makes no mention of the *Grotesques* in a letter he sent to Leo on July 20, 1521, regarding the tapestry designs on which he was then engaged (see below). Were they already completed, or does his silence indicate that he played no part in their production? While answers to these questions can only be speculative, certain characteristics of the tapestries themselves suggest a probable answer. In view of the stylistic similarity of the borders of the *Acts* and the figures and designs of the *Grotesques,* it seems logical to assume that the idea for the latter developed from the former. As the last of the *Acts* borders must have been completed by the beginning of 1517, the period in which the Raphael workshop was also executing Cardinal Bibbiena's *loggetta,* it seems reasonable to suggest that the *Grotesques* may have been conceived during the period 1517–18 and executed between 1519 and 1521. The iconographic scheme is complex and would have taken some time to work out. Furthermore, because the figures of the *Grotesques* tapestries appear stylistically close to those of the *Acts* borders, it seems reasonable to ask whether the cartoons could have been painted in Rome by Raphael's assistants in the period following the completion of the *Acts* cartoons. Given the extraordinary originality and novel coloration of the *Grotesques* designs, it is unlikely that these cartoons were executed in Brussels.

Workshop

Although the workshop in which the *Grotesques* tapestries were made is undocumented, all the other papal commissions during the 1510s and 1520s for which we have evidence were undertaken by Pieter van Aelst. It was almost certainly to this merchant that the *Grotesques* cartoons, too, were consigned.

GIOCHI DI PUTTI

If the *Grotesques* are undocumented and the date of conception a matter of conjecture, we are better informed about the next commission that Pope Leo X instigated, a twenty-piece set known as the *Giochi di putti* that depicted children at play and devices symbolic of his rule against a rich ground of gilt-metal thread.[28] The earliest reference to this set is in the letter sent by Vincidor, in Brussels, to Leo on July 20, 1521.[29] Relatively little is known of Vincidor. Vasari records him as a pupil of Raphael, and he is first documented in Rome in January 1517, when he witnessed Raphael's signature.[30] Subsequently, he was among the artists who worked on the Vatican Loggia frescoes, where his hand has been tentatively identified in some of the scenes.[31] On May 21, 1520, the pope provided him with a letter of safe conduct for a mission to Flanders, where he must have arrived some weeks later. There he was among the artistic community with which Dürer exchanged prints and drawings in Brussels in September and October 1520 (as recorded in Dürer's daybook). In April 1521, Vincidor made a portrait of the German master (lost, but known from a later copy by Willem van Haecht), and the influence of Dürer's engravings is apparent in various motifs that Vincidor introduced into the *Giochi di putti* designs.[32]

Vincidor's July 20, 1521, letter to Leo describes his progress on two separate ensembles of tapestry cartoons, one for a set of wall hangings, the other for a ceremonial bed.[33] Regarding the first—larger—project, he stated that he had completed twenty tapestry cartoons of "bigarie de putini" and the pope's *imprese*, which he had elaborated from the initial conception in the most inventive way.[34] Although brief, the description of the designs allows us to identify them as the cartoons for a twenty-piece set of tapestries listed in the 1544 papal inventory as "twenty panels of gold and silk with putti playing."[35] From that point on, the set appears regularly in papal inventories with, from 1644, an attribution of the design to Raphael.[36] At least twelve pieces were still hanging in the apartments of Pius V (divided among three rooms) in 1750.[37] The subsequent fate of the set is unknown.[38] It is conceivable that the tapestries were looted by Napoleonic troops and destroyed for their gold thread.[39]

The appearance of the set can be reconstructed on the basis of sixteenth-century engravings, preparatory drawings, and eight later tapestries.[40] This exercise depends, in the first place, on a series of four engravings by the Master of the Die (fl. 1532–50), which, in a second edition, were published as the invention of Raphael (RAPHAEL.VR.IN) and, in a third edition of 1602, appeared with the additional information that they represented the "Tapezzerie del Papa" (fig. 95).[41] The information provided by these engravings can be supplemented by a group of at least twelve preparatory sketches and *modelli* distributed in collections around Europe, of which ten are dated 1521 and six carry Tommaso Vincidor's cipher composed of the letters F[ECIT] T[OMMASO] B[OLOGNA]. In addition, the designs of some of the engravings and preparatory sketches are duplicated in eight tapestries that appear to be seventeenth-century copies of the lost Leonine tapestries (see cat. no. 27). All these designs show children playing with animals and various objects in a shallow space in front of rich swags of fruit and leaves.

Conception and Design

In his letter to Leo, Vincidor claimed to have executed all the designs for the series, as well as many of the cartoons; Vasari, however, ascribed the designs to Giovanni da Udine, noting the importance of the garlands and animals and that these were among Giovanni's specialities.[42] Since Vasari was familiar with the tapestries at the Vatican and knew Giovanni da Udine personally and since a number of the motifs in the tapestries reappear in a putto-and-garland frieze generally attributed to Giovanni's hand at the Villa Madama (the so-called Giulio Romano room), there is reason to suppose that Vasari's attribution was based on some element of fact.[43]

Although the preparatory drawings for the tapestry designs fall into two distinctive groups—one is on gray-brown prepared paper and the other on a paper prepared with a lighter brown—examples from both groups carry Vincidor's cipher, and none of the drawings is readily identifiable as by Giovanni da Udine. His role may therefore have been limited to the development of the compositional formula and the execution of a series of preliminary sketches, now lost, from which Vincidor subsequently prepared more finished models.[44] The purpose of these two groups of drawings, which in a number of cases duplicate the same image, is unclear (figs. 94, 104). It is possible that one group represents copies of the designs that Vincidor prepared for Leo, while the other drawings were prepared as more finished *modelli* for use in the preparation of the cartoons. Further complicating the matter is the fact that many of the figures that appear in the *modelli* correspond to figures in two chiaroscuro woodcuts by the Master NDB depicting playing children, of which a version of one, dated 1544, carries Raphael's "invenit," implying that both engravings were done after drawings (now lost) by Raphael (fig. 93).[45] Because mid-sixteenth-century editions of engravings after four of the tapestries also carried Raphael's name and since Raphael was alive and well when Vincidor left Rome, it seems plausible that he could have been involved in the conception of the *Giochi di putti* series. The woodcuts by Master NDB may record an initial idea that was abandoned in favor of the friezelike composition embodied in the final design but that, nonetheless, provided the basis for many of the figures in the compositions of Giovanni da Udine and Tommaso Vincidor.

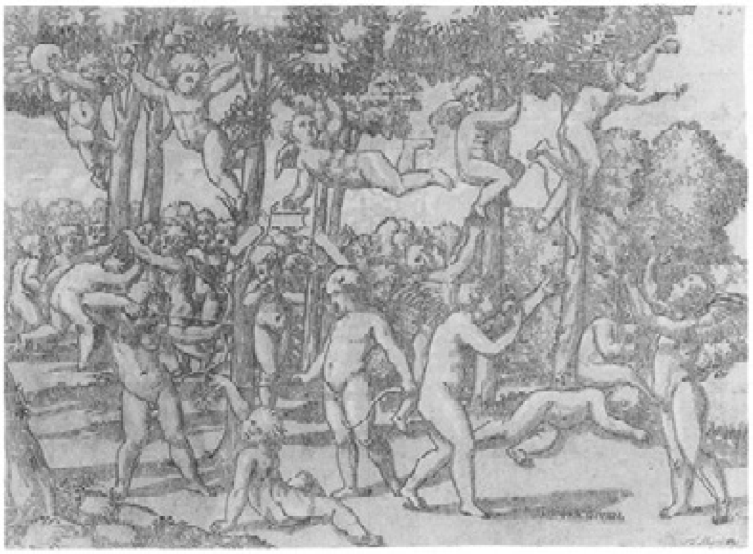


Fig. 93. *Putti Playing.* Master NDB after Raphael, 1544. Chiaroscuro woodcut, 28.6 x 39.2 cm. The British Museum, London

From this evidence it seems probable that, in addition to any written instructions which Vincidor carried with him to Brussels in May 1520, he must also have taken a number of preliminary designs for the tapestries and perhaps some completed *modelli* as well. It is unclear why Vincidor was dispatched to Brussels to execute the cartoons, but considering the number of projects on which the Raphael workshop was then engaged, it may have been in order to take advantage of the cartoon specialists working in Brussels. Vincidor's letter to Leo explicitly states that he has not been able to paint all the cartoons himself, and analysis of cartoon fragments from the set of the *Life of Christ* woven during Clement VII's pontificacy, discussed below, certainly suggests that the cartoons for this set were executed in Brussels by Vincidor in conjunction with at least two Netherlandish assistants.

Composition and Iconography

If the Raphael playing children in the Master NDB woodcuts do represent an initial concept for the *Giochi di putti* commission, the tapestry series as it was developed differs markedly from that source. From a formal point of view, the landscape setting was abandoned for shallow niches that are largely occupied by heavy swags of fruit and leaves, a crowded stage for the children and animals populating the scenes. This formula was inspired by the friezes that appeared in a group of antique sarcophagi (known as "garland sarcophagi"), which feature putti and garlands in exactly this form. Several examples are documented in Rome in the early sixteenth century, including ones that Raphael and Giovanni da Udine would certainly have known on the grounds of the Villa Madama and on the Monte Cavallo.[46]

The iconographic point of departure for both the lost Raphael drawings and the *Giochi di putti* was the *Eikones* (*Imagines*) of Philostratus, which purports to describe a collection of sixty-four paintings displayed in Naples in the third century A.D. One of these works was said to depict cupids (erotes) playing in a fruit garden, laughing, dancing, flying, fighting, kissing, and throwing apples at one another (book 1.6).[47] Raphael's interest in this subject is demonstrated by a drawing made as early as 1507 (it may have been rekindled in 1517 when the duke of Ferrara planned to decorate his Camerino d'Alabastro with a representation of this subject, which was eventually executed by Titian).[48]

The iconography of the Leonine *Giochi di putti* tapestries has yet to be analyzed in full detail, but Quednau has published important preliminary work.[49] As he has demonstrated, some of the scenes reveal an explicit debt to Philostratus. For example, a drawing now in Budapest (Szépművészeti Múzeum) shows a putto throwing an apple out of an apple tree while, below, others collect and eat the apples. Two other details described by Philostratus, putti wrestling and putti chasing a hare, are also featured in the tapestries.[50] Other scenes have a more specific reference to the patron. The general appropriateness of the subject is readily evident. The classical gods of love form a playful analogy for the Christian virtue of Charity, which Leo, as Christ's representative on earth, was responsible for promoting through the Catholic Church, a cause with which he particularly identified himself through his support in 1519 of the Sodalitas Caritas, the Company of Divine Love.[51] Within this broad metaphor the series presents a multiplicity of allegories and visual puns on Leo's personal history, the virtues he embodied, the relationship between spiritual and secular power, and his papal responsibilities. For example, one of the woven copies of the original series, now in Budapest (Iparművészeti Múzeum), shows a putto playing with a yoke; the yoke, combined with the motto SUAVE, was one of the devices that Leo had adopted in 1512 after the restoration of the Medici to Florence, to show the city that his reign would be "clemente et suave" (merciful and gentle).[52]

Two other scenes made explicit reference to Leo as Christ's representative on earth. In one, recorded both in preliminary drawings and in one of the seventeenth-century copies (cat. no. 27), the young lion is now an adult, weaving a crown that signifies he is king of the animals. This is probably an allusion to the argument presented in Leonine panegyric that Leo was the fulfillment of Revelation 5:5, which prophesies the victory of the lion from the root of Jesse.[53] The lion is flanked by putti carrying the insignia of the temporal and spiritual worlds, the imperial crown and scepter and the papal tiara and keys, indicating the pope's authority over

Fig. 94. *Three Putti under the Sign of the Lion.* Tommaso Vincidor, ca. 1520. 20.4 x 29.9 cm. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

Fig. 95. *Three Putti under the Sign of the Lion.* Master of the Die, ca. 1532–50. Engraving, 21.6 x 28.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittlesey Fund, 1949 (49.97.331)

both realms. This theme was developed further in another of the lost tapestries, known from a *modello* (Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, HdZ 4327), a contemporary copy of the same (fig. 94), an engraving (fig. 95), and one of the seventeenth-century tapestries (whereabouts unknown).[54] Indeed, the panel with the crowned lion and this piece may have been intended to hang at a focal point of the room. The second piece depicts a crowned putto standing with his foot on an orb, beneath the astrological symbol of the lion that appears in the center of the sun. Quednau suggests that this was probably intended as a symbol of "Sol Iustitiae Christus" and, by implication, of Leo, his vicar on earth. In one hand the putto holds the temporal scepter and in the other the papal keys, again representing the papal doctrine of the Two Swords. He is flanked by the eagle and phoenix, symbols associated with the return of the golden age, represented here by the two putti who approach from either side, bearing chargers laden with gold, to signify the Obolus of Saint Peter (the annual presentation of monies to the pope, which were intended to fund his "carità").[55] As Quednau observes, the idea that with Leo's election a new golden age had dawned was a central tenet of Leonine panegyric. Andreas Fulvius, for example, hailed it as "nunc aurea conditur aetes" (the founding of a golden age in the present day) in his "Sanctissimo Patri Leoni X. Pont. Max. Panegyricus," in the *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum.*[56]

The concept of a golden age derived from Greek mythology. Hesiod's *Works and Days* described four previous races of people, of which the earliest was the Golden Race. Ruled by Kronos (Saturn), father of Zeus, members of this race never grew old, did not work, and passed their days in amusement. They were succeeded by less perfect races, those of Silver, Bronze, and Iron, all ruled by Zeus, to the last of which Hesiod belonged, a time of decline. Plato also discussed the notion of a Golden Race in his *Politikos,* along with the concept of successive periods or races which, when the worst is reached, gradually return to a more ideal situation. These ideas were adopted in Roman literature, particularly by the writers who flourished under the patronage of the emperor Augustus—Ovid, Horace, Propertius, and Livy. Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue,* which spoke of the dawn of a new golden age marked by the birth of a child, was interpreted by such Christian writers as Boethius and recognized by Constantine the Great as an announcement of Christ. The Christianization of the golden age myth was perpetuated by the medieval *Ovide moralisé* and by Dante's *Divine Comedy.* In the poet's journey through Purgatory, the Roman poet Statius tells Dante and Virgil that the golden age of the ancient poets was the Terrestrial Paradise.

During the fifteenth century the Medici adapted the concept of the golden age for their own purposes. Writers in the circle of Lorenzo the Magnificent, such as Marsilio Ficino, lauded their patron as the instigator of a new golden age in Florence. The conceit was transferred to the papal court when Lorenzo's son Giovanni became Pope Leo X in 1513. According to Vasari, a procession in Florence celebrating his election included seven chariots of which the first represented the age of Saturn. This was followed by five chariots populated with historical personages and, finally, by a seventh chariot that signified the end of the iron age and the revival of the golden age, which was reborn through the election of the pope. During the 1510s the works of Baldassare

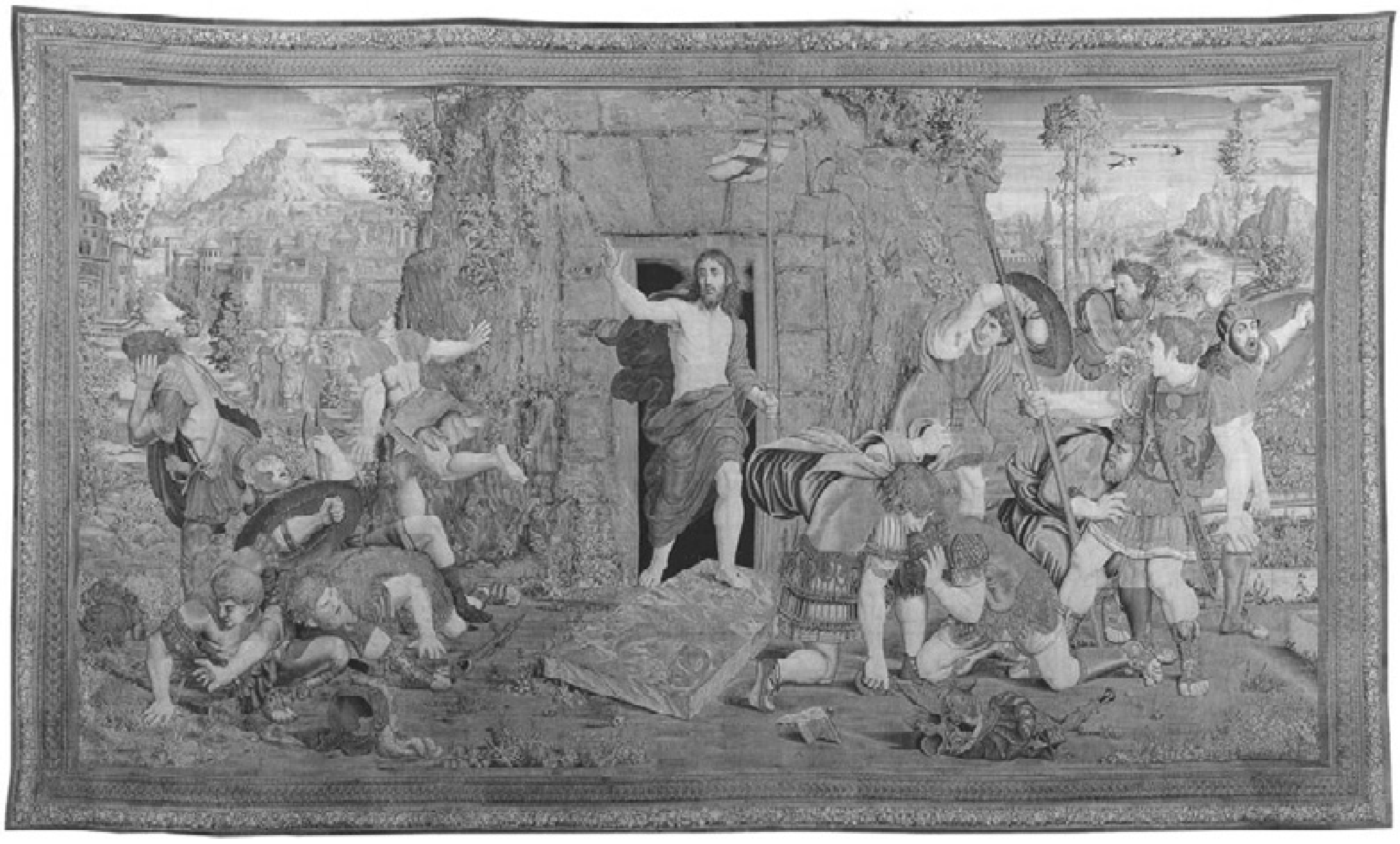


Fig. 100. *The Resurrection*, from the *Life of Christ* (*Scuola nuova*). Tapestry designed by Giovanni Francesco Penni and others, woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, Brussels, ca. 1524–30. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 538 x 956 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican City

The tapestries vary considerably in width, suggesting that they were designed for a specific location. This appears to be confirmed by the 1555 inventory, which states that the set was "fatti per el Consistorio" (made for the Consistory), and Vasari also mentions this location in his life of Penni.[96] The 1592–1608 inventory adds the information that the set was for the "sala del Concistoro secreto" (chamber of the Secret Consistory), and the 1608 inventory further adds that it was "per il Consistori Secreti, Natale e Pasque" (for the Secret Consistories [at] Christmas and Easter).[97] Addressing this question in two separate studies, Hope demonstrated that the evidence of ceremony under Clement VII is limited but his predecessor's procedures are better documented. During Leo's pontificate, secret consistories took place in the Camera del Papagallo, while public consistories were held in the Sala Regia or the Aula Tertia. Although the current appearance of the Sala Regia dates from its reconstruction and decoration beginning in 1538, examination of the original floor plans of this and the other two rooms reveals that it was the only one of the three that could have accommodated even half the series.[98] Hope therefore suggested that the set was actually composed of two distinct groups, following the thematic divide of the subjects, and that these were used in the same location on different occasions. This theory is supported by the idiosyncratic variation in width among the panels. Both groups include one wide panel, two of medium width, and three of narrower width. Although the direction of the light source varies from one panel to the next within each group, it is consistent between tapestries of similar dimensions in both groups. Hope therefore proposed that the two groups were used in rotation in the Sala Regia, although even this formulation is accompanied by problems regarding the narrative sequence of the tapestries.

Conception, Date, and Design

Vasari gives contradictory evidence regarding the conception and design of the series. In his life of Raphael he stated that the master was responsible for its design, an assumption that was also propagated by sixteenth-century engravings after the designs, such as the *Descent into Hell* and *Ascension* made in 1541 by Nicolas Beatrizet, which carry the "invenit" of Raphael.[99] Yet in his life of Giovanni Francesco Penni, Vasari wrote that this artist helped Raphael in painting a large portion of the cartoons for the tapestries in the Consistory.[100]

That the 1555 inventory identification of this set as from the time of Leo X is erroneous is demonstrated by the résumé of the 1524 contract with van Aelst and the arrival of the set in Rome in

1531. And that Clement seems to have made the second part of a larger payment to van Aelst in 1524 suggests that the work was already well under way by that date and, thus, that it must have been started shortly after Clement's election at the end of 1523. The fact that work could have begun so soon after Clement's election suggests that he may have inherited a number of preliminary designs, finished *modelli,* and even some cartoons. As this work is unlikely to have taken place under Adrian VI, the circumstantial evidence therefore indicates that the conception of the set did, indeed, occur under Leo X.

A terminus post quem is probably provided by Raphael's death in April 1520. In the first substantive studies of the set, Müntz rejected the possibility of Raphael's involvement on the grounds that none of the extant preparatory sketches and *modelli* are in his hand and that few of the compositions carry any of the distinction and quality of his designs.[101] Subsequent scholars have generally agreed in doubting Raphael's involvement in the project. In a short but influential entry on two of the cartoon fragments now at the British Museum, Pouncey and Gere suggested that all the known drawings appear to be executed by a hand they identified as that of Penni.[102] Noting that these same drawings looked like fair copies rather than preliminary studies and that the overall character of the tapestries was highly suggestive of Giulio Romano's style in the compositions, the figures, and the decorative details, they suggested that Penni was probably working from preliminary designs by Giulio (a practice that was apparently employed again with the preparation of the *Story of Scipio* tapestries, for which, see pp. 344–47).[103] Hope's studies confirm the attribution of the *modelli* to Penni as well as the likelihood of Giulio's authorship in the conception of many of the scenes, albeit with the possible involvement of other artists such as Baldassare Peruzzi, Perino del Vaga, and Polidoro da Caravaggio. But as Hope also noted, these elements may simply reflect Penni's ability to synthesize a variety of sources within the Raphael workshop.[104]

Raphael's influence is most marked in the first and second panels of the set. The composition of the *Nativity* (fig. 98) is closely related to a drawing of the same subject (Louvre), whose format suggests that it was preliminary to an oil painting (lost or unexecuted) rather than a tapestry design.[105] Modern critics generally concur in giving this drawing to Penni, and although it may have been based on a lost Raphael sketch, it is clear from the pentimenti of the *modelli* that Penni was responsible for many of the compositional decisions that it embodied. Raphael's influence is also readily apparent in the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 99), and it has been suggested that a drawing of this design in the Louvre may be a copy of a lost *modello* by Raphael himself. Here again, however, the gestures and poses of the figures as they are developed in the tapestry design do not indicate the further involvement of Raphael.[106] Rather, as in the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Resurrection* (fig. 100) the friezelike composition and the physiognomic characteristics of the figures are much closer to the style that Giulio developed in his early Mantuan work. It may also be significant that the principal figures of the Madonna and child and the kneeling king are close to those in the *Adoration of the Magi* fresco in the Loggia, which was executed by Giulio or under his supervision.

Of the other scenes and the fluctation of quality within the series, Müntz suggested that some, including the *Supper at Emmaus* and the *Descent into Hell,* may have been designed by Netherlandish artists rather than the team responsible for the rest of the designs.[107] However, since a *modello* for the *Supper at Emmaus* (formerly in the baron of Triqueti collection, current location unknown) appears to be in Penni's hand, this assumption seems misplaced. Similarly, the massing and gestures of the figures in the *Ascension* and *Pentecost* scenes have parallels in the *Last Supper* fresco in the Loggia, attributed by Vasari to Perino del Vaga.[108] The variation in quality among the different designs thus may have resulted, in part, from the fact that some *modelli* were executed by Penni from preliminary studies by Giulio and some of the weaker ones were provided later, executed by Penni alone, following Giulio's departure for Mantua at the end of 1524.

The Cartoons

Müntz, unaware of Vincidor's 1521 letter to Leo at the time he wrote his studies of the *Life of Christ* series, suggested that Vincidor was probably responsible for the cartoons.[109] His proposal was based on the claims made by Francisco de Hollanda in his *Traité de la peinture* (1548) and by Vasari in the 1568 edition of his *Lives* that Vincidor traveled to Flanders to supervise the execution of tapestries from designs by Raphael. The subsequent discovery of Vincidor's letter to Leo provides circumstantial support for this theory, although in it Vincidor seemed to have intended to return to Rome as quickly as possible. He told Dürer that he would take his portrait back to Rome with him, and in his letter to Leo he asked the pope to intervene with Cardinal Medici, in whose service he still considered himself to be, for a pension of one ducat a month. His feelings about the Low Countries are vividly summarized in his final words to Leo: "I have great patience with foreign barbarians when they are far away."[110] Leo's death and Adrian VI's accession probably disappointed his hopes of a speedy return to Rome for he was still in (or perhaps had already returned to) Brussels in March 1523, as demonstrated by a payment he received from Floris of Egmond. No mention of his presence in Italy has yet emerged in documentary sources. Nothing is known of Vincidor's whereabouts between 1523 and 1531, when he entered the service of Henry III of Nassau, for whose castle at Breda he provided designs. At this date, he was described as "Bouloigne, paintre de Bruxelles" and as one of Charles V's painters, which certainly implies his continued presence in the Netherlands.[111] Assuming that he may have remained in the Netherlands during the 1520s, a task that could have kept him active until 1530, at least intermittently, might have been the preparation of the *Life of Christ* cartoons.

The cartoons survived in damaged but complete form in the seventeenth century in the possession of Govaert Flinck, one of Rembrandt's pupils. Flinck cut out the sections that he considered to be of greatest artistic interest, principally the heads, hands, and feet; some 104 fragments passed to England, of which about fifty were in the collection of the Richardsons.[112] About thirty are known to survive today, of which the largest, for the *Massacre of the Innocents* tapestry included here (cat. no. 29), survives at the Foundling Hospital, London.[113] Unfortunately, it was entirely overpainted in oils in the eighteenth century so that nothing of its original character can be seen with the naked eye. As for the remaining fragments, studies by Oberhuber and Dacos have demonstrated that they reflect a mixture of styles, probably because of the involvement of a number of artists.[114] Some of the cartoon fragments were executed in a painterly style, corresponding to that evident in the *Acts of the Apostles* cartoons, with opaque paint applied in broad strokes. Dacos has identified this style with Vincidor and has detected the hands of two Netherlandish artists in the other fragments, one marked by a more careful and diluted application of paint than the first, and a third artist who applied the color in careful, small strokes and outlined the contours of the figures with a black line. An alternative suggestion has been made by Gnann, who, following Oberhuber, has suggested that the cartoons executed in a painterly style were probably executed in Rome, while those with the more transparent paint, like the *Adoration of the Magi* and at least the third of the *Massacre of the Innocents* panels, were executed in the Netherlands.[115] Both claims require further examination to establish the extent to which these different hands are identifiable and the degree to which they can be associated with specific cartoons. In the meantime, the circumstantial evidence relating to Vincidor's collaboration with Netherlandish artists on the *Giochi di putti* cartoons and the evidence for his continued presence in Brussels during the mid-1520s, taken in conjunction with the emphasis on the details of decoration and costume in the *Life of Christ* designs, tend to support Dacos's assumption that all the cartoons were executed in Brussels.

Returning to the question of the inconsistency of style between the later designs and those in the first group, the circumstantial evidence for Vincidor's involvement in the preparation of the cartoons opens a variety of explanations. First, it is possible that Vincidor played a larger role than previously thought in the development of certain compositions. Another factor in the diminution of quality between the earlier and later designs may have been the quality of Vincidor's assistants. If the first cartoons were prepared during 1523–25, Vincidor might have been able to draw on help from some of the leading Netherlandish artists and cartoonists of the day. But if the last designs in the series were turned into cartoon form during 1528–29, their preparation must have coincided with a period when many of the most gifted cartoonists in Brussels—certainly Bernaert van Orley and possibly also his two most gifted pupils, Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Michiel Coxcie—would have been engaged in the production of the cartoons for the *Battle of Pavia* and the *Hunts of Maximilian* tapestries, which were designed and woven for Charles V between 1526 and 1531. With the best talent, perhaps even Vincidor himself, engaged elsewhere, the artists available to complete the papal commission may have been of a much lower caliber. Although this is hypothetical, it seems likely that factors like these, relating to the interrupted process by which the set seems to have been produced, determined its uneven stylistic character.

PAPAL THRONE CANOPY WITH THE IMPRESA OF CLEMENT VII

Giulio de' Medici—Clement VII—was a sophisticated and discriminating patron. Educated at Padua, he had traveled extensively in Europe during the Medici exile from Florence between 1492 and 1512. Following his election as pope in 1513, Leo appointed his cousin Giulio archbishop of Florence and cardinal and, from 1517, papal vice-chancellor. In 1516 Giulio commissioned Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo to paint altarpieces for his archiepiscopal church, Narbonne Cathedral, and in 1518 Raphael and his workshop designed and decorated Giulio's Villa Madama on the outskirts of Rome. Following Giulio's election as pope in November 1523, he continued the work on the Sala di Costantino, awarding the contract to Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni. While documentation concerning papal tapestry commissions is lacking for these years, it seems logical that this keen patron of the arts would have continued the tapestry campaigns that had been initiated by Leo. But in addition to seeing the *Giochi di putti*, papal *letto,* and the *Life of Christ* projects to completion, Clement evidently commissioned at least one new tapestry ensemble in his own right.

This last papal commission of note placed before the Sack of Rome in 1527 is the papal throne canopy with Clement VII's

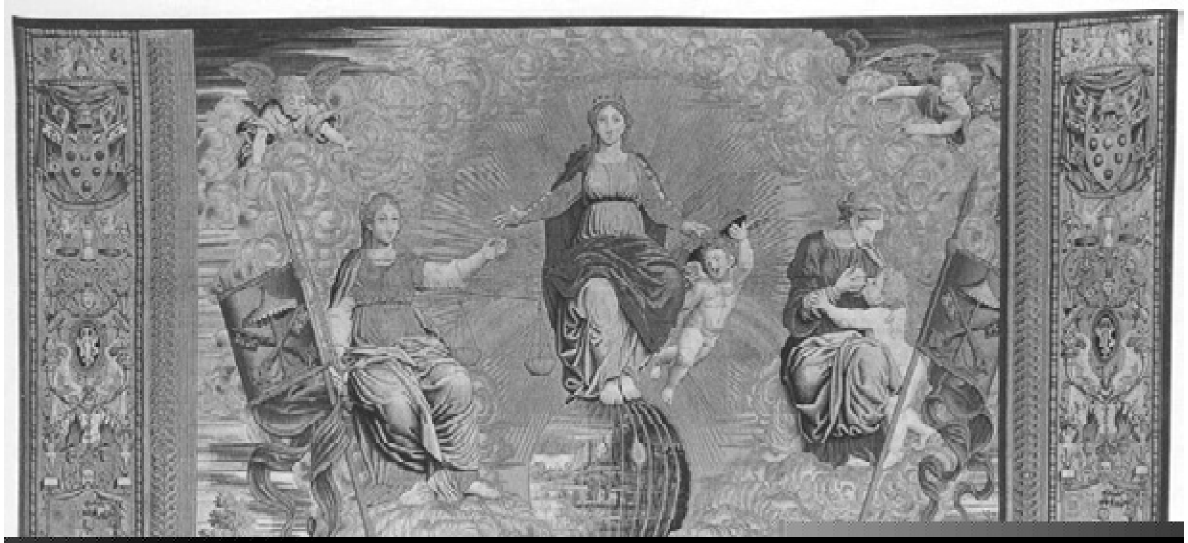


Fig. 101. *Allegory of Religion* (throne canopy of Pope Clement VII). Tapestry woven in the Brussels workshop of Pieter van Aelst, ca. 1525–30. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 450 x 531 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican City

device.[116] Woven in wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, it consists of a backcloth surrounded by a border (fig. 101) and a canopy with a valance. Originally, the ensemble also included side valances but these have been lost. No documentation relating to the commission or creation of these tapestries has survived, but technically and stylistically they are closely related to the *Scuola nuova* set, and for this reason it is generally assumed that they also were woven in Pieter van Aelst's workshop during the mid-1520s, presumably from cartoons prepared by Tommaso Vincidor. The ensemble was listed in the 1544 inventory of the Vatican tapestries, and the 1555 inventory states that it was used for public consistories.

The backcloth depicts an extensive landscape with two lions in the foreground holding pikes bearing standards with the papal insignia. The lion on the left gazes benignly at the viewer, while the one on the right bares its teeth in anger. Above them sit three symbolic figures among billowing clouds: Justice and Charity flank Faith or Religion, whose left hand rests on an open book of Scripture. Religion's feet rest on a crystal globe with a microcosm of the world. The landscape on the left side of the panel is bathed in daylight, but on the right, all is darkness and chaos and a city is on fire (a conflation that reflects the contemporary taste for the idiosyncratic landscapes of Joachim Patinir and his imitators). This is an overt image of the Church Triumphant, as embodied on earth by the pope. When the pope was seated on his throne, his head

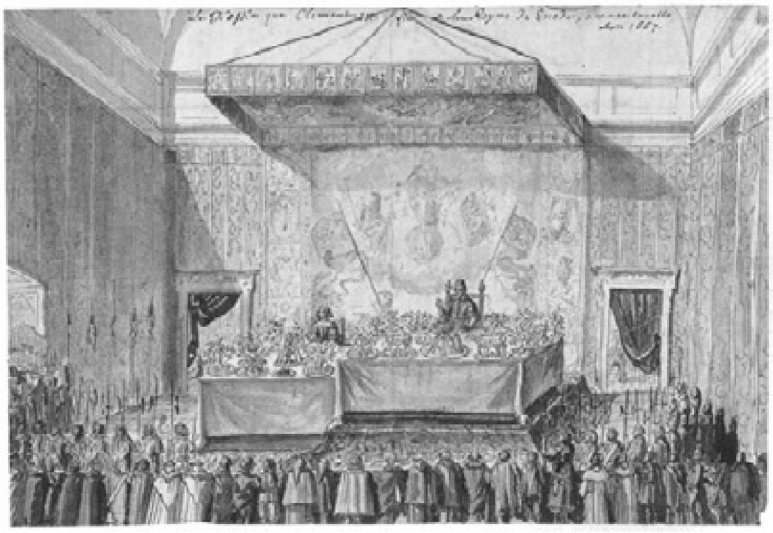
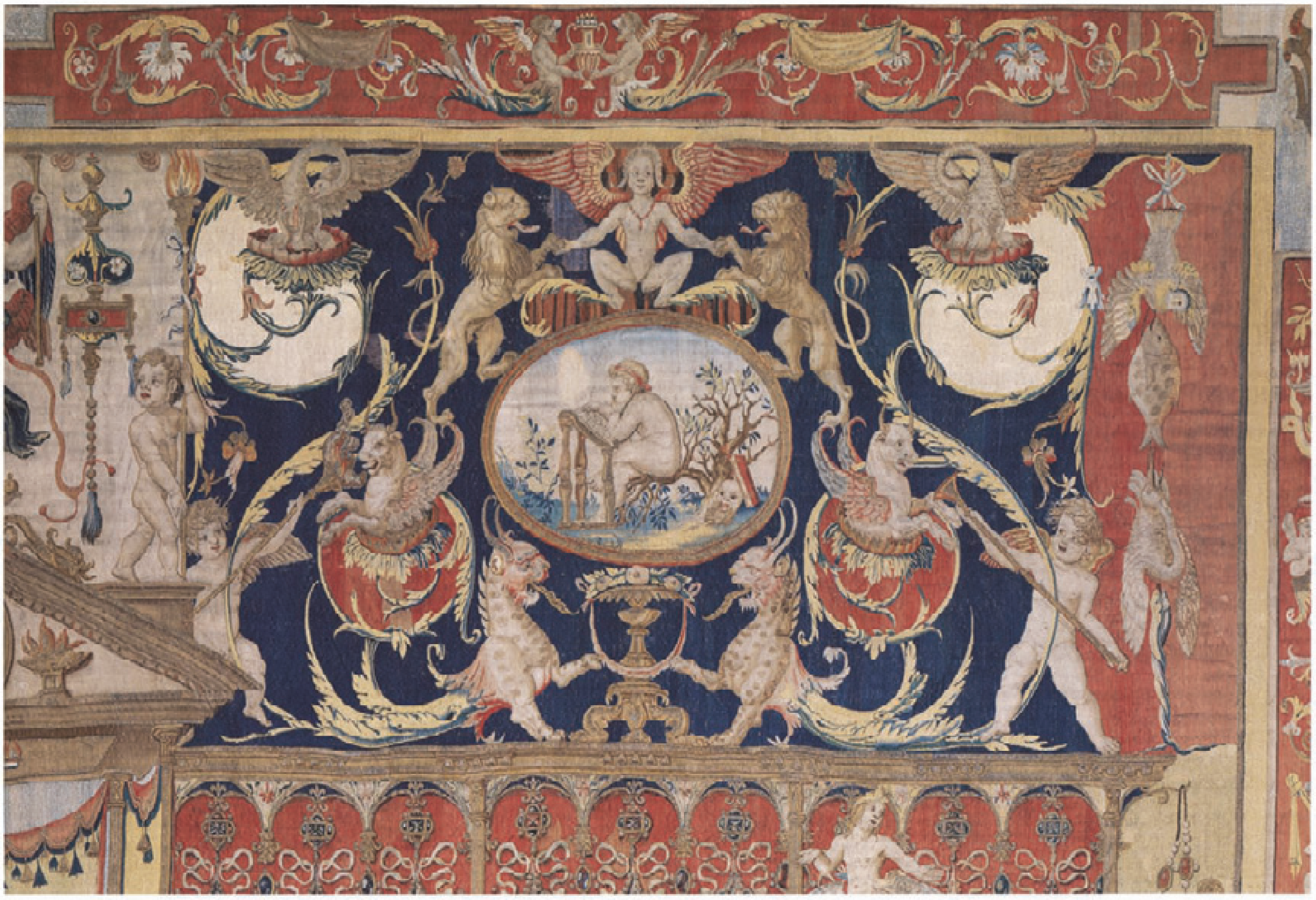


Fig. 102. *Queen Christina of Sweden at a Banquet Given by Pope Clement IX on December 9, 1668.* Pierre Paul Sevin, 1668. Pen and ink and watercolor, 24.8 x 37.6 cm. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm



Detail of cat. no. 26

plinth in the middle of the pavilion, holding his traditional attributes, a club and a lion skin. The relaxed pose of the central figure recalls various antique Roman representations such as the *Commodus as Hercules* (Vatican Museums) and the Farnese *Hercules* (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples)—in turn copies of a Greek original—although neither provides a direct source.[4] He is flanked by a hydra and a lion, allusions to two of the Twelve Labors for which he is renowned: the defeat of the Hydra of Lerna and the defeat of the Nemean Lion. The projecting space of the pavilion, depicted in steep perspective, contrasts with the narrowness of the colonnade at either side, which supports an elaborately modeled entablature from which a red valance hangs. The valance is embroidered with jewels of alternating colors, probably in allusion to the heraldic colors of the Medici, which from the mid-1460s were red and/or blue on a gold ground.[5] Beneath the valance the bays are decorated in delicate tints of blue, pink, yellow, and green, in marked contrast to the stronger tones above and below. The six bays of the arcade form a frame for vignettes of Hercules' various feats and Labors. From left to right we see the hero supporting the firmament in Atlas's place, capturing the Cretan Bull, killing the Nemean Lion, lifting the giant Antaeus off his feet to deprive him of his strength so that Hercules could crush him, killing the centaur Eurytion, and striking the bronze chimes that he used to startle the Stymphalian Birds in order to shoot them.

Two of these figures, Hercules holding up the firmament and Hercules killing the centaur Eurytion, are copied, in reverse and with minor variations, from vignettes that originally appeared in the border of Raphael's *Paul Preaching at Athens,* one of the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries. (The vignette of Hercules killing the centaur Eurytion was replaced with an inscription in the early 1540s, but its appearance can be established by the border on duplicate tapestries made for an unidentified member of the Habsburg family [fig. 80] and Ercole Gonzaga about 1550. This later tapestry also includes an image of Hercules killing the Stymphalian Birds in the other lateral border, which may, or may not, record the appearance of one of the other lost *Acts of the Apostles* borders.)[6] The model for Hercules' posture in the vignette of Hercules and Antaeus was probably found in a classical group of the same subject, then in the Belvedere (Vatican; now Palazzo Pitti, Florence).[7] The figure of Antaeus corresponds closely to that in a lost Raphael-school drawing recorded by a chiaroscuro print by Ugo da Carpi and by an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi generally ascribed to Giulio Romano.[8] The friezelike

Detail of cat. no. 26

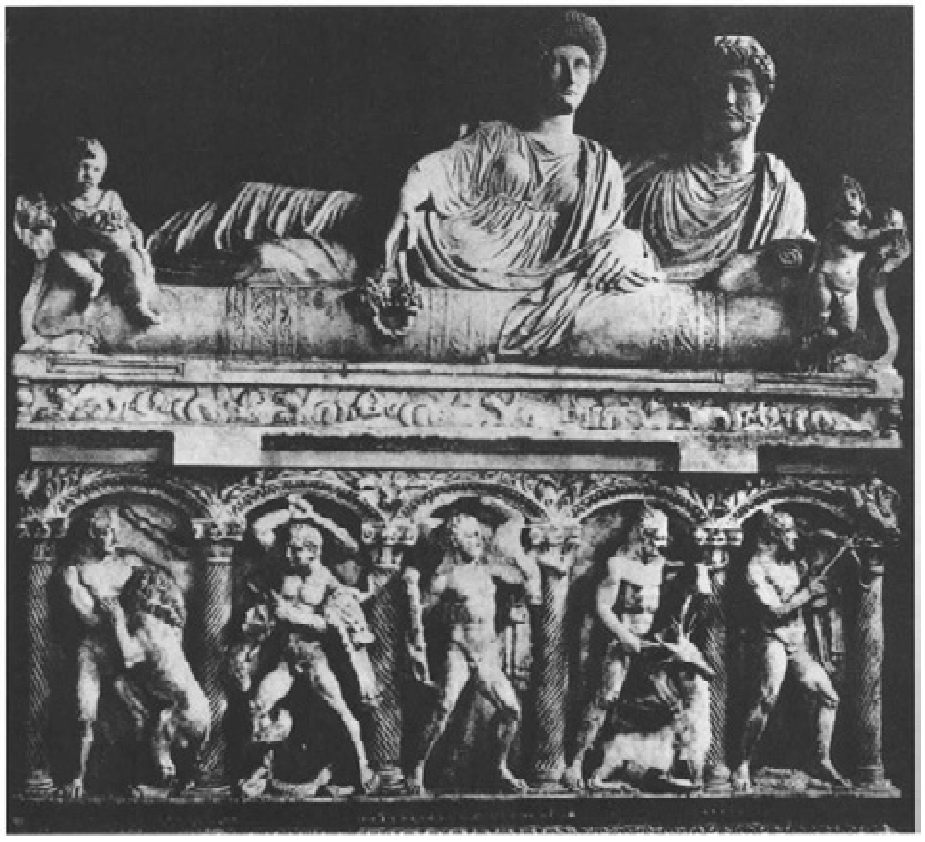


Fig. 103. Sarcophagus. Roman, 3rd century A.D. Marble. Museo Torlonia, Rome

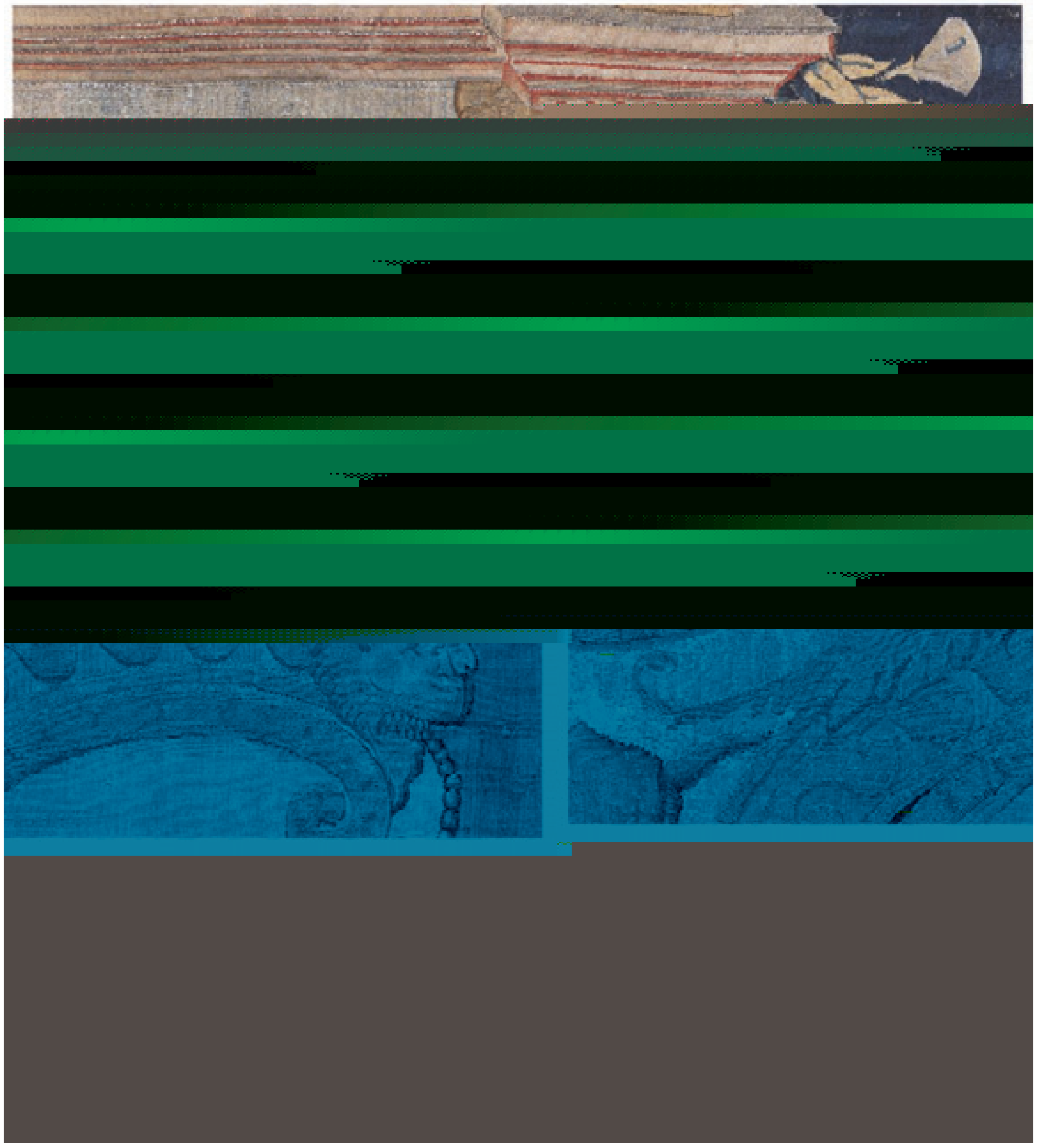
composition of the central arcade is strongly reminiscent of another antique model, a sarcophagus with the feats of Hercules that was much copied by early sixteenth-century artists when it belonged to Cardinal Jacopo Savelli (fig. 103).[9] The bottom of the arcade is hung with swags of fruit and leaves and red drapes whose lambrequined fringes incorporate pendent mirrors. The drapes provide a backdrop to two more of the feats that appear in the space to either side of the base support: at the left, Hercules chaining Cerberus the guardian of the gate to Hades, accompanied by Mercury and Minerva—the figure lying on the ground is Pluto, wounded by Hercules on this occasion; and at the right, Hercules shooting the centaur Nessus with an arrow as Nessus attempts to abduct Deianira.

In contrast to the red of the lower drapes and the subtle harmony of colors of the arcade, the ground of the space above the arcade is a deep blue, providing a vivid contrast to the grotesque decorations with which it is filled. These incorporate swags of dead game and fish, and swirling acanthus forms that flower into fantastic creatures and nests with pelicans stabbing their breasts to feed their young, the well-known symbol of Charity. The grotesques are centered on two cartouches that depict scenes from Hercules' youth—at the left, the infant Hercules strangling two serpents in his cradle; and at the right, the infant Hercules studying a book, alluding to his instruction in literature and the arts during his youth. Above each cartouche sits a sibyl, holding a lion by the paw on each side. The socle above the pediment of the central pavilion supports a figure of Fame holding two trumpets, which also derives from the left border of Raphael's *Paul Preaching at Athens.*[10] The border of the tapestry features a blank escutcheon in each of the corners and a boy's head in a shallow geometric molding in the center of each of the border's four sides. The areas between are occupied by scrolling acanthus forms and winged putti on a rich red ground.

Iconography

Hercules had been considered an embodiment of Virtue and as a personification of Christian Fortitude from the medieval period. Coluccio Salutati's *De laboribus Herculis* (ca. 1405) provided a Christianizing reading of the myth, and during the second half of the fifteenth century the theme was further developed by Neoplatonic writers. The Florentine humanist Cristoforo Landino wrote a celebratory dialogue on the Medici, *De vera nobilitate* (1475), which ends with an extended moral explication in which Hercules is considered not only as an example of the active life and civic virtue but also, in a Neoplatonic sense, as an embodiment of Reason.[11] By the early sixteenth century, the myth was thus susceptible to a rich variety of interpretations, but it seems to have been invoked in this instance for a more pointed purpose. In a study of three eighteenth-century reproductions of the lost Leonine set, Forti Grazzini suggested that the *Triumph of Hercules* tapestry was probably created as an allegorical celebration of Leo X, the key to this identification provided by the reading that Shearman gave for the inclusion of two of Hercules' feats or Labors in the border of *Paul Preaching at Athens.*[12] Seeking to explain the unlikely pairing of Leo and Hercules, Shearman adduced the *Historia viginti saeculorum per totidem psalmos conscripta,* compiled between 1513 and 1518 by Aegidius of Viterbo, general of the Augustinians, which explained that Hercules was a type for Leo X because he was the first Tuscan hero to bear the *insignia leonis.* Exploring this argument further, Shearman revealed the extent to which the analogy between Leo and Hercules was widely current in contemporary commentaries. Hercules bearing the weight of the universe on his shoulders seems to allude to, or at least to provide a parallel image for, the statement in the preface to Raffaello Brandolini's *Dialogus Leo nuncupatus* (1513) that the pope bears the great weight of the universe on his shoulders with ease (the sign of Leo appears, appropriately enough, in the center of the celestial globe). This Labor was interpreted as a demonstration of Leo's devotion to religion in Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *Herculis vita,* completed at the Vatican in October 1513. Furthermore, the scene of Hercules defeating the centaur Eurytion, which originally appeared at the bottom of the *Paul Preaching at Athens* tapestry, was commonly interpreted in the contemporary exegetical commentaries as a symbol of the subjugation of the baser instincts. Finally, Shearman noted that the appearance of Fame at the top of the border was to be explained by Fulgentius's statement that this was the etymological meaning of the Greek name Herakles.[13] On the basis of this evidence, Shearman concluded that the border was thus both an *exemplum virtutis* and a celebration of the patron, with the further suggestion that it thus provided a key to the potential significance of all the *Acts of the Apostles* borders.

The fact that two of the Labors of Hercules and the figure of Fame are repeated in the *Triumph of Hercules* design suggests that the exercise of designing the *Acts* borders must have been the point of departure for the more ambitious scheme elaborated in the *Grotesques of Leo X* (*Triumphs of the Gods*). Apart from the repetition of the vignettes already mentioned, several of the images in the *Triumph of Hercules* had well-established Christianized and Neoplatonic interpretations; for example, Hercules' struggle with Antaeus represented the conflict between earthly and spiritual impulses; it is only through removal from physical desires (the earth) that we can attain spiritual rewards.[14] Similarly, Hercules chaining Cerberus was susceptible to interpretation as a metaphor of Christ's Descent into Hell and Resurrection or, more generally, of the Christian faith in immortality. A closer reading of these scenes in the context of contemporary panegyric will almost certainly reveal that the components of the design are chosen with a view to celebrating Leo, through his prototype Hercules, as the supreme embodiment of the Christian virtues.


Detail of cat. no. 26

The "Antiques" of Henry VIII

According to an annotation in the 1542 inventory of furnishings at Westminster Palace, Henry VIII's set of the *Antiques* was purchased from the Florentine merchant Jehan Baptist Gualteroti in June 1542, at the same time as his set of the *Acts of the Apostles*. Confirmation of this information is provided by an item in the accounts of Sir Anthony Denny for the period 1542–47. Denny was an intimate of Henry VIII, chief baron of the Exchequer, and keeper of Westminster Palace during these years, in which role he disbursed immense sums for building materials and related furnishings, including a payment in 1542 of £2,325 15s. 6d. "to John Baptiste Galterott for two peces [sets] of Riche Arras thone of the Actes of Thappostelles and thother of Antiques."[15] Two tapestries from each set had been delivered by April 1542 and are listed in the inventory, initially drawn up on April 24, 1542, while the other parts of the sets, seven and five tapestries, respectively, were delivered to the palace on November 3, 1542, having been lined (Henry VIII's *Acts of the Apostles* included nine, not ten, pieces, and his *Antiques* included seven, not eight, pieces). An annotation next to the entries for the first two pairs of tapestries indicates that they were also lined and returned on the same day. Careful note was made of the resulting reduction in length to the tapestries of about three inches. Gualteroti was one of a family of rich Italian merchants that had been based in Antwerp since the beginning of the sixteenth century and that played a leading role in the Netherlandish spice trade. This is the first evidence that survives of Gualteroti's supplying tapestries to Henry VIII (he was subsequently involved in another transaction with the English crown, in 1549). Still, since much of the Netherlandish tapestry industry was controlled by rich merchants, his involvement in such a context is not surprising.[16]

Workshop

The workshop in which this set was woven is unknown. The *Triumph of Bacchus* panel carries the Brussels mark in the lower selvage and an incomplete merchant or weaver's mark that is possibly that of the workshop of Willem and Jan Dermoyen. These leading tapestry merchants of the 1530s were probably responsible for the weaving of the *Battle of Pavia* and the *Hunts of Maximilian* sets for the Habsburg court (see p. 278 and cat. nos. 36, 39, 40). They certainly were in a position to offer sets of these subjects to Süleyman the Magnificent in 1533. One of the Dermoyen family was paid for supplying part of a set of the *Acts of the Apostles* to Francis I in 1534, presumably a portion of an ongoing payment plan, and it is therefore likely that they continued to own the cartoons from which Henry VIII's set was made. By association, we may therefore speculate, albeit very tentatively, that the Dermoyen were also the owners of the *Grotesques* cartoons and that they played a part in the production of Henry VIII's set.[17]

Henry VIII's set comprised seven, not eight, pieces. No evidence indicates which design was missing, but in view of the extraordinary political and religious developments of the 1530s, which had culminated in Henry's repudiation of the Roman Catholic Church and his assumption of the role of the supreme head of the Church of England, it is tempting to assume that it may have been the *Triumph of Faith among the Virtues,* which, designed for a papal patron, may have included overt papal insignia or allusions to Petrine primacy. The design of this subject, as we know it from Noël Coypel's copies, does not include papal insignia. Although this could have been edited out by Coypel, or even by the weavers who wove the sixteenth-century tapestry that he copied, the question as to which panel Henry's set lacked must remain open.

The delivery of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Antiques* sets to Westminster Palace in 1542 coincides with a period of extensive rebuilding. Westminster was Henry's principal residence in London, and during the early 1540s considerable rebuilding and redecoration took place there, including the construction of an outside preaching place with a classical loggia and a pulpit decorated with "antique" devices.[18] The interior decoration involved a number of Continental artists and craftsmen, such as Nicholas Bellin of Modena who had worked with Rosso Fiorentino and Francesco Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, before transferring to Henry VIII's service in 1537. None of this work has survived, but its character can be inferred from an anonymous plasterwork decoration with the arms of Henry VIII and Catherine Parr, which is attributed to Bellin.[19] Dating from between 1543 and 1546, it demonstrates how close the decorations were to those at Fontainebleau. In view of the timing and character of this activity, it seems likely that the purchase of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Antiques* sets was linked with the modernization taking place at Westminster and that it reflects a conscious intention by Henry to acquire Italian designs. The circumstances in which the sets were made is unknown, but the very high cost, combined with Henry's belated interest in Italian aesthetics, under the influence of Bellin and other Italian artists working at the English court in the late 1530s and early 1540s, suggests that they were probably commissioned, perhaps at the instigation of Bellin. Shortly after Henry VIII's death in 1547, they were transferred to the Tower Wardrobe in London.[20]

1. T. Campbell 1996d, p. 75.
2. T. Campbell 1994, pp. 28, 30, nn. 52, 53.
3. Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 2, p. 387.
4. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 188–89, 228–32; Bober and Rubinstein 1987, pp. 165–66; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 2, p. 387.
5. Brogan 1993, p. 181.
6. Shearman 1972, p. 89, figs. 25, 28.
7. Bober and Rubinstein 1987, p. 173, no. 137.
8. Gnann in Mantua and Vienna 1999, pp. 110–11, nos. 49, 50 (as Raphael).
9. Bober and Rubinstein 1987, p. 170; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 2, p. 387.
10. Shearman 1972, p. 89, figs. 25, 28.
11. L. Ettlinger 1972.
12. Shearman 1972, p. 89.
13. Ibid.
14. Bober and Rubinstein 1987, p. 172.
15. British Museum, London, MS BL Lansdowne Charter 14.
16. T. Campbell 1996d, pp. 73–74; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 103–4.
17. See T. Campbell 1996d, p. 78, for the problematic identification of the mark.
18. Thurley 1993, pp. 58–60, 108, 199–200, 217.
19. Béguin 1970.
20. T. Campbell 1996d, p. 75.

27.

Three Putti with a Lion and Symbols of the Papacy

Woven from a cartoon by Pietro Paulo de Gubernatis (?), copied, ca. 1634 (?), from a 16th-century tapestry woven ca. 1521–24 from designs and cartoons by Giovanni da Udine and Tommaso Vincidor in the Brussels workshop of Pieter van Aelst
Woven in the Barberini manufactory (?), Rome, ca. 1635 (?)
Wool and silk
310 x 287 cm (10 ft. 2 in. x 9 ft. 5 in.)
7 warps per cm
Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (20.002)
(not in exhibition)

PROVENANCE: Ca. 1870, recorded in the Paris apartment of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte; May 17–21, 1904, sold, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, part of no. 448; Camillo Castiglioni collection, Vienna; November 17–21, 1925, sold, Frederic Muller, Amsterdam, part of no. 270; Bernheimer collection; purchased by Alexis Nagy de Verseghi and Elisabeth Janssen; 1948, purchased by the Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.[1]

REFERENCES: Müntz 1878–85, pp. 26–28, 49–50; Müntz 1897, pp. 48–52; Csernyánszky [1948], pp. 5–28 (with bibliog.); László 1981, pp. 67–68, 78, 89; De Strobel 1989, pp. 33–34; Cordellier and Py 1992, pp. 606–13; Delmarcel 1996, pp. 133–35.

CONDITION: Yellow silk and wool of background are worn and considerably faded, and the silk has lost its original sheen.

As discussed on pages 229–33, the original *Giochi di putti* set was commissioned by Pope Leo X to hang in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican Palace and included twenty tapestries depicting children playing and devices symbolic of Leo X's rule, after designs by Giovanni da Udine and Tommaso Vincidor and cartoons painted in Brussels by the latter. The playful tone of the compositions concealed a serious political subtext, the celebration in allegorical and symbolic form of Petrine supremacy, and the dawn of a new golden age under Leo X. Although the original set, executed in the early 1520s in the Brussels workshop of Pieter van Aelst, disappeared in the late eighteenth century, its appearance can be reconstructed from engravings, preparatory designs, and seventeenth-century tapestry copies of eight of the lost panels. The origin and provenance of these later copies before their appearance in the collection of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte are unknown. The group was dispersed in 1904, at which time they were erroneously assumed to derive from the papal set itself. Four tapestries, including this piece, now belong to the Iparművészeti Múzeum, two belong to the Metropolitan Museum, a seventh is in a private New York collection, while the location of the eighth is currently unknown.[2]

Description of the Tapestry

Like the other tapestries in the set, the main scene is enclosed within a border comprising two narrow bands decorated with flowers on either side of a Greek key pattern in yellow on blue like that of the *Acts of the Apostles* set (the blue of this border is a lighter tone than that of the other three pieces from the set in Budapest). The main field of the tapestry depicts a shallow stage with a ground of grass. The back wall is woven in yellow wool with narrow stripes of yellow silk in imitation of the gold ground of the lost Leonine tapestries. Much of the space in this shallow stage is occupied by three large swags of fruit and leaves that hang from ribbons tied to rings in the mouths of two lion masks located in the upper corners of the stage. The ribbons continue around the two pendent swags and terminate in two small red balls. The space between the masks is filled by a lambrequin, which is richly decorated with ribbons and jewels, the latter in the heraldic colors of the Medici (the same motif appears in the *Triumph of Hercules* design from the *Triumphs of the Gods*, cat. no. 26). A lion is standing in front of the central swag. He wears a crown whose points support a flat surface on which a globe, carrying the sacred monogram of Christ, is balanced. The lion is flanked by two winged putti, both wearing crowns of laurel. That on his right carries the imperial crown and scepter, insignia of the temporal world; that on his left carries the papal tiara and keys, insignia of the spiritual world, while his foot rests on a red ball. The figure holding the papal tiara is based on that of a putto stringing a bow by the Greek sculptor Lysippos, known from various Roman copies.[3] The figure reappears in a drawing of Venus, Vulcan, and Cupid from Raphael's workshop (Louvre).[4] A third putto flies above the lion, carrying the keys of Saint Peter between two doves bearing olive branches. This figure appears to be based on a lost Raphael drawing, known from an engraving by the Master NDB (fig. 93).[5]

In a study of the iconography of the putti series, Quednau suggested that the lion must have been intended as a symbol for Leo, a reference to the conceit presented in Leonine panegyrics that Leo was the fulfillment of Revelation 5:5, which prophesied the victory of the lion from the root of Jesse: "And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals therof." Leo sought to promote this conceit from early in his reign, for example, in one of the papal coins that depicted a lion surrounded by the legend VICIT LEO DE TRIBV IVDA (Leo of the tribe of Judah conquers).[6] The identification of the lion as Leo is obscured in the seventeenth-century tapestry by the presence of the sacred monogram on the globe above the lion's crown, which invites identification of the lion as Christ. However, a drawing of this design, either an original model, or a copy from that, now in Budapest (fig. 104), shows that the globe originally featured a heraldic lily, which, like the red ball at the foot of the foremost putto, provided an overt allusion to the Medici coat of arms. Thus, the lion did stand for Leo in the original set, while the implements carried by the three putti that surround him symbolize his jurisdiction over both the temporal and the spiritual worlds, and his power over the judgment and remission of sins (thus echoing the theme of the *Charge to Peter* tapestry from the *Acts of the Apostles*; see cat. no. 18).

Finally, like the other three tapestries in Budapest, the tapestry is crowned by a rich frieze depicting *imprese* that Leo X adopted from his father, Lorenzo de' Medici: three ostrich feathers (white, green, and red) symbolizing the virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity, respectively) alternating with a diamond ring (representing the love of God), all set within a filigree of arabesques and acanthus scrolls. Above, there is a narrow band of rings and flames that László

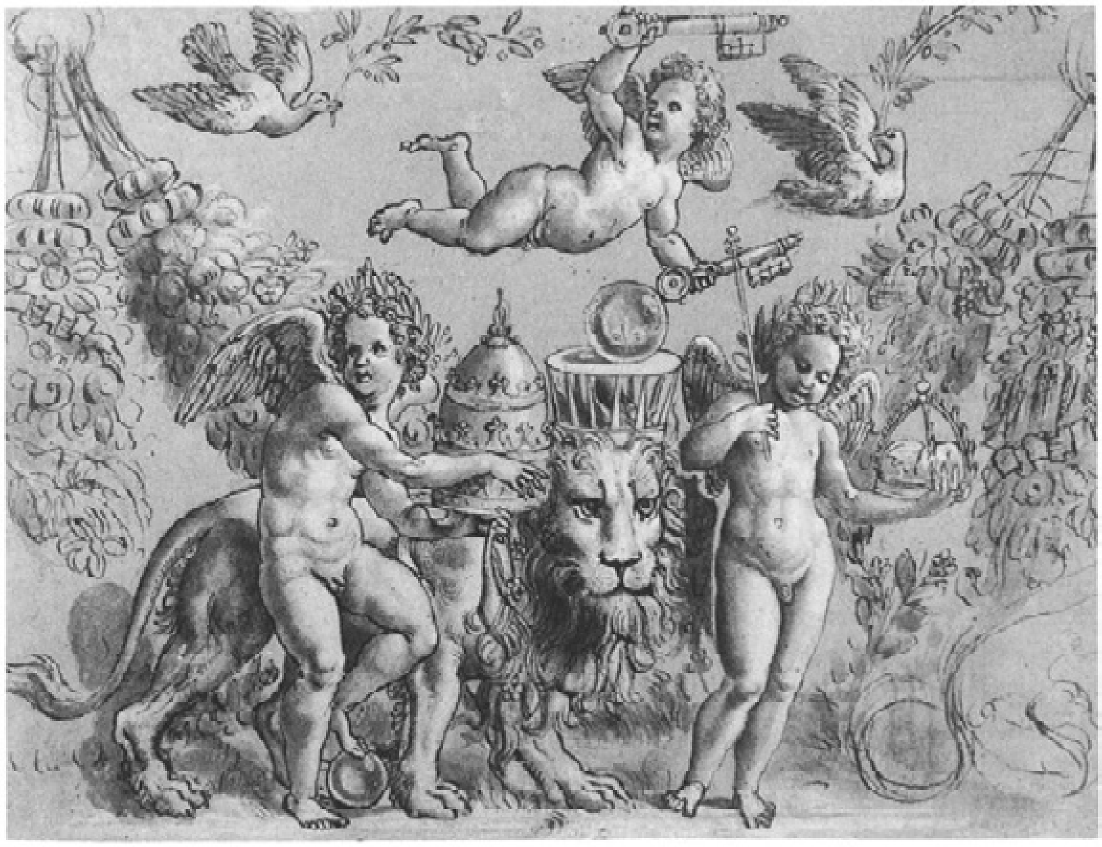


Fig. 104. *Three Putti with a Lion and Symbols of the Papacy.* Preparatory drawing for a tapestry design by Tommaso Vincidor, ca. 1521. Pen with brown ink and wash heightened with white on paper, 20.4 x 29.9 cm. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

assumed are allusions to other Medici emblems. While the incongruous presence of the flames supports this reading, the rings are also a rather coarse effort at the trompe l'oeil illusion of the rings from which the tapestry is suspended.[7] Although the frieze is evidently copied from a sixteenth-century model, it is not certain that such friezes were attached to the Leonine tapestries. The *basamento* of the Sala di Costantino is approximately 230 centimeters high.[8] In contrast, the seventeenth-century copies are over 3 meters high if the top frieze is included. Without the frieze, they measure approximately 260 centimeters, a height that seems more appropriate to the location. It is therefore possible that the models from which the seventeenth-century friezes were copied were not actually attached to the original Leonine tapestries when they were first provided for the Sala di Costantino. They could have been attached at a later date to adapt some of the tapestries to a different location.

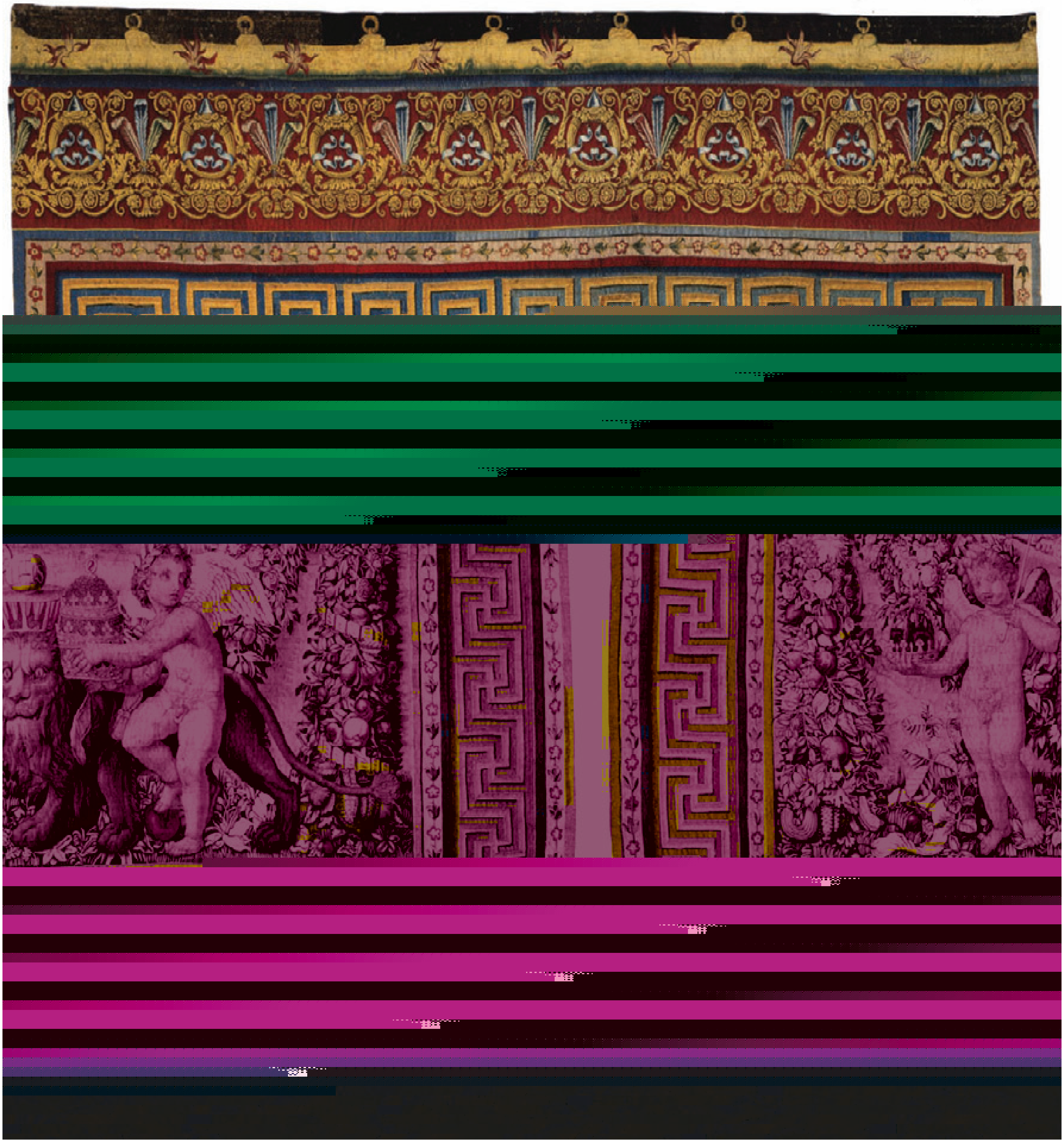
The execution of the seventeenth-century tapestries is much coarser than that of the original Leonine set in technique, fineness of weave, interpretation of detail, and in quality of materials. While the eight copies provide important visual information about the lost set, and are of great interest in the context of seventeenth-century patronage, they should not be taken as an exact duplicate or substitute for the splendor of the lost Leonine set.

Place of Manufacture

None of the eight tapestries from the collection of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte is marked, and the questions of where and when they were made have never been satisfactorily resolved. When Müntz first outlined the extant evidence for the *Giochi di putti* set in his 1878–85 history of tapestry in Italy (unaware of the Bonaparte tapestries), he noted that a duplicate set of eight pieces appeared to have been woven at the Barberini manufactory during the late 1630s. This assumption was based on evidence that the artist Pietro Paulo de Gubernatis was paid in 1634 for painting copies of eight of the Leonine *Giochi di putti* between 1633 and 1635. Müntz thought that these were subsequently used as tapestry cartoons because of payments to the Barberini master weavers Jacomo della Riviera (d. 1639) and his successor, Gaspare Rocci, related to the execution of an eight-piece set of tapestries in wool, silk, and gold, between 1637 and 1642, of which certain pieces were described as "with designs of putti in imitation of those of Raphael."[9] By the time he published his study of Raphael's tapestries in 1897, Müntz had learned of the tapestries in the Bonaparte collection, and he assumed that they were identical with the set woven in Rome.[10] This line of reasoning suggests that he had not seen the tapestries in person, because the Bonaparte tapestries do not include metallic thread, whereas the tapestries woven in the Barberini workshop evidently did. Following this lead, Göbel, who does not seem to have known of the documentation published by Müntz in 1884, made a similar assumption, noting that the execution of the tapestries corresponded to the characteristics of other tapestries from the Barberini workshop woven under the direction of Jacomo della Riviera.[11]

In a study written when four of the tapestries were acquired by the Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, in 1948, Csernyánszky took a more nuanced approach to the evidence, noting that the Bonaparte tapestries could not be one and the same with the set woven at the Barberini manufactory, because they did not include metallic thread. Admitting that the evidence was insufficient for any definitive stylistic or documentary localization of their origin, she suggested that the Bonaparte tapestries may have corresponded to an undocumented set woven from the de Gubernatis cartoons (as she assumed them to be) shortly after they were painted—and before they were used to weave a second set that included metallic thread.[12] Writing in 1981, László also assumed that two sets were woven at the Barberini manufactory but chose instead to attribute the Bonaparte tapestries to a seventeenth-century Brussels workshop.

Subsequent research in the Vatican and Barberini archives suggests that the assumption that all these previous writers made regarding the production of a copy of the Leonine set at the Barberini manufactory is not substantiated by the documentation. Following detailed study of the Barberini documents, De Strobel concluded that the payments made to Jacomo della Riviera and his successor, Gaspare Rocci, related solely to a single set of tapestries that were woven from cartoons by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, supplied between 1637 and 1641.[13] Although the composition of these designs



29.

Massacre of the Innocents

From a twelve-piece set of the *Life of Christ*, known as the *Scuola nuova*
Design attributed to Giulio Romano, ca. 1520–21
Woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, Brussels, ca. 1524–31
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
574 x 365 cm (18 ft. 10 in. x 11 ft. 11¾ in.)
7–8 warps per cm
Vatican Museums, Vatican City (3863)

PROVENANCE: Ca. 1523, probably commissioned by Pope Clement VII from designs prepared for Leo X; 1531, delivered to Rome; 1592, still in use for secret papal consistories; recorded in subsequent Vatican inventories; 1798, removed to France; 1799, exhibited at the Louvre; 1808, taken back to the Vatican by Pius VII; 1838, moved to the west corridor of the Belvedere at the Vatican.

REFERENCES: Müntz 1878–85, p. 24; Müntz 1897, p. 38; Pouncey and Gere 1962, pp. 80–81; Hope 1968; Nicolson 1972, pp. 76–77; Shearman 1972, pp. 42–43, n. 107; Adelson in Florence 1980a, p. 46; Dacos 1980b, pp. 79–88; Hope 1984; Cordellier and Py 1992, pp. 616–24; Delmarcel and Dacos in Brussels and Rome 1995, pp. 294–95.

CONDITION: Good.

This tapestry derives from a twelve-piece set of the *Life of Christ*, the principal addition made by Clement VII to the papal tapestry collections during the 1520s. The set was known as the *Scuola nuova* to distinguish it from Raphael's earlier *Acts of the Apostles*, which was called the *Scuola vecchia*. Little documentation regarding the circumstances in which the set was conceived and created has survived. The tapestries appear to have been designed by Raphael's erstwhile assistants after the death of the master in April 1520, though some scenes may incorporate models by Raphael (but not this one). The design of the present *Massacre of the Innocents* panel and two others of the same subject are attributed to Giulio Romano, and the cartoons were probably executed in Brussels by another workshop assistant, Tommaso Vincidor, aided by several unidentified Netherlandish artists. The set was woven by Pieter van Edingen, called van Aelst, who had produced the *Acts*, but production does not seem to have begun until after Clement VII's election as pope in October 1523, when it seems reasonable to suspect that he may have reactivated a project initiated by his uncle Leo X. Work was completed by 1531, when the set was delivered to Rome and judged by independent specialists as "even richer in gold and silk" than the earlier *Acts*.[1] Only one set of these elaborate tapestries was woven, but the cartoons remained in Brussels where they were to exert considerable influence on contemporary Netherlandish tapestry designers and painters during the succeeding fifteen years.

For a detailed discussion of the patron, design, purpose, chronology, and production of the *Life of Christ* set, see above, pages 237–41.

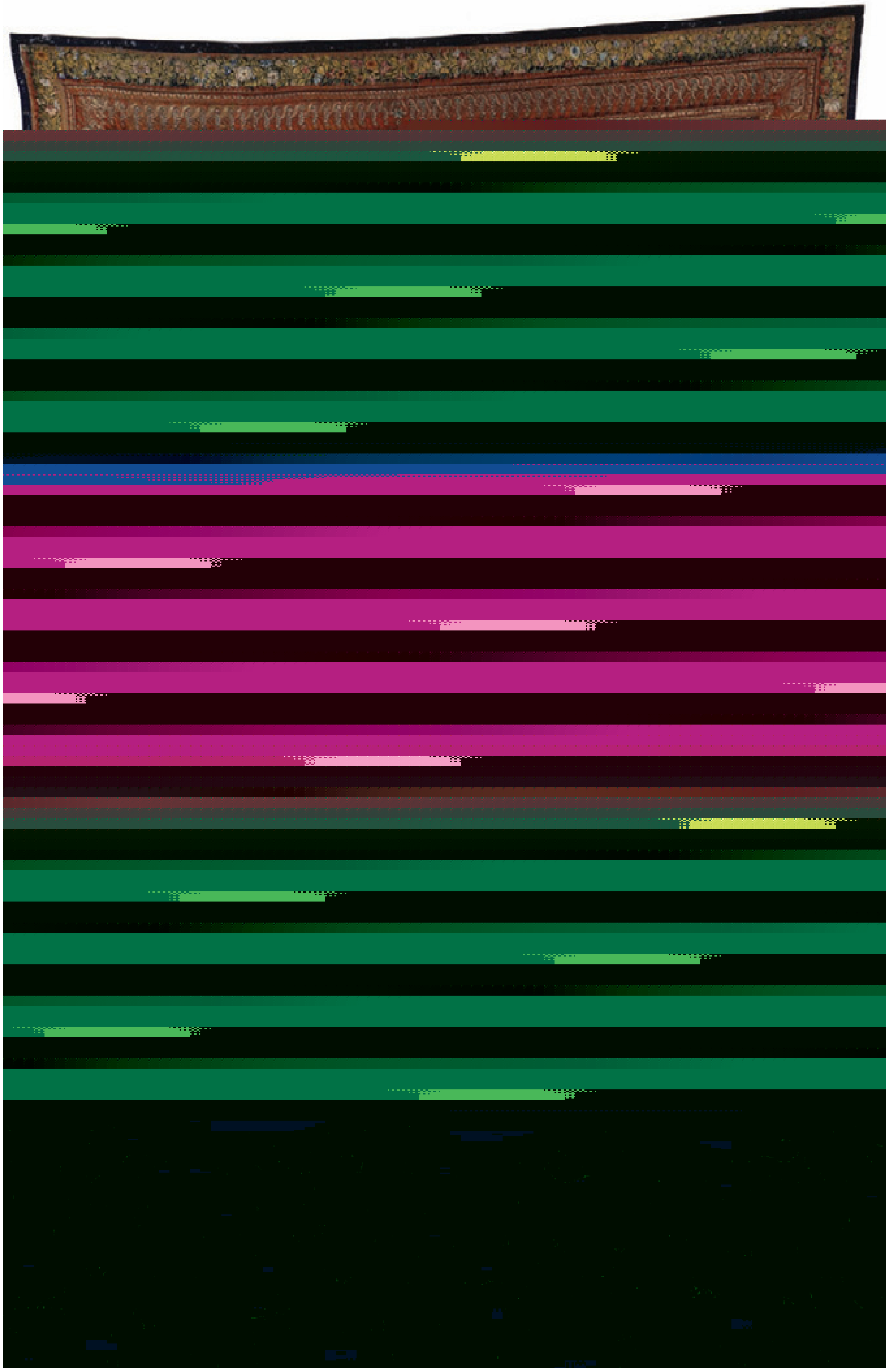
Description

The Massacre of the Innocents is an episode from the childhood of Christ as narrated in the Gospel of Saint Matthew (2:16–18) and embellished in the Apocrypha and medieval texts such as the *Golden Legend*. During the Middle Ages, the horrific slaughter of infants at the command of Herod, king of the Jews, was taken as a prefiguration of the persecution of Christ. According to Matthew, Herod was visited by three wise men seeking the newly born king of the Jews so that they might worship him. Racked by jealousy, Herod determined to track down this new "king" and bade the wise men inform him where he too might worship this child. But in dreams the wise men were warned not to return to Herod, and Joseph was urged to flee with Mary and Jesus to Egypt. On discovering the trickery of the wise men, Herod "sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men" (Matthew 2:16).

This wanton murder forms the subject of three narrow panels within the *Life of Christ* set. The focus of the present panel is the tangled group of fighting figures arranged as an inverted triangle. At the bottom a woman falls to the ground as she frantically shields her child from a soldier who lunges down toward her, brandishing his short sword in his left hand. Immediately behind them another soldier plunges his sword into the chest of a second baby as the mother looks on in shock and disbelief, her mouth wide open in a cry of horror. A third group struggles behind them, and at the top, a soldier holds by the hair a woman with a child, hindering her escape, while another woman at the right, grasping her child, claws this soldier's face and eyes. The interwoven limbs, muscular, twisted bodies, and faces expressing the determination of the predators and the shock and pain of the mothers convey the violence of the scene. The intensity of the moment is reinforced by the friezelike arrangement of the figures in a claustrophobic space defined by the buildings that fill the space behind the struggle. A classical temple at the upper right of the panel is decorated with Ionic columns of variegated marble in reds, blues, and beiges; these alternate with carved niches containing classical sculptures that represent a Roman emperor, Venus with a winged cupid, and Apollo wearing a crown of laurel leaves, passive observers of the mayhem before them. The columns support a deep entablature richly carved with a frieze of acanthus leaves. A second temple, reminiscent of the Pantheon with its dome and pedimented porch, is visible to the left. In the narrow foreground space are patches of lush grass and flowers, including, at the right, a bunch of carnations, an allusion to the blood of Christ. The "picture" is framed by a trompe l'oeil carved and gilded molding set within an outer frame composed of a garland of small leaves, fruits, and flowers.

The two other panels of the *Massacre of the Innocents* depict similar scenes of struggling soldiers, women, and children, though each is set against a different background. One appears to take place in a town square and the other in the open countryside, following the biblical text that the children were slain not only in Bethlehem but in the surrounding regions.

The widely divergent widths of the tapestries and the variation of the light sources in each suggest that the *Life of Christ* tapestries were designed and woven for a specific location.[2] Vasari recorded that the set was made for the "concistoro" at the Vatican Palace.[3] Investigating this issue, Hope suggested that the most likely location for which they were intended was the Sala Regia but that, considering the size of the



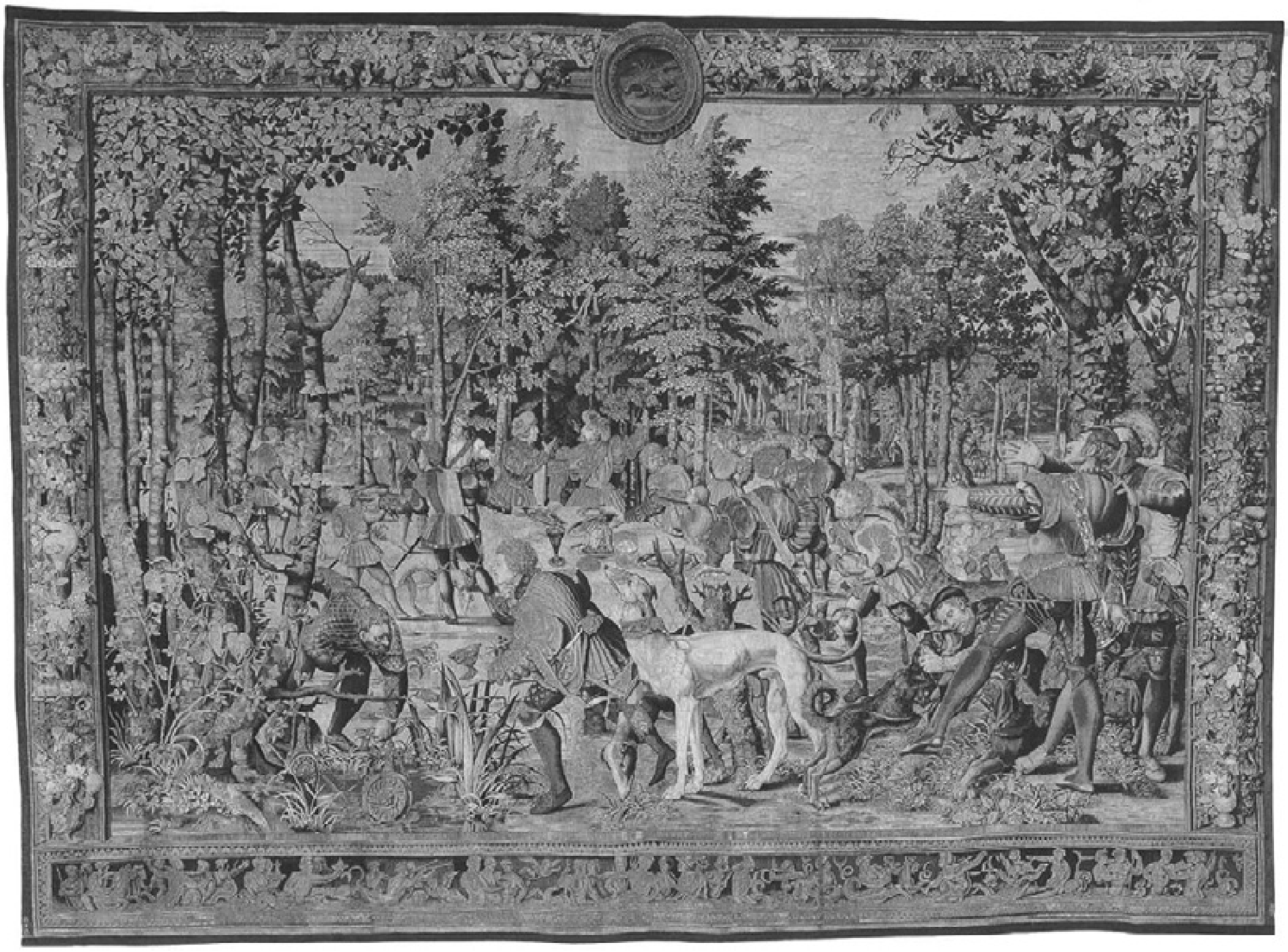


Fig. 109. *June* from the *Hunts of Maximilian*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, woven in the Dermoyen workshop, Brussels, ca. 1530. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 420 x 582 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Although the tapestries purchased by Wolsey were primarily of religious subjects, a number of his acquisitions also reflect the nascent humanist interests of English patrons. Notable among these was the set of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* that he acquired in 1523 from the estate of Thomas Ruthal, bishop of Durham (of which various pieces survive at Hampton Court). At an unknown date Wolsey also acquired a second, even finer weaving of this design, with an associated group of (separate) armorial borders carrying the arms of the king of England. This was probably a royal acquisition that passed to Wolsey as a perquisite. Forfeit to the crown in 1530, this set disappeared from the royal collection in the seventeenth century, but it is possible that three pieces of this design that survive at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 69), may derive from that set.[11]

The character of Henry's acquisitions shifted from the mid-1520s as he became embroiled in the sequence of events now collectively known as the English Reformation. Thwarted by the pope's refusal to grant him a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, Henry initiated a series of reforms that culminated with the repudiation of the papacy, the establishment of the monarch as the head of the Church of England, and the dissolution of the monasteries. These events were accompanied by a broad range of written propaganda supporting the king's cause. Painting and engraving seem to have played little part in promoting the Reformation, but tapestries may have been more important in the context of the English court. Henry could not commission overtly propagandistic subjects because the leading workshops were in the domain of his arch rival Charles V (who strongly opposed Henry's divorce from his aunt Catherine and deplored the break between the Church of England and Rome). Nonetheless, he spent enormous sums during the late 1520s, 1530s, and early 1540s on gold-woven tapestries depicting Old Testament heroes and patriarchs such as

David, Abraham (figs. 107, 108; see cat. no. 48), and Joshua and the New Testament Saint Paul (see cat. nos. 45, 46). These were the models with whom Henry increasingly identified in his newly defined role as the head of the English church and prophet to his own people. As such, these purchases appear to have been intended to promote these associations in the arena of the Tudor court.[12]

If tapestry was primarily a tool of ostentation and suggestion for Henry, acquisitions of Italian designs such as reweavings of the Raphael *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Grotesques of Leo X* (*Triumphs of the Gods*; see cat. no. 26) during the early 1540s suggest that it was also an important conduit for Continental aesthetics to the English court during the later years of Henry's rule.[13] Swelled with appropriations from the victims of his tyranny (including Wolsey's tapestries), the English royal collection numbered more than two thousand pieces by the time of Henry's death, including some two hundred large gold-woven tapestries in whose purchase Henry must have been directly involved.[14]

HABSBURG PATRONAGE

If the magnificence of the Tudor court impressed the Spanish visitors in 1520, that of Charles's court was to become more than a match for it in the following years. The foundation for the most powerful dynasty of sixteenth-century Europe had been established with the marriage of Joanna, daughter of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, to Philip the Handsome, son of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. Their son Charles inherited the Burgundian territories on Philip's death in 1506 and became king of Spain in 1516, on Ferdinand's death. With Maximilian's death in 1519 Charles's inheritance was complete, and he was elected Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in June 1519. Raised in Mechelen under the tutelage of their aunt Margaret of Austria, Charles and his siblings grew up close to the center of high-quality tapestry production, and Margaret was herself an active tapestry patron. With this example before him, Charles seems to have been finely attuned to the tapestry medium, taking far greater interest in it than in any of the other arts, and spending much more money on it. As duke of Burgundy, he inherited the remains of the great Burgundian collection, a heritage that he evidently prized. Earlier sets such as the *Story of Gideon* were restored and continued to be used for ceremonial occasions such as meetings of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Charles's activity as a patron is somewhat masked by his long absences from the Netherlands, but his sister Mary of Hungary, who served as regent of the Netherlands between 1531 and 1555, appears to have acted as his proxy in this regard.[15] Acquisitions spanned a broad spectrum of quality, from mediocre sets in which the direct intervention of Charles or Mary is unlikely, to gold-woven sets in which they must have been involved because of the high cost. The most significant additions to the Habsburg collection during the first decade or so of Charles's reign were the *Honors* (see cat. no. 17)—the enormous allegorical celebration of the Habsburg emperors (Charles paid for this set in 1526 with the dowry he received on his marriage to Isabella of Portugal); the *Battle of Pavia* (see cat. nos. 35, 36), depicting the defeat of the French army at Pavia in 1525; and the so-called *Hunts of Maximilian* (fig. 109; see cat. nos. 37–40), which presented lifesize portrayals of Charles, his sister and brother, and members of their court, hunting and feasting in realistic settings in and around Brussels. The circumstances in which the latter two sets were conceived are not entirely clear. The *Pavia* set was presented to Charles as a gift by the Brabant States General in 1531. The *Hunts*, whose design can be dated between 1530 and 1533 on the basis of internal evidence, is undocumented before its appearance in the French royal collection in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, as both sets were designed by Bernaert van Orley, and as both must have required the direct participation of many members of the Habsburg court in the elaboration of the iconographic programs and the organization of portraits, there can be little question that the *Pavia* set was developed with the knowledge and participation of the Habsburg court, while the *Hunts* may well have been instigated jointly by Charles and Mary (she was a keen huntswoman), perhaps following her appointment as his regent in 1531.

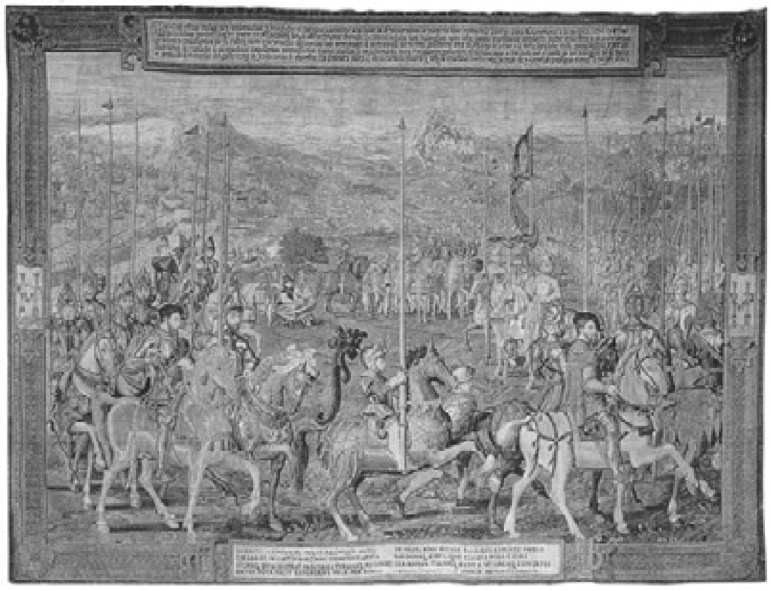


Fig. 110. *The Review of the Troops at Barcelona* from the *Conquest of Tunis*. Tapestry designed by Jan Vermeyen, woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1548–54. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 525 x 712 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

Fig. 111. *Verdure with the Arms of Charles V.* Tapestry woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1540. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 200 x 272 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Charles's involvement as a tapestry patron during the 1530s is also largely undocumented, but he may have been responsible for the conception of the van Orley *Foundation of Rome* series, which celebrated by proxy Charles's foundation of a new empire (fig. 143).[16] The crowning achievement of his tapestry patronage was the twelve-piece *Conquest of Tunis* set (fig. 110; see cat. no. 50) executed between 1548 and 1554 (in which year it was displayed in England on the occasion of the marriage of Mary Tudor and Prince Philip of Spain), from designs by Jan Vermeyen, an artist who had accompanied Charles on this military campaign to northern Africa in 1535. The emperor's letters demonstrate the direct personal interest he took in the development of the project—one of the largest and most ambitious tapestry commissions of the century—and his frustration that he could not visit Brussels to see its progress.

More than any of his rivals, Charles was highly peripatetic, traveling through his vast dominions. Deposits of tapestries were maintained at his principal residences in Brussels and Madrid, but he was always accompanied by a Removing Wardrobe. An inventory of this, taken in 1544, records fifteen sets comprising ninety-six tapestries, including major ensembles like the *Honors* and others acquired for him by Mary of Hungary, such as the eight-piece set of the *Story of Joshua* after a design by Pieter Coecke, purchased in 1544.[17]

The distinction between Charles's tapestry patronage and that of his sister Mary is difficult to determine, but she was evidently a keen patron of the Brussels workshops in her own right. Following Charles's abdication in 1555, Mary also retired to Spain, where she died in 1558. The inventory taken after her death lists thirty-seven sets, numbering more than two hundred and fifty pieces, many of very high quality.[18] These were left to her niece, Charles's daughter, Joanna of Portugal (1533–1573), from whom they passed to Philip II in 1571.[19] Charles's younger sister, Catherine (1507–1578), who married John III, king of Portugal, was also an active patron. Having inherited thirty-one valuable tapestries from her mother, Joanna of Castile, Catherine and her husband made many purchases of Netherlandish tapestries, including an eleven-piece *Romulus and Remus* in 1531, and a number of custom-made sets, such as the *Spheres*, probably from designs by van Orley or an artist in his circle, which include portrayals of John and Catherine in the guise of Jupiter and Juno and a depiction of the Portuguese dominions as established by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 (fig. 112). Further acquisitions of Old Testament subjects were made in the 1550s.[20]

Following Charles's abdication, the main body of the Habsburg collection passed to his son Philip II (1527–1598), whose collection is documented by an inventory taken at his death in 1598.[21] By the end of the sixteenth century the Habsburg collection—combining the inherited collections of the Burgundian dynasty and of Charles and of Mary, along with purchases made by Philip in his own right—numbered some seven hundred tapestries, many of

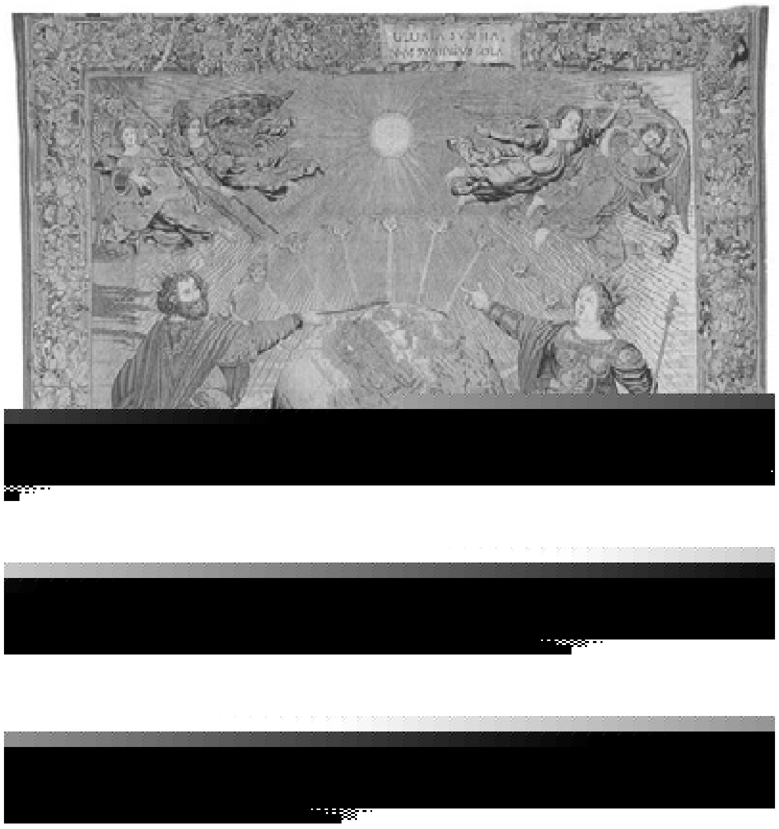


Fig. 112. *Earth under the Protection of Jupiter and Juno* from the *Spheres*. Tapestry design attributed to Bernaert van Orley, woven at the order of Joris Vezeleer, Brussels, ca. 1530–35. Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 344 x 314 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

Pannemaker workshop during the early 1560s which survives in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum).[27] Following Granvelle's relocation to Naples in 1564, his correspondence with Maximilian Morillon, his representative in Brussels, provides an important source of information about both his own commissions and the tapestry market in general.[28] Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, third duke of Alba (1508–1583), the ruthless general who commanded Philip II's troops during the religious persecution and ensuing war that ravaged the Netherlands during the late 1560s and 1570s, took advantage of his tenure in the Netherlands to enrich his tapestry collection, purchasing a reweaving of the *Conquest of Tunis* set and commissioning Pannemaker about 1568 to make a set of tapestries glorifying his exploits, among them the 1547 battle of Mühlberg (fig. 113).[29]

FRENCH COURT PATRONAGE

The large and sophisticated market for tapestries among French patrons, both secular and ecclesiastic during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, continued in the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century, with the French crown taking the lead. Indeed, Francis I became one of the most innovative tapestry patrons of the era.[30] Like Henry VIII and Charles V, he inherited an impressive collection of tapestries, and his appreciation of tapestry as the medium of princely splendor would have been encouraged by the displays and purchases made by his mother, Louise of Savoy, by Louis XII, and by leading nobles and ecclesiastics of the day (such as Georges and Jacques d'Amboise). His precocious interest in the medium is evident in the full-scale woven version of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* (fig. 67), which, on the basis of heraldic analysis, appears to have been made before his accession in 1515 or very early in his reign.[31] This was Francis's first use of tapestry to duplicate an outstanding work of art by a leading Italian artist, an important (but not exclusive) motivation in his subsequent patronage. Francis's fascination with all things Italian is well documented. He was raised in a court that was oriented toward Italy because of the French occupation of Lombardy begining in 1499, and his personal experiences in Italy in 1515 and 1524–25 left an indelible impression on his artistic tastes. Years later Benvenuto Cellini recorded Francis bragging of his firsthand knowledge of the greatest works by the greatest Italian masters.[32] Francis's attempts to attract Raphael and Michelangelo to the French court came to nothing, but Leonardo accepted the invitation, living in France from 1516 until his death in 1519. Although Francis's territorial ambitions in Italy were quashed at the battle of Pavia, his yearnings subsequently found a sublimated expression in his voracious acquisition of Italian art and artists through agents such as Pietro Aretino. Giulio Romano refused enticements to relocate but sent his pupil Primaticcio, whose collaboration with Rosso and other Italian artists at Fontainebleau irrevocably changed the character of French art.

Returning from captivity in Spain, Francis dramatically intensified his activity as a tapestry patron (perhaps as a result of exposure to the Spanish royal collection), and he was to make a spate of expensive purchases in the late 1520s and the early 1530s.[33] In 1532 he acquired four pieces of a set of the *Story of Scipio* that had been woven as a speculative venture after designs by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni (see cat. nos. 41–43). The circumstances in which this set came to Francis's attention are unclear, but he bought the first completed pieces and commissioned a further eighteen.[34] This ambitious ensemble, which measured almost 145 meters in length and cost the enormous sum of 23,448 *écus d'or soleil* (more than 50,000 livres), was completed by 1535. The first four pieces were displayed at Boulogne in October 1532 when Francis hosted a banquet for Henry VIII. When they were displayed again at another banquet held in the Louvre in February 1533, the Venetian ambassador to the French court recorded a conversation with the French king in which Francis discussed the comparative merits of the Raphael *Acts of the Apostles* belonging to the pope and the *Scipio* designs. The account provides a fascinating glimpse of Francis as a tapestry connoisseur and confirms the extent to which the medium was a matter of interest and discussion at the highest levels.

The *Story of Scipio* was just a beginning, and in the following years Francis was to spend enormous sums on tapestry. He was the first patron to acquire a copy of the *Acts of the Apostles* (a payment for three pieces was made in 1534) and the only patron known to have commissioned a duplicate weaving of part of a state-bed ensemble that Vincidor had designed for Leo X after designs by Raphael (see fig. 96).[35] Nor was his interest limited to Italian designs. He appears to have owned the editio princeps of several of the most important Netherlandish series of the day, including the *Story of Saint Paul* (purchased in 1533) and the *Story of Joshua* (1538), both from designs by Pieter Coecke van Aelst. He also acquired a set of tapestries based on paintings by Hieronymus Bosch, of which a duplicate set survives in the Spanish royal collection (fig. 114), and sent new designs created by artists at his court to be executed in Brussels.[36] The culmination of Francis's interest in tapestry was the creation of a workshop at Fontainebleau in the early 1540s, of which the only certain product is a six-piece set of tapestries that represent, in perfect trompe l'oeil, the painted and plaster decorations executed by Rosso and Primaticcio in the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau (see cat. no. 55). This set is equal in quality to the finest contemporary Brussels tapestries.

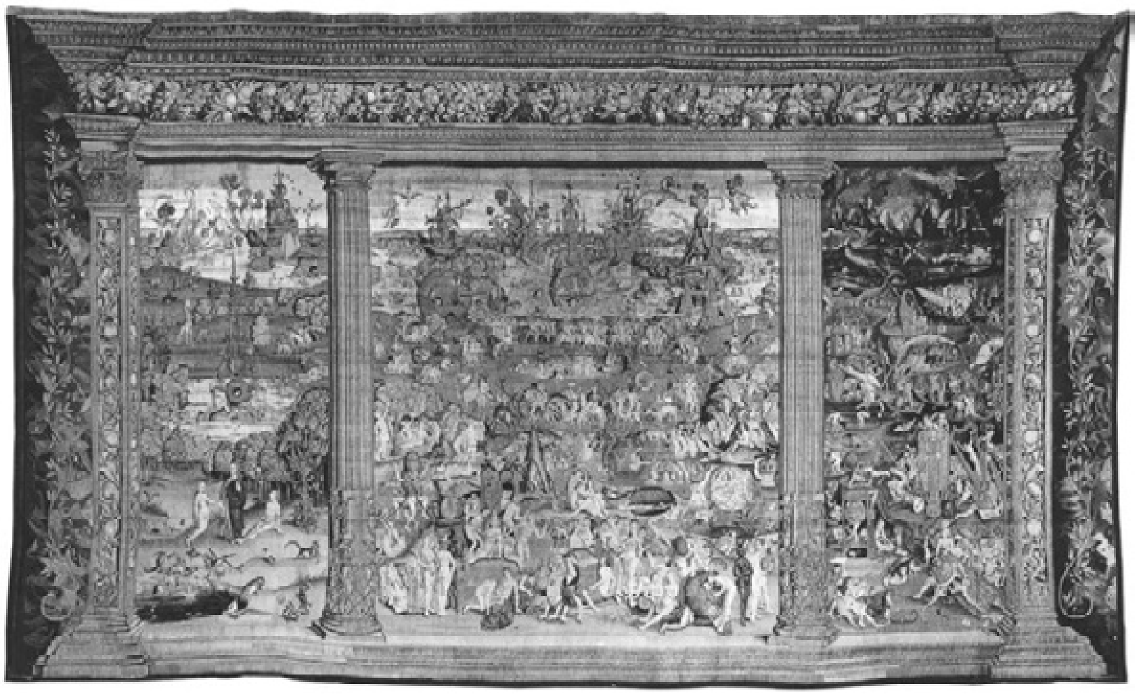


Fig. 114. *The Garden of Earthly Delights* from the *Visions of Saint Antony*. Tapestry designed after a painting by Hieronymus Bosch, woven in Brussels, ca. 1540. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 288 x 490 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

After his accession in 1547, Henry II followed his father's example, making significant acquisitions from Brussels merchants, such as the twenty-six-piece *Story of Psyche* purchased from the merchant Joris Vezeleer in 1550. Destroyed in 1798 but known in part from seventeenth-century copies made at the Paris manufactories, this series was based on engravings by the Master of the Die after Raphael. It may originally have been conceived for Francis I as it featured crowned F's with a salamander in an elaborate border of flower swags held by grisaille angels.[37] Henry also commissioned a set of the *Story of Samson*, a project for which the cartoons were being painted at the time of his death in 1559. Like his father, Henry also extended his patronage to local workshops. He may have initiated the commission of a set of tapestries made in Paris of the *Story of Diana* (see fig. 203), which celebrated his mistress Diane de Poitiers and which appears to have been made for her château at Anet. Activity at Fontainebleau may have continued during the 1550s, and Henry made a longer-lasting initiative by establishing a workshop at the Hôpital de la Trinité, whose mission was to take in orphans and poor children and to train them in various trades, including tapestry making.

Following Henry's death, his widow, Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589), also played an interesting role as a tapestry patron. She was probably responsible for the first translation into tapestry of a group of designs celebrating the classical widow Artemisia who erected the mausoleum at Halicarnassus in memory of her husband, Mausolus. This flattering allusion to Catherine was based on designs Antoine Caron created for a manuscript which Nicolas Houel dedicated to her in 1562. The designs were adapted and rewoven many times at the Paris manufactories established by Henry IV in the early seventeenth century.

Catherine may also have been responsible for commissioning the throne baldachin with portrayals of Pluto and Proserpina, which Charles III of Lorraine acquired shortly after his marriage to Claude, Catherine's daughter, in 1559 (cat. no. 54). Charles himself was subsequently to become an important patron of the Brussels manufactories. Later in her reign Catherine was also responsible for commissioning the so-called *Valois fêtes* tapestries, which depict festivals held at the courts of Catherine and Henry III of France. These were woven in Brussels between 1582 and 1585, after designs by Caron and cartoons by Lucas de Heere.[38]

With the royal example before them, the French nobility were as active as tapestry patrons as their English and Spanish counterparts, acquiring high-quality tapestries from the Netherlands and mediocre and low-quality tapestries from Paris, Aubusson, and other provincial workshops.[39] For example, the inventories of the constable of France Anne de Montmorency (1493–1567), builder of Écouen, list many tapestries at his Parisian property.[40] Tapestry was so ubiquitous in noble French households that the architect Philibert de L'Orme complained that it was pointless to provide elaborate architectural features for interior doors since everything was hidden by tapestries.[41] The tradition of French ecclesiastics commissioning choir tapestries for their benefices also continued unabated during the sixteenth century, with sets coming both from the Netherlands and from Paris. Indeed, religious commissions

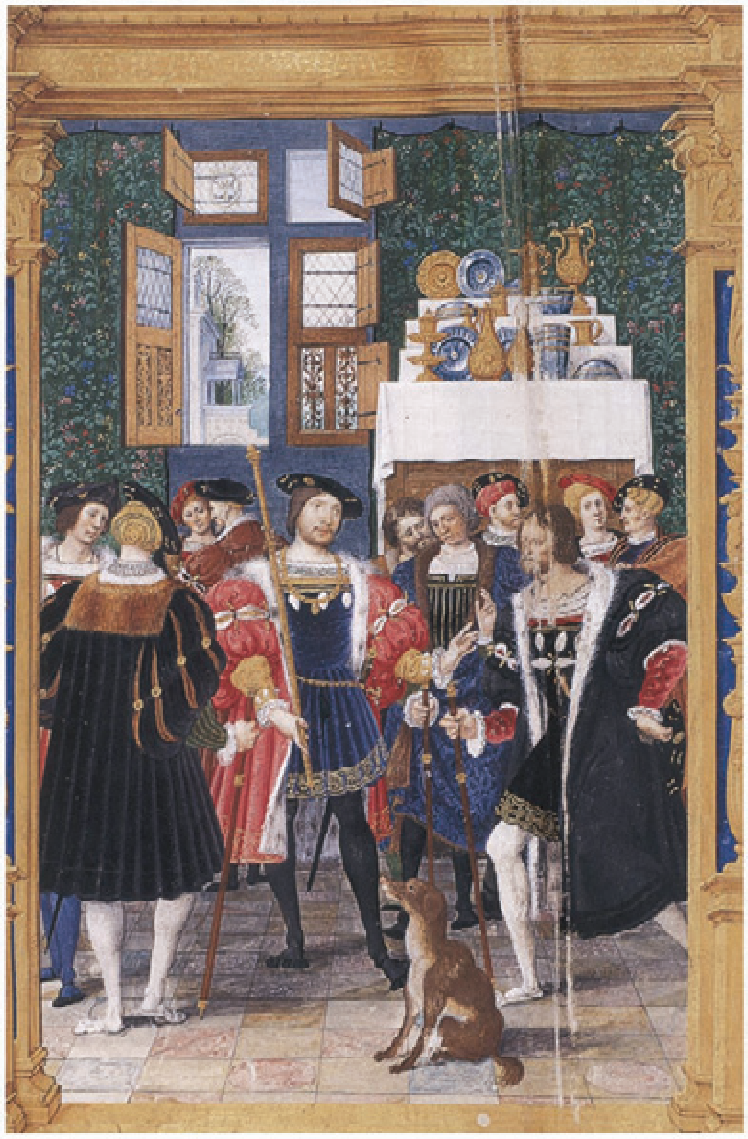


Fig. 115. *Anne de Montmorency Receiving the Offering of a Book.* Illumination from the *Discours* of Cicero, France, 1531. National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg

must have been the lifeblood of many French workshops. The character of these commissions varied extensively, from the conservative designs of sets of the *Life of the Virgin* and the *Life of Saint Remi* that were given to Reims Cathedral between 1530 and 1532 (see fig. 116) by archbishop Robert de Lenoncourt,[42] to much more innovative designs such as those of the *Story of Saint Mamas* (see cat. no. 56) supplied by Jean Cousin the elder to Claude de Longwy, cardinal of Givry, which were woven in Paris in 1544–45 by Pierre Blasse I or II and Jacques Langlois.

Germanic and Central European Court Patronage

This brief overview must also include the numerous commissions that came to the Netherlandish workshops from Germanic and central European clients. A set of *Passion* tapestries, now in Dresden, probably from designs by van Orley which were based, in part, on compositions by Dürer, indicates the quality of some of the tapestries purchased by Albert, elector of Saxony, in the late 1520s or early 1530s.[43] Another keen client of the Netherlandish workshops was Ottheinrich, count palatine of Neuberg and elector palatine of the Rhine, who made substantial purchases of Netherlandish tapestries to decorate his palace at Schloss Neuberg, rebuilt in Renaissance style during the 1530s and 1540s, and for the Ottheinrichsbau built in Heidelberg from 1556. His collection of more than one hundred Netherlandish tapestries included duplicate weavings from existing design series such as the *Honors* (of which fragments survive in Heidelberg and Nuremberg), *Phaeton, Abraham,* and *Joseph,* as well as a number of unique designs featuring his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and his own genealogy (fig. 117). Some of these may have been woven by Netherlandish weavers that Ottheinrich encouraged to settle at his court, where a set of the *Battle of Vienna* was produced between 1539 and 1542.[44]

One of the most iconographically arresting tapestries produced for a German patron during the sixteenth century is the dynastic *Croy* tapestry (fig. 118), woven in 1554 for Prince Philip I of Pommern-Wolgast. This depicts Martin Luther pointing from a pulpit toward a figure of the crucified Christ, with twenty-three

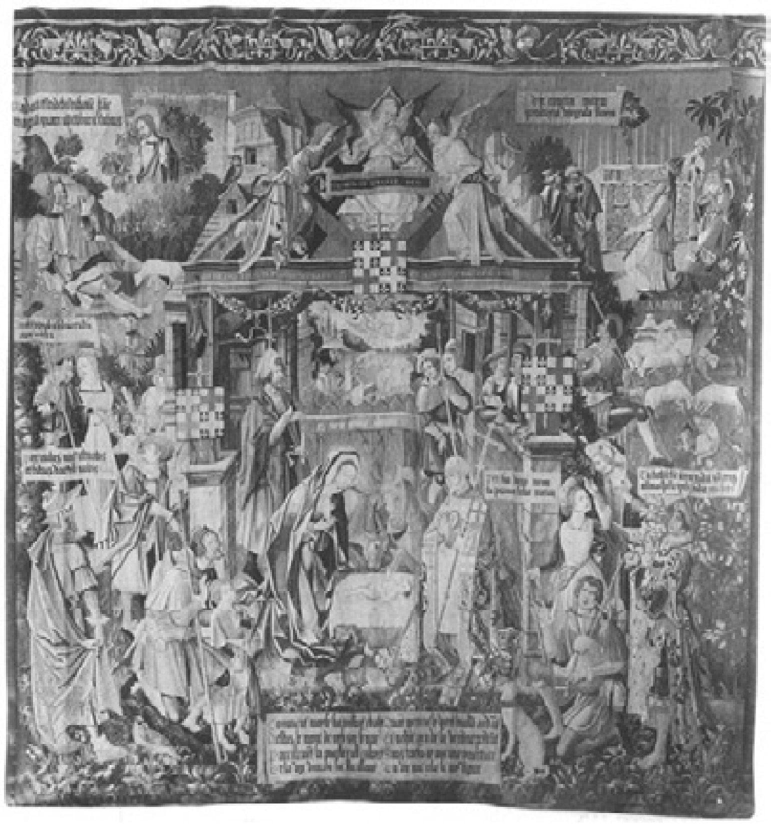


Fig. 116. *The Nativity* from the *Life of the Virgin.* Tapestry woven in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1530. Wool and silk, 500 x 500 cm. Cathedral Museum, Reims

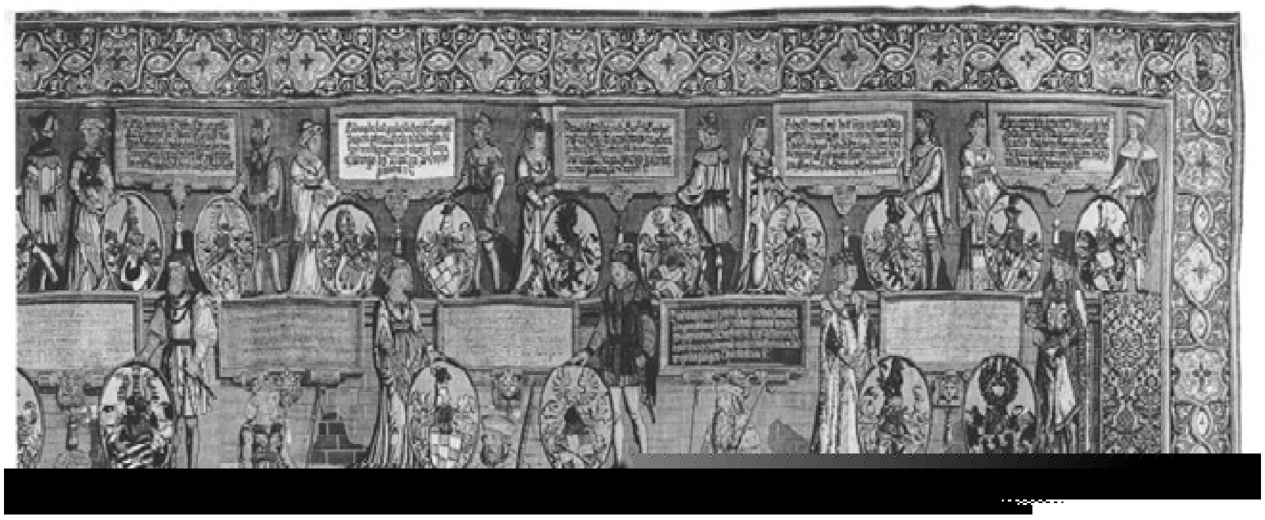


Fig. 117. Detail of the *Genealogy of Ottheinrich*. Tapestry woven in Brussels (?), ca. 1550. Wool, linen, and metallic thread, 431 x 958 cm (whole tapestry). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich

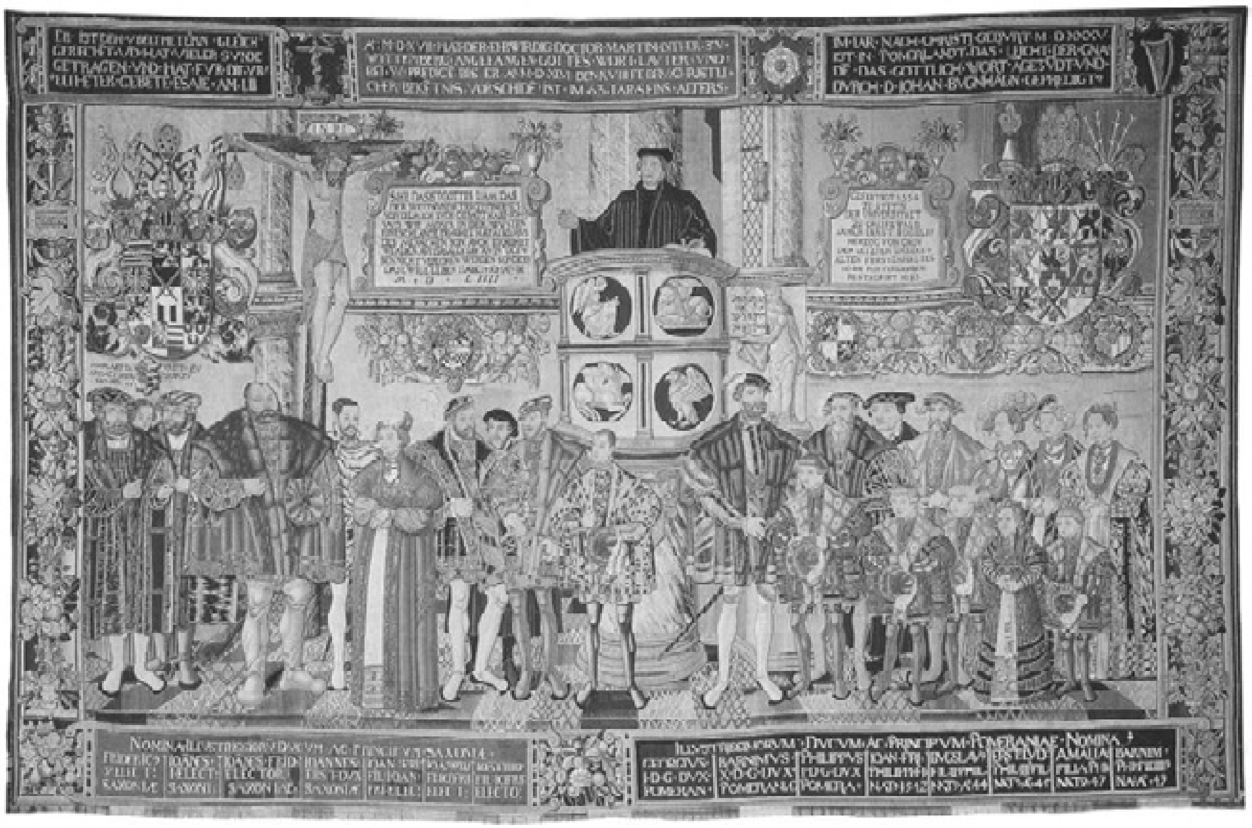


Fig. 118. *The Croy-Teppich*. Tapestry woven in the workshop of Peter Heyman, Stettin, 1554. Wool and silk, 446 x 690 cm. Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität, Greifswald, Germany

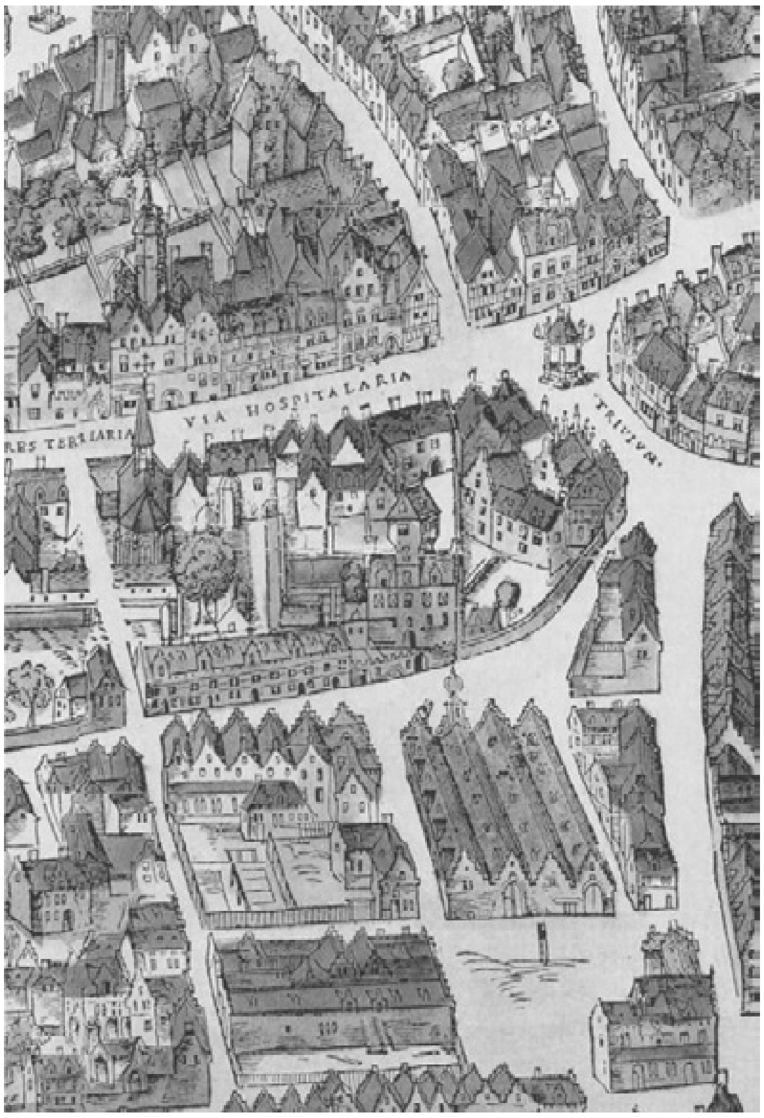


Fig. 124. *The Tapestry Makers' Pand in Antwerp* (built 1551–53; destroyed 1746). Woodcut by Virgilius Boloniensis, 1565. Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp

merchants and bankers in Antwerp, he rose to prominence during the 1520s, lending huge sums to the Habsburg government and specializing in the trade of precious metals, a field in which he competed and on occasion associated with the Fuggers. He maintained an extensive correspondence with Erasmus and succeeded Pieter Gillis as the transfer agent for the humanist's English annuities. During the mid-1540s he played an important role in supplying nautical materials and munitions to the English court, along with other luxury goods that included an unspecified number of high-quality tapestries, among them a set of the *Story of Tobias* in or before 1546 (of which one piece survives at Hampton Court). Besides the tapestries he supplied to Henry VIII, he also sold Mary of Hungary sets of the *Story of Scipio* (1544; a composite of the design series purchased by Francis I in the early 1530s; see cat. nos. 41–43) and a *Story of Tobias* (1547; Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid). His standing is suggested by the fact that in 1545 he entertained Charles V at the fine house he had built for himself in Antwerp.[81]

An interesting question that requires further research is the extent to which the Brussels merchant-weavers and the Antwerp merchants were responsible for developing some of the more important design series of the day as speculative ventures. A brief citation in correspondence of 1565 provides evidence that Vezeleer owned the cartoons and copyright of the *Vertumnus and Pomona* designs. What were the circumstances in which large series such as the *Story of Saint Paul* and the *Story of Joshua* were conceived? The subjects held rich resonances for many patrons for a variety of reasons, and they were susceptible to both Reformation and anti-Reformation interpretations. Yet the signal lack of specific iconographic details that might link these sets to one court or another suggests that the designs may have been developed as speculative ventures. Commanding access at the highest court levels because of their status as international financiers and brokers, the Antwerp merchants were very sensitive to the tastes and interests of their courtly clientele. Many of these merchants were also well connected and sympathetic to the humanists and reformist thinkers in England, France, and Germany, making their role even more complex.

ABUSE AND REGULATION

The enormous demand for Brussels tapestries from the 1510s encouraged the expansion of the industry, but it also led to abuses, as workshops sped up production by taking shortcuts. The most pernicious abuse was the use of paint or crayon to color areas of design that had not been woven as an integral part of the tapestry. A moderate amount of touching up, done by *afzetters*, had been accepted in the trade during the early sixteenth century, but the practice appears to have become increasingly widespread and fraudulent during the mid-1520s.[82] Equally damaging to the reputation of the Brussels workshops were attempts by unscrupulous merchants to pass off the products of other centers as Brussels products.

To combat these abuses, the Brussels tapestry guild introduced legislation in 1528 requiring that any tapestry over 6 ells (2.81 sq. m) in size have two marks woven into the selvage, indicating that it had been inspected by the guild officers. The first was the town mark composed of two B's (for Brabant and Brussels) separated by a red shield; the second, the mark of the weaver or merchant who had caused the tapestry to be made. (Lead or wax seals had been applied to completed tapestries since the fifteenth century, but these were easily removed by the unscrupulous.) These marks were to be entered in a register

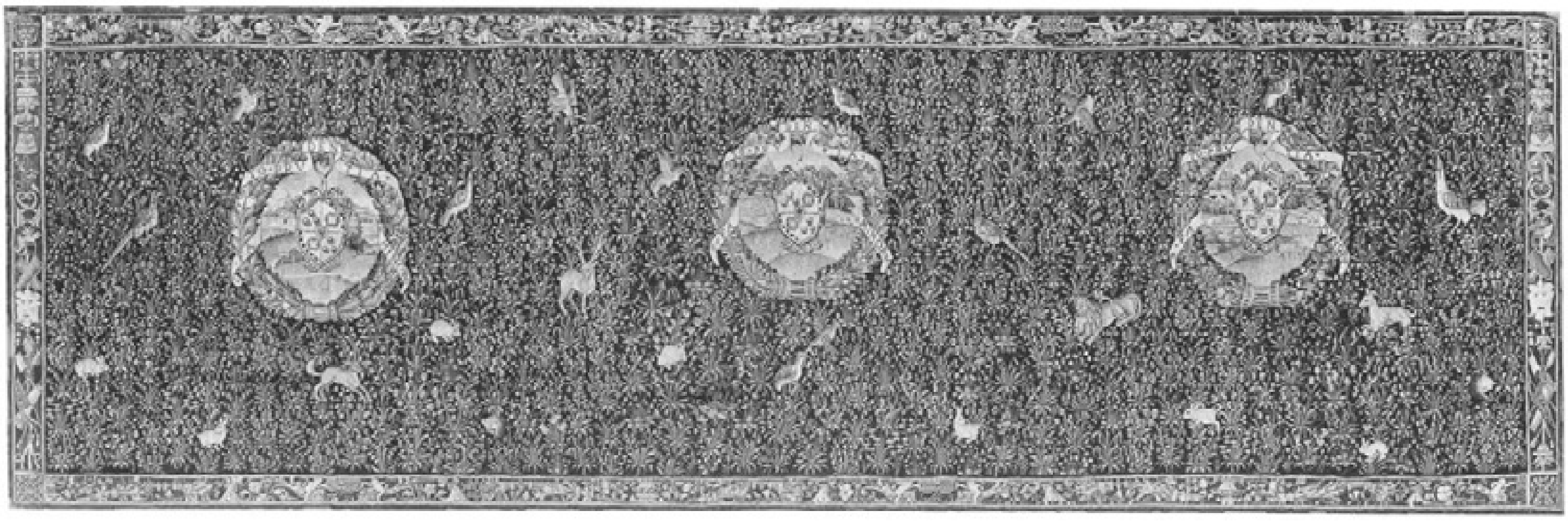


Fig. 125. *Millefleurs with the Arms of Paolo Giovio*. Tapestry woven in Bruges, ca. 1530. Wool and silk, 221 x 683 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

maintained by the guild (destroyed in 1690). Any weaver found to be producing faulty products was liable to a range of penalties. Despite these efforts at self-regulation, several leading Brussels merchants including the Dermoyen and Kempeneer were accused of retouching their tapestries in 1539. Henry VIII's tapestry agent, Jan Mosting of Edingen (Enghien), testified in vain that during his twelve years of service he had not encountered any of the faults of which they were accused. The merchants were found guilty. Large numbers of tapestries were seized in Antwerp, and the miscreants were subjected to severe penalties, which were subsequently commuted to much lighter fines.[83]

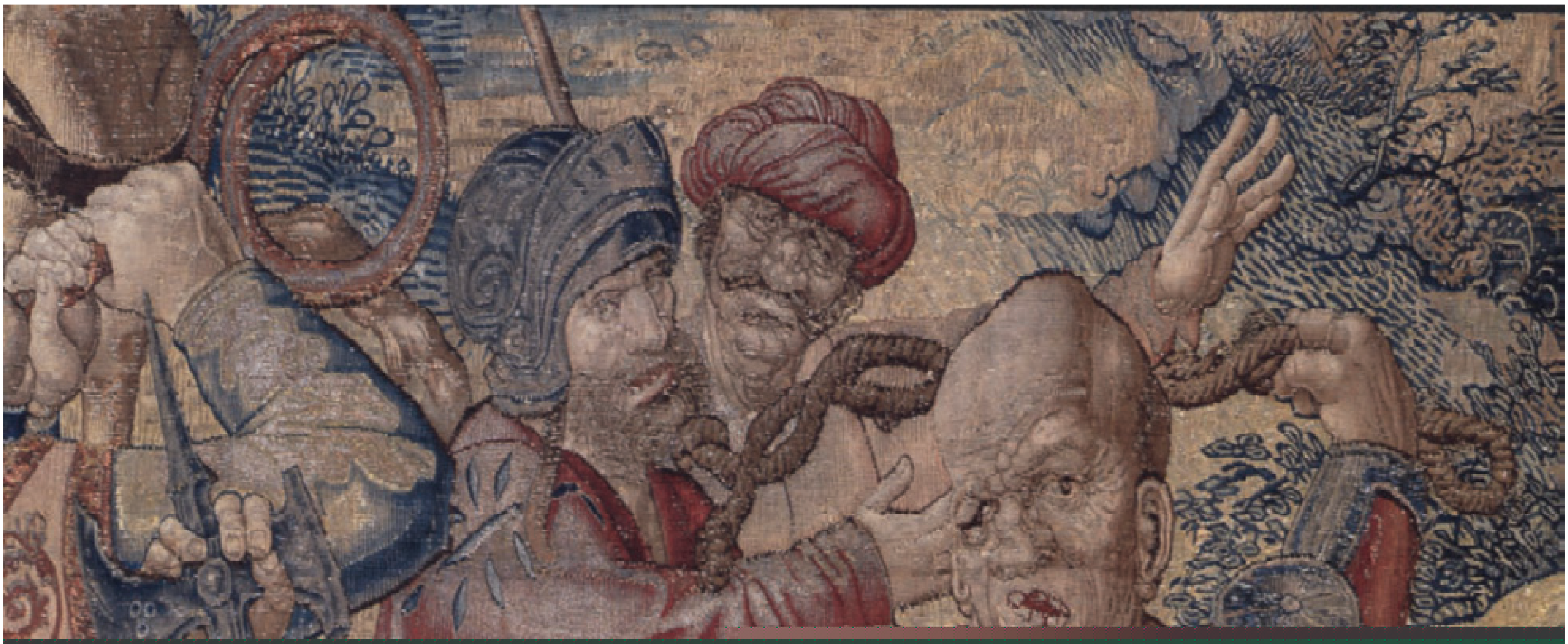
In May 1544 an imperial edict set out detailed regulations for tapestry production in the Netherlands. All aspects of the materials and the manufacturing process were regulated.[84] Thenceforth, the products of each different center were to carry town and weavers' marks akin to those applied to Brussels tapestries. Enghien, which had been applying town marks since the mid-1530s, continued to use the mark of an E and an N separated by a shield divided into white and black segments; Bruges adopted the symbol of a Gothic b next to a weaving shuttle; Tournai used a tower; Oudenaarde a pair of spectacles above a shield with a yellow field and three red bars; and Antwerp two hands on either side of a tower.[85] This edict was promulgated with some delay in different centers; in Oudenaarde in January 1545, in Brussels in October 1546, and in Bruges in 1547. Antwerp delayed until July 1562, probably to aid the town's fight against Brussels's dominance of the industry.

The extent to which Antwerp had any significant weaving industry of its own during the 1530s and 1540s is difficult to assess. No certain products have been identified, and it may be significant that although the Antwerp authorities enticed Pieter Coecke van Aelst to establish a cartoon workshop in Antwerp in 1543, all the designs that are probably to be attributed to this workshop during the following decade were produced by Brussels workshops. However, from the early 1550s the Antwerp authorities sought to develop local production, offering favorable terms to cartoonists and weavers from other centers to relocate. The success of these efforts is reflected by the relocation in 1553 of the merchant-weaver Pieter van Uden and a workforce of four hundred weavers, including thirty-three master weavers. All were rewarded with the freedom of the city. An act of July 20, 1559, extended this privilege to any Brussels weavers who wished to relocate, and subsequently other merchant-weavers such as Michel de Bos followed van Uden's example.[86]

Other Netherlandish centers accounted for the bulk of low- and medium-quality production. The extent to which Tournai continued to be an important center of production for medium-quality products during the 1530s and 1540s is unclear. Few signed products have survived.[87] In contrast, Bruges, Enghien, and Oudenaarde evidently flourished. The Bruges workshops enjoyed particular success in producing customized armorial millefleurs, of which examples with the arms of Cardinal Mattheus Lang of Wellenburg, archbishop of Salzburg, and Paolo Giovio, bishop of Nocera, survive (fig. 125).[88] Similarly, a large part of Enghien production from the late 1530s seems to have been large-leaf verdures populated with birds and animals, which surpassed millefleurs in popularity from the mid-1530s.[89] Similar designs were also produced in Oudenaarde, along with a large volume of lower-quality figurative tapestries. Following the seizure of large numbers of Oudenaarde tapestries in 1539 in the wake of investigation of fraudulent use of *retouchage,* the town bailiff, Philip de Lalaing, wrote to Mary of Hungary asking for a repeal of these seizures because twelve thousand people were dependent on the local tapestry industry and the poverty imposed by the ban would lead to riot.[90] Assuming that a significant portion of this number were family members and dependents, the figure nonetheless suggests that there were several thousand weavers active in the Oudenaarde region. Statistics like these reflect the extent to which the tapestry industry was inextricably linked with the economy of the Netherlands at this date. This was the context in which the leading Brussels workshops and Antwerp merchants realized, between 1520 and 1560, many of the greatest tapestry projects that have ever been undertaken.

1. Russell 1969. For discussion of the tapestries, see T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 127–30.
2. Hall 1904, vol. 1, pp. 191–92.
3. Ibid., p. 195.
4. Ibid., pp. 214–15.
5. Ibid., p. 246.
6. Ibid., p. 255.
7. T. Campbell 1996b, pp. 129–30; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 99–101, 129–30.
8. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 90–97.
9. Giustiniani 1854, vol. 2, p. 314.
10. T. Campbell 1996a.
11. Ibid., p. 103; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 151–52.
12. T. Campbell 1996b; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 200–51.
13. T. Campbell 1998a, esp. pp. 251–74.
14. Starkey 1998, passim.
15. Horn 1989, p. 153, n. 57.
16. Delmarcel in Munich, Mechelen, and Amsterdam 1993, pp. 64–91.
17. Mechelen 2000, p. 10.
18. Beer 1891, pp. CLVIII–CLXIV, no. 8436; van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, pp. 291–301, 314–19.
19. Delmarcel 1999b, p. 156.
20. Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, pp. 54–67; Jordan 2000, pp. 281, 286–93.
21. Delmarcel 1999b.
22. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986.
23. Buchanan 1999.
24. Bertini in Colorno 1998, pp. 42–44; Bertini 1999, pp. 127–30; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 103–5; Forti Grazzini 1999b, pp. 152–59.
25. Pérez Pastor 1914, p. 359.
26. Steppe and Delmarcel 1974.
27. Baldass 1920, nos. 140–45.
28. Piquard 1950.
29. Horn 1989, pp. 130, 136; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 136.
30. Schneebalg-Perelman 1971a; Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 363–38.
31. Erlande-Brandenburg 1974.
32. Cox-Rearick 1995, p. 28.
33. Ibid., pp. 366–67.
34. Lefébure 1993; Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 377–83.
35. Schneebalg-Perelman 1971a, p. 271; T. Campbell 1996c, pp. 443–45.
36. Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 366–67.
37. Guiffrey 1885–86, vol. 1, p. 294; Van den Kerkhove 1974, pp. 329, 334, n. 71; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 2, p. 531.
38. Yates 1959; Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, p. 84; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 139.
39. Weigert 1962, pp. 67–88.
40. Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 89–90.
41. Zerner 1996, p. 250.
42. M. Sartor 1912; Erlande-Brandenburg 1983.
43. Emmrich 1963; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 74.
44. Göbel 1923, pp. 101, 145; Stemper 1956; Mechelen 2000, pp. 39–40, 42; Hans Hubach is writing a study of Ottheinrich's tapestries.
45. Brassat 1992, pp. 207–8.
46. Heinz 1963, pp. 277–307; Bauer 2002.
47. Szablowski 1972a; Hennel-Bernasikowa 1998.
48. Forti-Grazzini 1999b, pp. 144–46.
49. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 7, p. 15.
50. Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, pp. 108–10, no. 6; Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, pp. 285–89, nos. 113–15; Forti Grazzini 1999b, pp. 146–50; Forti Grazzini 2002.
51. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 80.
52. Baratte 1976; Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 80, 93, n. 135.
53. C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, passim.
54. Ibid., pp. 90–95, 99, 101–2.
55. "[C]onveniente al grado et profession mia, cioè che non contenessero favola o cosa lasciva, ma qualche historia della scrittura et del Testamento Vecchio"; ibid., pp. 106–7.
56. Ibid., pp. 115–17, doc. 49.
57. Delmarcel in ibid., pp. 148–57.
58. Adelson 1990, p. 82; Meoni 1998, p. 72.
59. Strieder 1938, p. 192.
60. Mechelen 2000, p. 15.
61. Schneebalg-Perelman 1969; Delmarcel 1990; Mechelen 2000, pp. 13–15.
62. Decavele 1979–83.
63. Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 33–36; van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, pp. 295, 358, n. 72; Hennel-Bernasikowa 1996; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 364.
64. Crick-Kuntziger 1954; Calberg and Pauwels 1961; Schneebalg-Perelman 1972, pp. 418–23; Meoni 1989; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 366.
65. Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 365, 369 (with bibliog.).
66. Paredes in Brussels 2000, pp. 30–41, 78–81.
67. Schneebalg-Perelman 1969, p. 282.
68. Horn 1989; Buchanan 1999; Delmarcel 1999a, passim, esp. p. 368 (with bibliog.).
69. Adelson 1985c, p. 15.
70. Horn 1989, pp. 26, 383.
71. Delmarcel in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 43–44; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 163.
72. Ewing 1990, p. 559.
73. Ewing 1990; Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, p. 99; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 117.
74. Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 96–97.
75. Ewing 1990, p. 581.
76. Schneebalg-Perelman 1971a; Van den Kerkhove 1974; Buchanan 1992; Buchanan 1999, p. 132.

77. Delmarcel in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 38–43.
78. T. Campbell 1998c, p. 50, n. 21; Buchanan 1999, p. 133.
79. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 94, 102–3; Buchanan 1999, p. 132.
80. Meoni 1989.
81. Buchanan 1992; van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, p. 295; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 103–4.
82. Schneebalg-Perelman 1961, pp. 191–93.
83. Ibid., pp. 195–97.
84. Van Ysselsteyn 1936, vol. 2, pp. 1–21.
85. Van Tichelen and Delmarcel 1990; Van Tichelen and Delmarcel 1993; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 115–16, 362.
86. Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 176–80.
87. Ibid., pp. 164–66.
88. Ibid., pp. 180–87.
89. Mons 1980; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 168–76.
90. Schneebalg-Perelman 1961, p. 196; Oudenaarde 1999, p. 36.



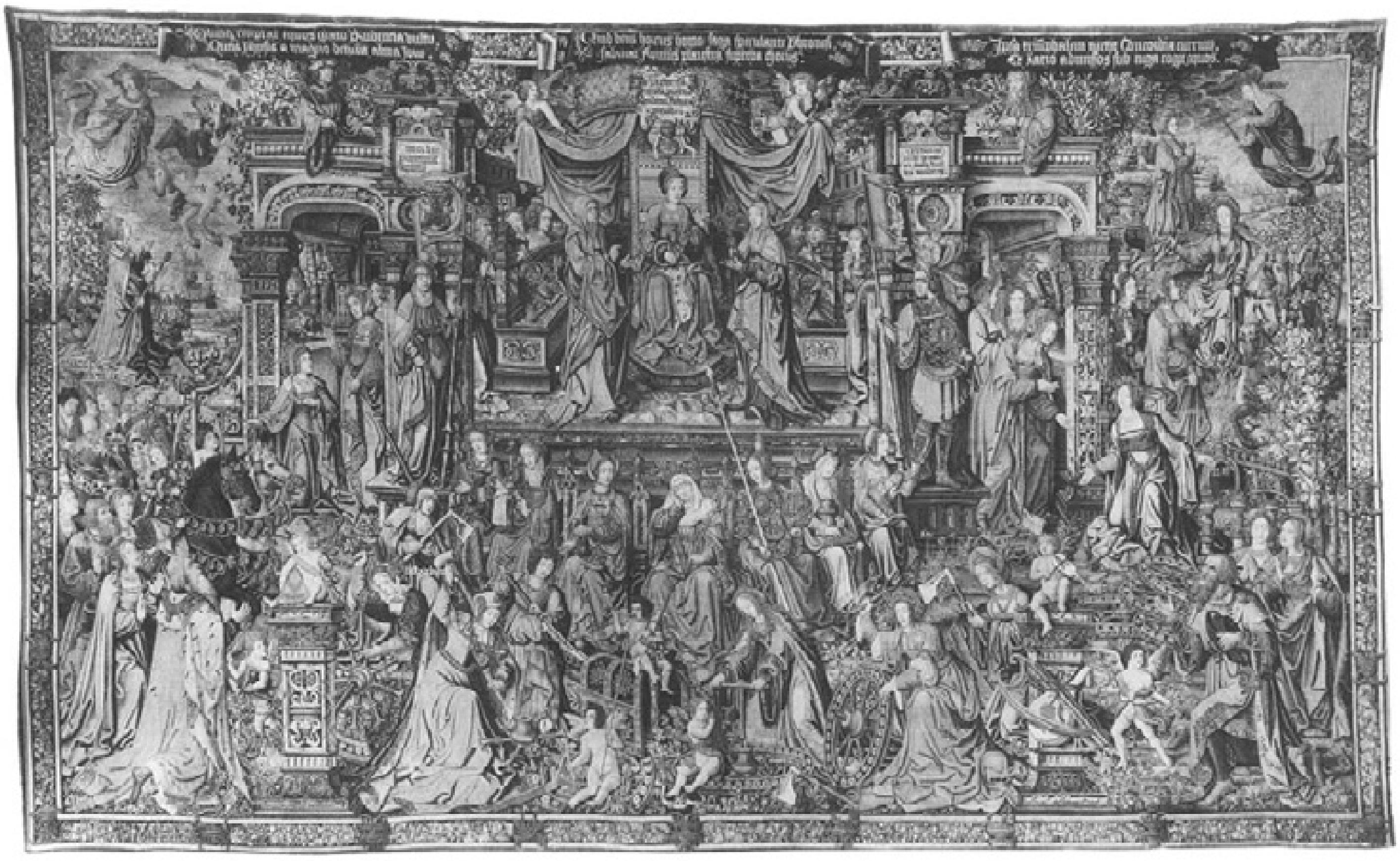


Fig. 129. *Prudentia* from the *Honors*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley and others, woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, Brussels, ca. 1520. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 500 x 813 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

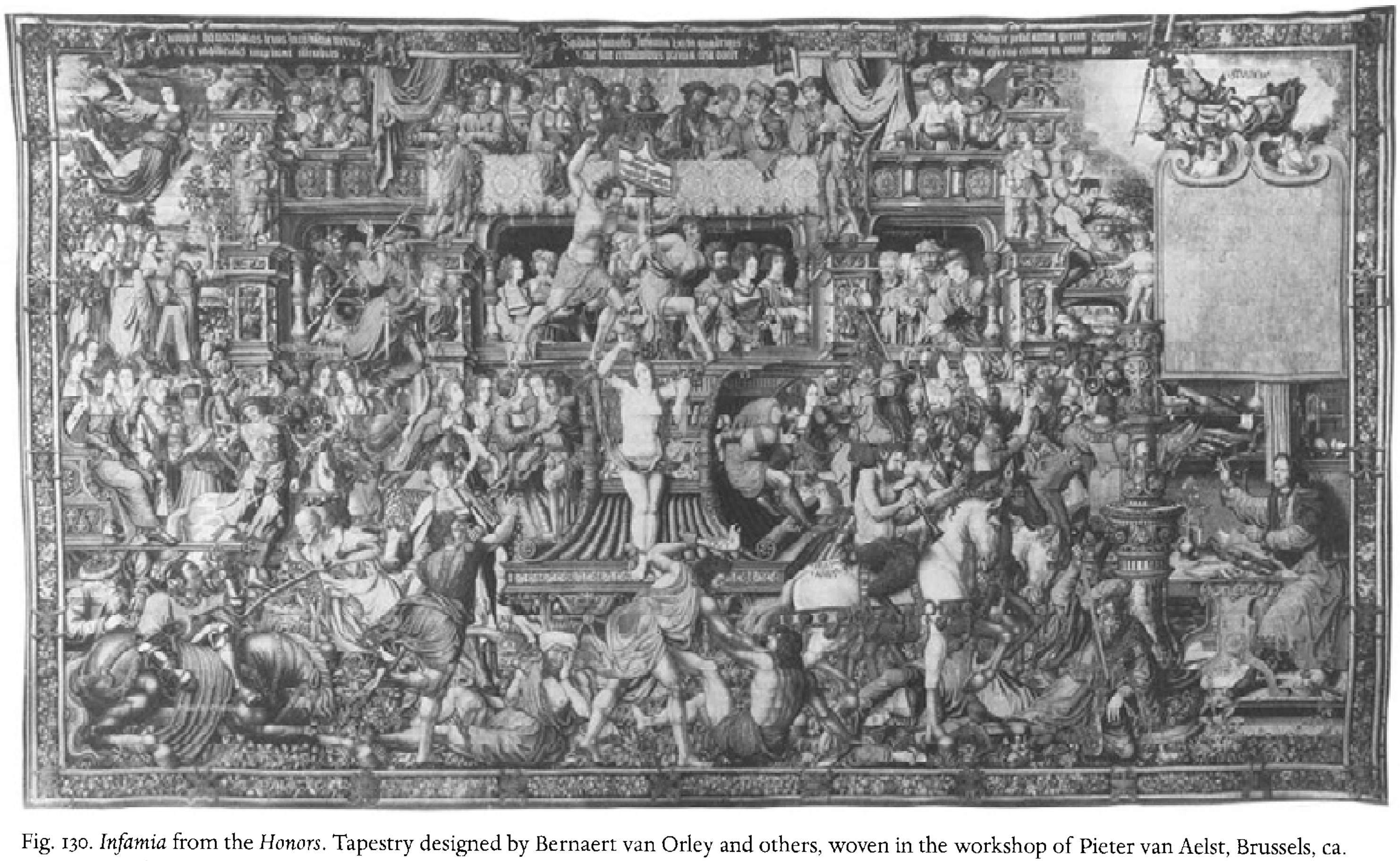


Fig. 130. *Infamia* from the *Honors*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley and others, woven in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, Brussels, ca. 1520–25. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 496 x 860 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

and 1522, provides a fascinating demonstration of the subsequent development of his approach to tapestry design. According to a contract drawn up on September 1, 1520, with van Orley as a witness, Margaret of Austria's tapestry weaver, Pieter de Pannemaker, was to make two panels of *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* and *Christ Carrying the Cross,* to match two that he had already completed of the *Crucifixion* and the *Deposition.*[8] This four-piece set, known as the "square" *Passion* (figs. 131–34), together with the components for a related throne canopy, survives in the Spanish royal collection. Although van Orley is not specified as the artist responsible for the two new designs, they so clearly provide a transition between his earlier and later work that his authorship is unanimously accepted. In contrast, the first two panels—whose design can be dated to early 1518 by analogy with the production period of the third and fourth pieces—are more traditional in iconography and style, to the extent that Delmarcel has suggested that van Orley may have executed their cartoons in conjunction with another artist, such as Colyn de Coter.[9] Several of the figures in the earlier tapestries are clearly based on prototypes in the 1507 *Passion* sequence now in the Spanish royal collection. For example, the turbaned man with his hands folded across his chest in the right foreground of Margaret's *Crucifixion* (fig. 131) is copied directly from a figure in the tapestry of the *Deposition* (fig. 55) in the 1507 set, while the body of Veronica next to him is also drawn from a prototype in the earlier tapestry. The *Descent from the Cross* of Margaret's set (fig. 132) demonstrates a similar use of traditional elements, although here the foreshortening of the man bending over the top of the cross, the stance of the weeping woman leaning forward behind Saint John, and the twisted posture of the kneeling Mary in the left foreground evidence a new preoccupation with the relationship of figures to the space surrounding them.

The two later panels, which must have been designed and woven between 1520 and 1522, develop these tendencies further and also show a new, equally important feature, the influence of the work of Albrecht Dürer. In 1520 Dürer traveled to the Low Countries, where he was entertained at a dinner party hosted by van Orley in Brussels between August 26 and September 2 (the very week Pannemaker received the contract for the *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* and the *Christ Carrying the Cross*).[10] The artistic exchange that must have taken place at this event is reflected by the marked influence of Dürer's work on the figures, landscapes, moods, and compositions of these two *Passion* scenes, which van Orley designed for Margaret in the following months. That the *Christ in the Garden* commission may have been the subject of discussion by van Orley and Dürer is suggested by a drawing of the subject that is signed with the German master's monogram and

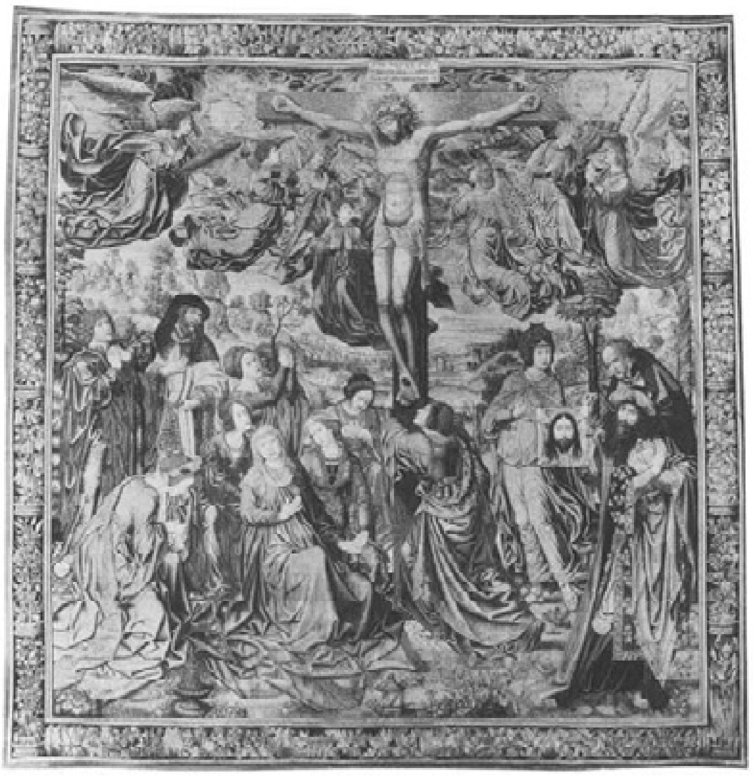


Fig. 131. *The Crucifixion* from the "square" *Passion*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, woven in the workshop of Pieter de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1518–20. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 345 x 345 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

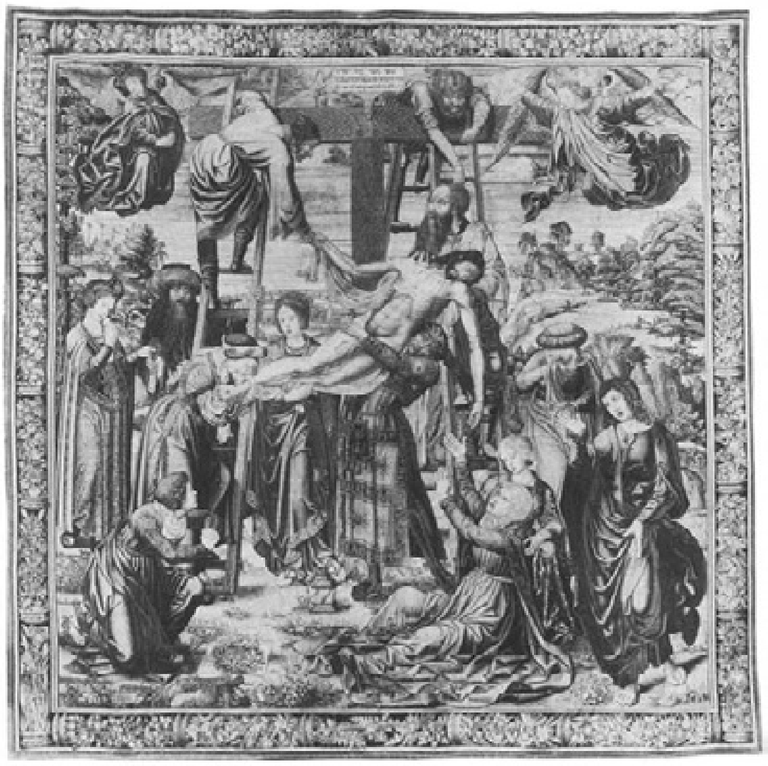


Fig. 132. *Descent from the Cross* from the "square" *Passion*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, woven in the workshop of Pieter de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1518–20. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 345 x 345 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

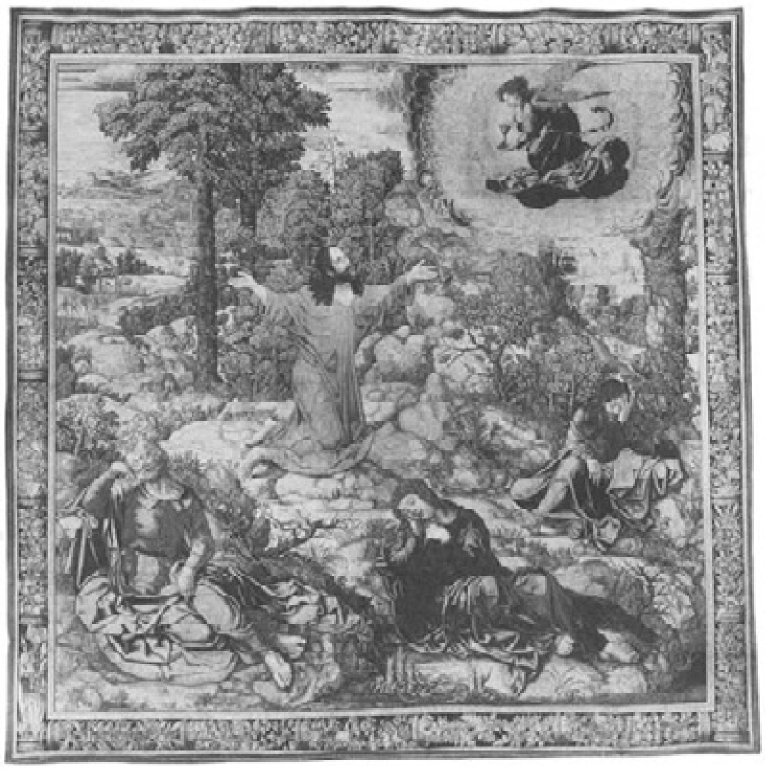


Fig. 133. *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* from the "square" *Passion*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, woven in the workshop of Pieter de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1520–22. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 345 x 345 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

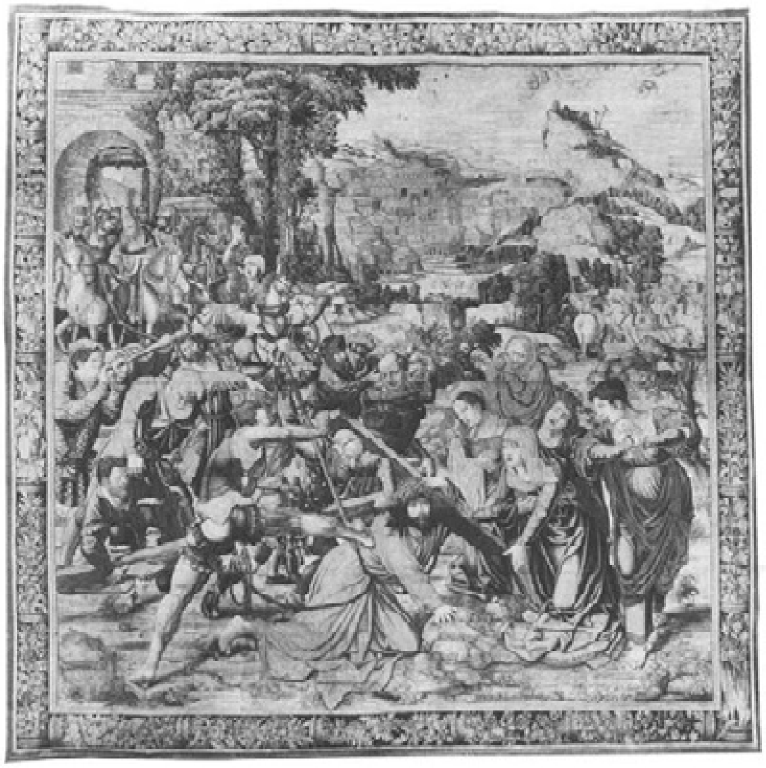


Fig. 134. *Christ Carrying the Cross* from the "square" *Passion*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, woven in the workshop of Pieter de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1520–22. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 345 x 345 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

dated 1520 (fig. 146), in which the head of the sleeping Peter and the landscape are remarkably close to these elements in van Orley's design.[11] While Dürer's influence is also evident in the *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fig. 134)—particularly in the character of the distant landscape, with its craggy Mount Calvary—van Orley was also working with an awareness of the composition and figures in Raphael's painting the *Spasimo di Sicilia,* which had been woven as a tapestry (cat. no. 25) in Brussels for Cardinal Bibbiena between 1516 and 1520. If these compositional debts are readily apparent, another equally important development from the earlier scenes was the greater emotional drama of the later panels, conveyed by the contrast between the resigned suffering of Christ and the intensely visualized details of the settings and of the costumes and physiognomies of the supporting characters.

At the time the *Passion* tapestries were conceived, the influence of Dürer on van Orley's work is much more marked than that of the Raphael school. The extent of van Orley's exposure to the *Acts of the Apostles* designs during the late 1510s is uncertain. According to a seventeenth-century tradition reported by Félibien, van Orley himself was responsible for overseeing the execution of the *Apostles* tapestries, but this is probably to be discounted.[12] With the exception of a running figure in the foreground of the *Infamia* panel of the *Honors,* which is evidently inspired by the soldier in the foreground of the *Conversion of Saul* (cat. no. 23) from the *Acts of the Apostles,* the *Honors* set is remarkable for its lack of awareness of the Raphael designs. Indeed, the inspiration of Raphael's *Apostles* designs was not manifest in van Orley's art until the early 1520s. The next explicit dated evidence of van Orley's consideration of Raphael's work is provided by the *Virtue of Patience* triptych painted for Margaret of Austria in 1521 (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels). Representing the trials of Job on the inner panels and the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man on the outer wings, this altarpiece demonstrates van Orley's developing response to the *Apostles* cartoons. This is evident in van Orley's literal borrowing of the pose of the rich man in hell from the figure of Ananias in Raphael's *Death of Ananias* from the *Apostles* set, in the Netherlander's use of exaggerated poses and facial expressions to convey emotional drama, and in his increasingly realistic representation of the relationship between the figures and the space in which they are set.[13]

Raphael's influence became more profound in van Orley's tapestry designs of the following few years, as is revealed by two ensembles whose order of production is uncertain. One is a pair of Passion scenes, a *Last Supper* and a *Crucifixion,* designed sometime between 1522 and 1526 for an undocumented patron to complement reweavings of the *Christ in the Garden* and the *Christ Carrying the Cross* originally designed for Margaret of Austria between 1520 and 1522. Known collectively as the Alba *Passion*, the four pieces are reunited for the first time in more than a century in this exhibition (cat. nos. 30–33). The two new scenes demonstrate the further maturation of van Orley's compositional formula, combining Dürer's emotional intensity and detailed landscapes with the figural proportions and spatial awareness of the Raphael-school designs. Quite apart from a new level of muscularity and volume that the figures occupy in the pictorial space, these scenes also represent a development in van Orley's visualization of his subject matter. The extreme emotion conveyed through the postures and expressions of the protagonists is complemented by the extraordinarily detailed way in which van Orley renders the scenes: for example, the knife hanging over the edge of the table in the *Last Supper* (cat. no. 30); the complex way in which the unrepentant thief is tied to the cross (fig. 135); and the precisely observed implements in the executioner's toolbox in the *Crucifixion* (cat. no. 33). The intensity of this vision, and the quality of the designs, suggests that van Orley himself was closely involved in the drawing of the full-scale cartoons for these two new scenes, as was the case for the earlier *Christ in the Garden* and *Christ Carrying the Cross.*

The precedent for the vivid realization of the specific physical details in the *Last Supper* and the *Crucifixion* must have been the concept of history painting shaped by Raphael during the mid-1510s, albeit filtered through a Northern sensibility informed by the exquisite delineation of detail in Dürer's prints. Aside from the

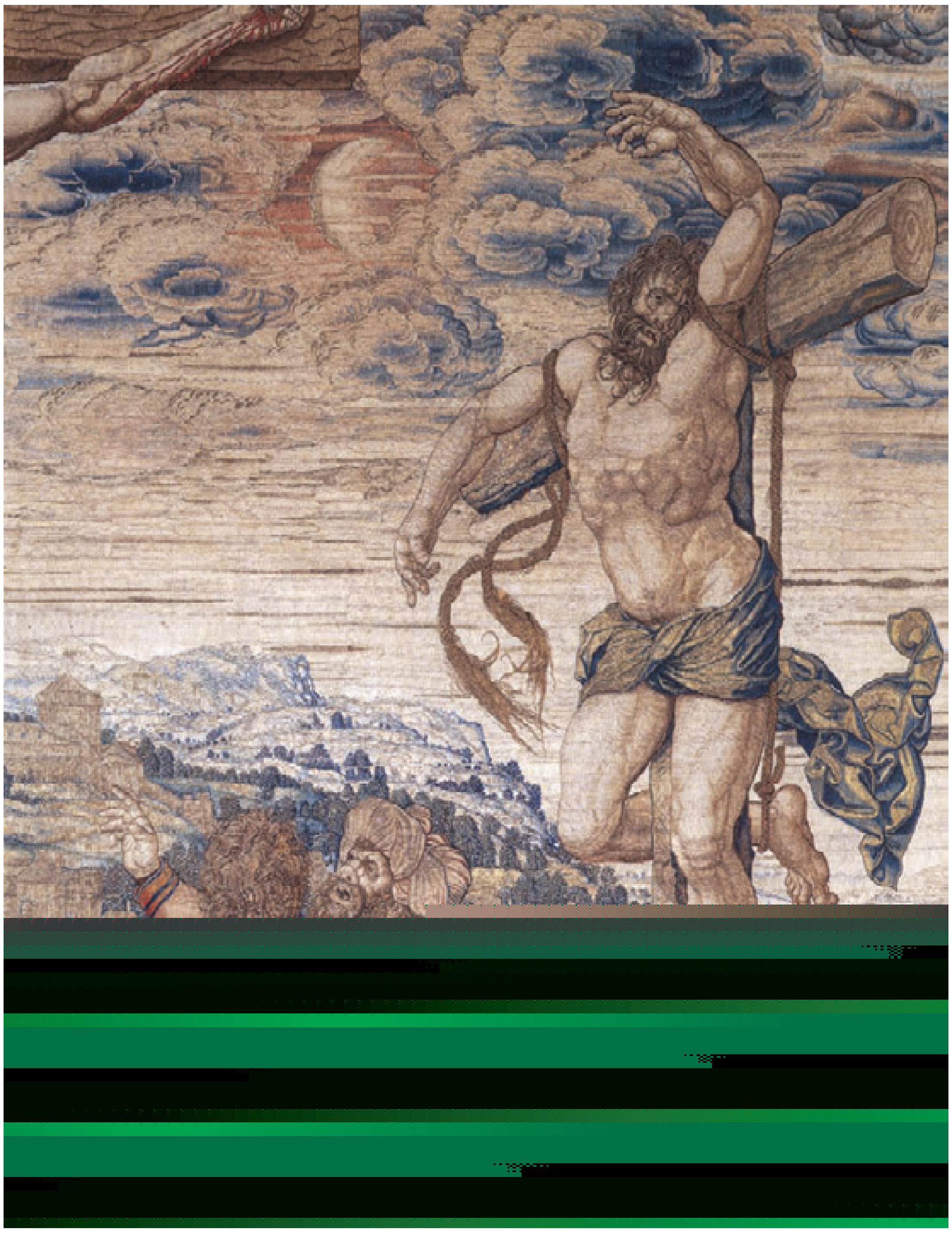


Fig. 135. Detail of cat. no. 33: *Crucifixion* from the Alba *Passion*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, probably woven in the workshop of Pieter de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1525–28

Capenberghe, one of Bernaert's aunts, in 1494, and that this Jan and his son of the same name were among a group of artists and merchant-weavers who, along with van Orley, were prosecuted in 1527 for listening to sermons by the Lutheran preacher Claes van der Elst. (Although van Orley lost his position as court painter to Margaret of Austria as a result of these proceedings, they do not appear to have significantly interrupted his work or involvement with the Habsburg court.)[23] Félibien's description of "a certain Tons" is echoed by van Mander in his account of a Willem Tons (fl. 1577–79), son of Jan II, in which he characterizes the father as outstanding in painting "cartoons [*patronen*] with all sorts of trees, vegetation, animals, birds, eagles and such, all very beautiful and well done after nature." On the strength of van Mander's account, it seems likely that it was Jan II who played the key role in developing the landscape designs and executing them in the cartoons for the *Hunts of Maximilian*.[24]

A discussion of the collaboration raises the question of the extent to which van Orley himself participated in the execution of the cartoons for the *Pavia* and *Hunts* series. Farmer suggests that he contributed only the preliminary sketches and that once they were completed the work passed into the hands of specialist cartoonists.[25] Certainly, no single artist could have carried out such large and complicated cartoons. Yet the importance and novel vision of these exceptional cartoons suggest that, at the very least, van Orley closely supervised the teams of artists necessary for their production. Moreover, we might reasonably conclude that van Orley himself was directly involved in the execution of the cartoons on the evidence of the highly individualized character of many of the principal figures as well as their stylistic affinity with protagonists in the Alba *Passion* tapestries.[26] Circumstantial support for this assumption is provided by the fact that other masters of the time worked on cartoons for tapestries: van Orley's pupil Pieter Coecke van Aelst was directly involved in the drawing of the cartoons for the contemporaneous *Story of Saint Paul* (see cat. nos. 45, 46), and Jan Vermeyen did the same for his *Conquest of Tunis* in the late 1540s (see pp. 389–95 and cat. no. 50).

Another set of tapestries conceived by van Orley that can with some certainty be dated to the period about 1530 is the so-called *Genealogy of the House of Nassau*. This group was commissioned from the Dermoyen workshop by Count Henry III of Nassau sometime in 1529–30, and payment for it was made in 1531. The first tapestries had almost been completed in November 1531, at

Fig. 142. *Otto, Count of Nassau, and His Wife, Adelheid van Vianden* from the *Genealogy of the House of Nassau*. Bernaert van Orley, ca. 1530. Pen and brown ink and color wash over black chalk, 35.7 x 48.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1995 (1995.12)

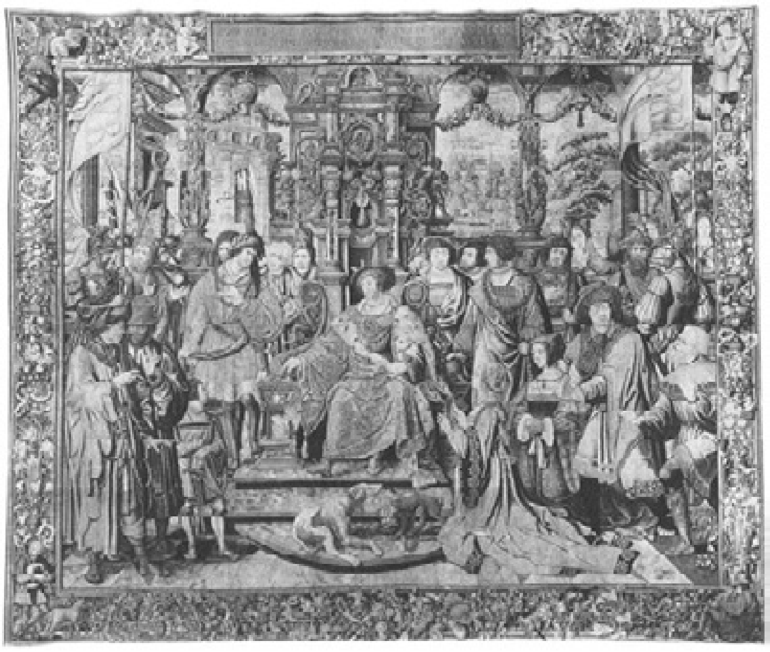


Fig. 143. *Romulus Giving the Law to the Roman People* from the *Foundation of Rome.* Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, woven in Brussels, ca. 1535. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 432 x 514 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

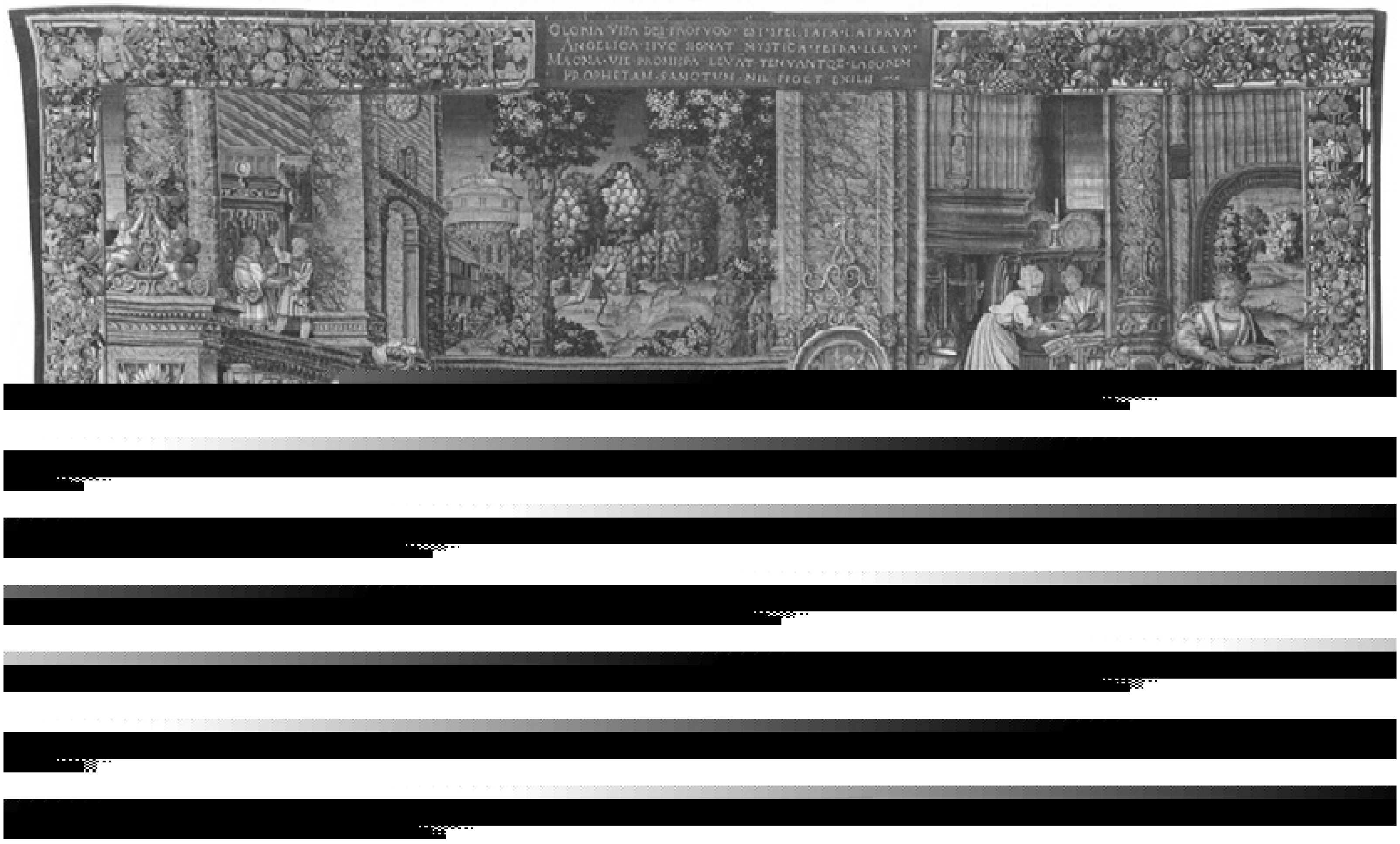
which point Henry was urgently awaiting advice from his brother William regarding heraldic details that were to be inserted into them.[27] Although these weavings were destroyed in a fire in 1760, their appearance is known from a set of preliminary drawings by van Orley, executed with his characteristic verve in pen and wash (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich; Metropolitan Museum, New York; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Rennes).[28] In these sheets the principal elements, portraits of equestrian figures and their costumes (which vary in accordance with the era in which the person depicted lived), as well as the layouts of the landscapes, are indicated in some detail, but the borders are only sketched in summary fashion on some of them. Several of the drawings also include written instructions for the further development of the designs, which suggests that more detailed drawings executed by workshop assistants were to follow. The landscape components offered van Orley's specialist collaborators great opportunities to display their skills.

Here it should be noted that the borders are included as part of the designs in some of the *Nassau Genealogy* drawings (but not fig. 142). Farmer has maintained that this was unusual, such components normally being left to the cartoonists. In fact, however, van Orley appears to have included the border as part of the overall conception of the design from his earliest involvement with the tapestry industry, starting with the border of the *Notre Dame du Sablon* set, and to have continued to do so throughout his career.

Two other design series made for members and intimates of the Habsburg family should also be mentioned at this point. Although neither is documented, they can be related to van Orley on the basis of pronounced stylistic links with his other work. The first, known as the *Spheres,* shows the celestial realms according to the Ptolemaic system.[29] It was woven for John III, king of Portugal, and his wife, Catherine, Charles V's sister, and incorporates their portraits in the guise of Jupiter and Juno in one of the tapestries (fig. 112). Their style suggests a date of conception in the late 1520s or early 1530s. The second series was a radical reworking of van Orley's *Foundation of Rome* designs (see figs. 138, 139). (We can assume that the new designs were conceived for a member of the Habsburg court because the Order of the Golden Fleece, associated with that house, hangs around the neck of a figure shown in one of the scenes, *Romulus Giving the Law to the Roman People,* fig. 143).[30] Whereas the violent and dramatic incidents of the narrative appear in the foregrounds of the earlier compositions, they are largely relegated to the backgrounds of the later series, whose foregrounds are occupied by courtly scenes populated by richly costumed figures. Although the reworked set is often dated to the late 1520s, its richness of ornamentation and layering of allegorical and symbolic meaning indicate that it was more likely executed in the mid-1530s.

During the 1530s, at the same time he was conceiving tapestries for members or associates of the Habsburg court, van Orley was continuing to supply designs to the Brussels and Antwerp merchants. Identification of this work is not straightforward, however, because van Orley appears to have been less directly involved in the execution of the cartoons. In fact, he may even have delegated the elaboration of some of the designs to assistants, perhaps following the model of the Raphael workshop of which he would have learned from Vincidor. Attributions to the master are also problematic because a number of anonymous artists may have been emulating van Orley's style by the early 1530s.

The benchmark for van Orley's noncourt commissions is provided by the *Story of Jacob,* which may have been ordered by the merchant-weaver Willem de Kempeneer as a speculative venture. The first documented set made after the *Jacob* cartoons, and probably their first weaving, was completed by 1534, when Kempeneer sold a ten-piece group on the subject to the Antwerp merchant Joris Vezeleer (possibly the same panels subsequently recorded in the English royal collection).[31] If this was the first weaving, we can assume that the series was conceived and designed in 1531–32. A complete set of ten pieces, acquired by Cardinal Campeggio before 1539, survives today in Brussels (see fig. 144).[32] The longstanding assumption that van Orley designed the *Story of Jacob*



GLORIA VITA DEI PROPVGO ... ANGELICA HVC SONAT MYSTICA ... MAGNA VIE PROMISSA LEVAT ... PROPHETAM SANCTVM NIL NOCET EXILII

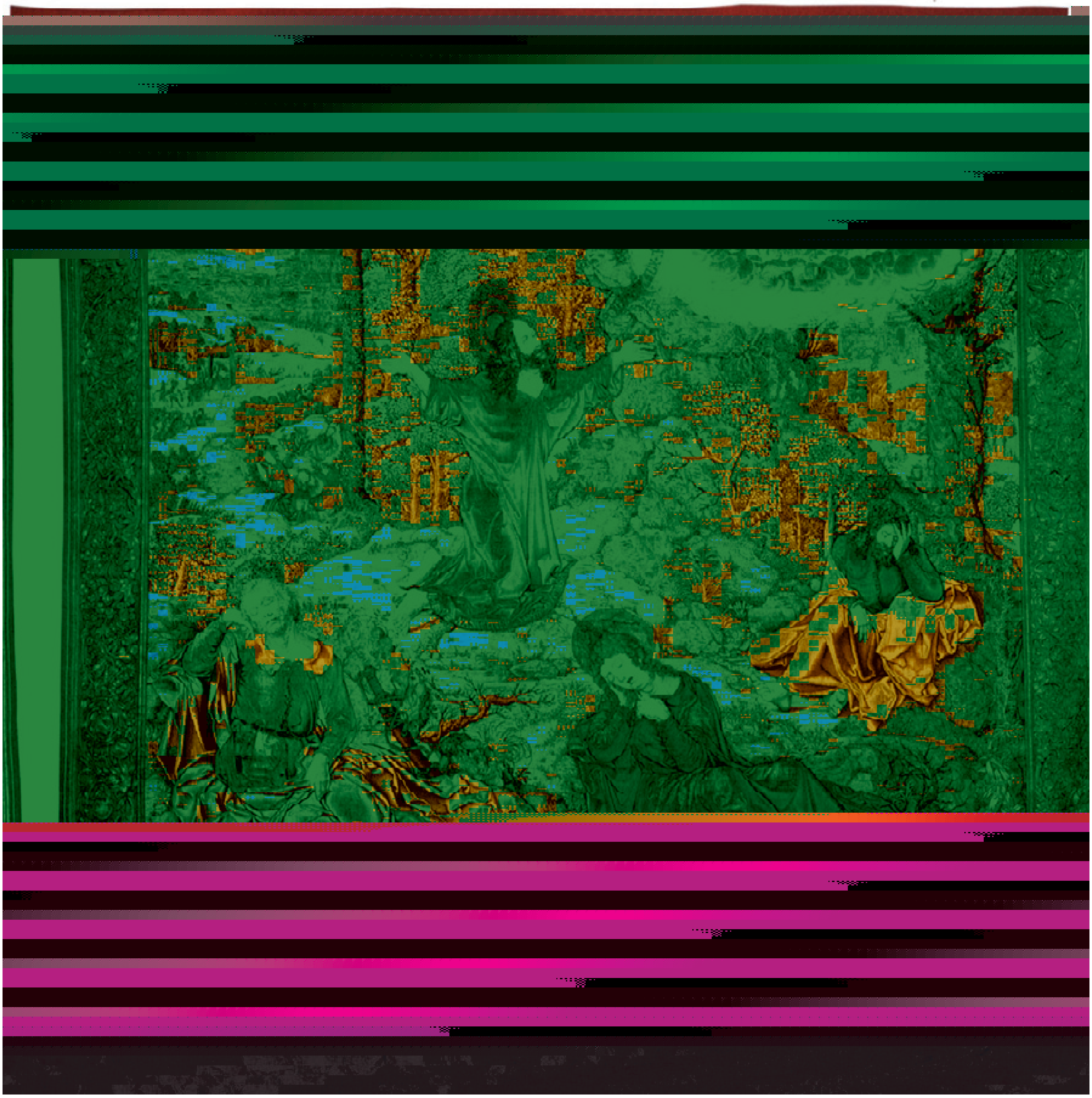
Fig. 144. *The Blessing of Esau* from the *Story of Jacob*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, woven in the workshop of Willem de Kempeneer, Brussels, before 1539. Wool and silk, 424 x 680 cm. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels

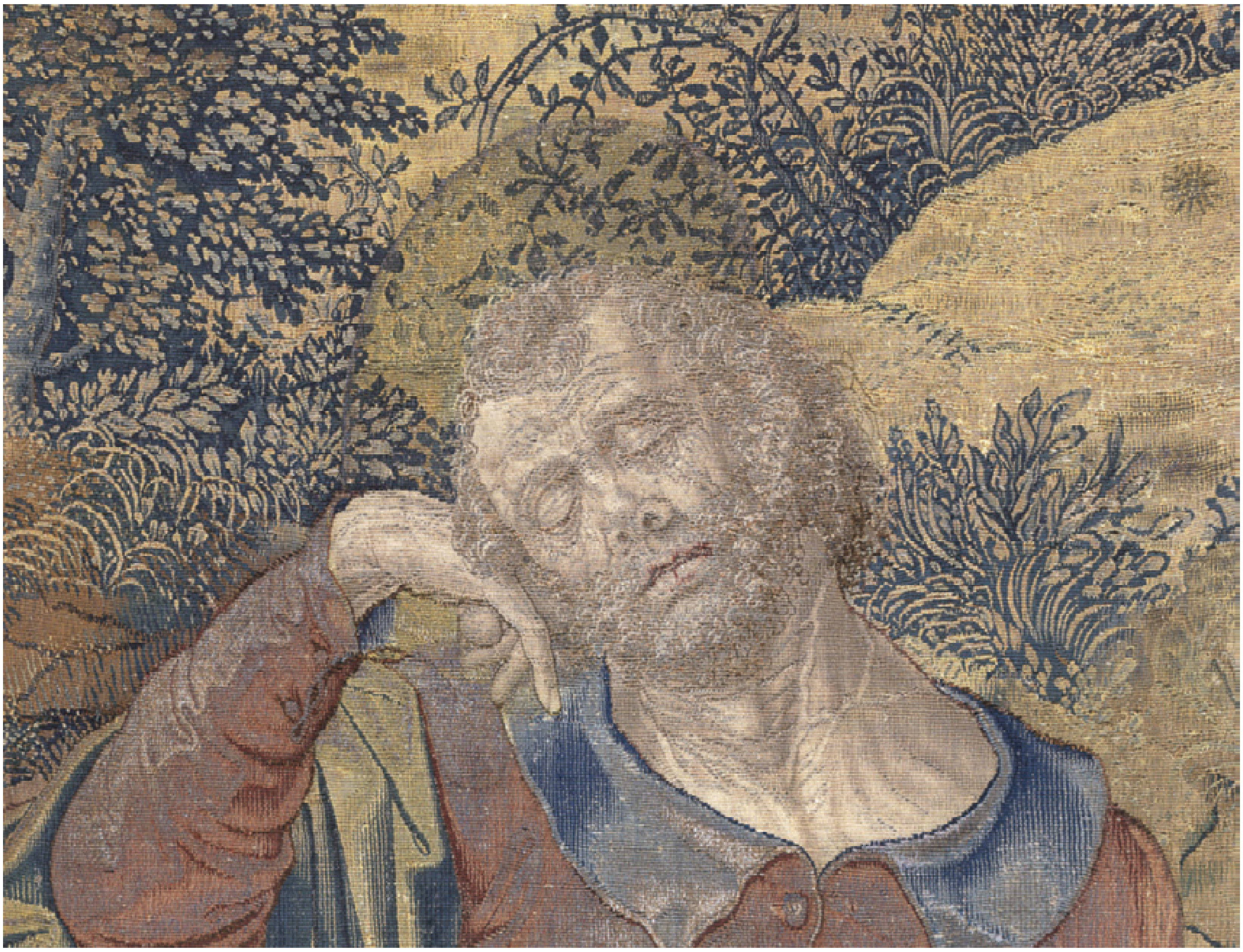
was confirmed by the discovery of the artist's name woven into the design on the last piece of Campeggio's set.[33] However, as Delmarcel has noted, the heterogeneous character of various scenes may well indicate that, although van Orley executed the preparatory drawings for the entire series, the master was closely involved only with the production of the cartoons for the first four pieces.[34]

The *Jacob* series is of great interest because it provided the narrative formula that was to characterize much Netherlandish tapestry production for forty years after its completion. In place of the panoramic scenes of a single moment of time that marked the *Pavia* and *Hunts of Maximilian* sets, van Orley returned to the more traditional device of utilizing architectural and landscape features to separate the different elements of a multiple narrative. The choice of subjects appears to have been calculated to focus on moments of psychological insight and dramatic impact and to establish a sense of suspenseful anticipation as the viewer moves from one episode to the next.[35] Although the dividers that separate scenes include Renaissance forms, they are drawn from an earlier tradition, providing rich, decorative filling between the narrative components. At the same time, the vividly realized muscular figures occupying stagelike interiors rendered in realistic perspective clearly recall the compositional formula of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles.*

A number of other series of the mid-1530s are stylistically close to the *Story of Jacob.* One, a *Story of David,* is recorded in five preparatory sketches (British Museum, London), in which the figures and division of narrative components by architectural elements display all the hallmarks of van Orley's work. One of the drawings is dated 1531 and carries an early inscription "Pieter Coecke van Aelst," but its style is much closer to that of van Orley than of his pupil.[36] Whether the *David* designs originated in van Orley's workshop and these drawings were executed by an able assistant, or whether they are the product of an anonymous artist who had precociously absorbed the lessons of van Orley's art is open to question.

Another series of the time that van Orley may have designed is the *Story of Iphigenia,* which Kempeneer sold to Vezeleer in 1534. This is probably to be identified with the ten-piece set of this



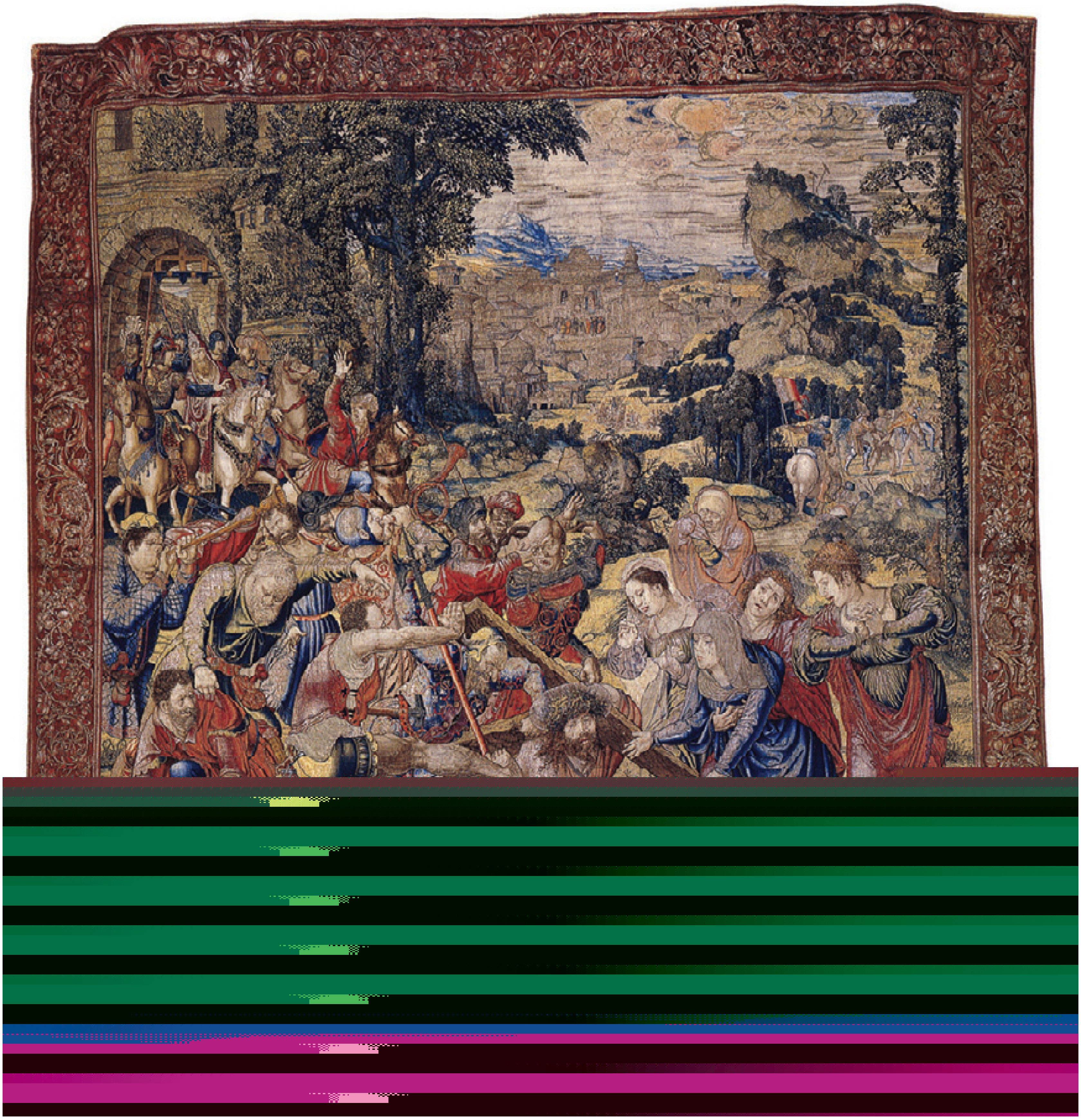


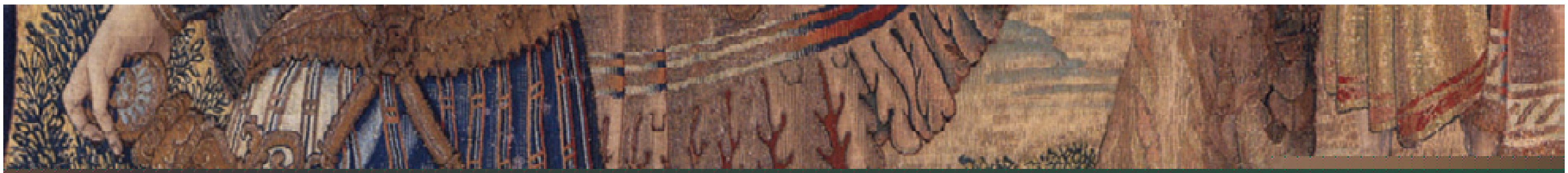
Detail of cat. no. 31

Christ's death. Blood and water pour forth from a wound in Christ's side, which, according to John (19:34), was pierced after his death by a soldier with a lance. This centurion, usually identified as Longinus in the synoptic Gospels, here points toward Christ and, as reported by Mark (15:39), utters to his comrade: "Truly this man was the Son of God." The two thieves writhe in pain, their legs having been cruelly broken by the soldiers to hasten their deaths. The bad thief, Gestas, turns away, resigned to his damnation, while the good thief, Dismas, looks toward the Savior and, begging not to be forgotten, receives his blessing. In compassionate identification with her son, the Virgin collapses in grief and is comforted by the attending Marys.[5] John, in utter despair, makes a last mournful appeal, his hands clasped and raised above his head toward Christ in supplication. At the lower right a workman resolutely gathers the tools used to fix the three condemned men to their crosses and prepares to take his leave.

There is a subtle emphasis in the series on both the sacrament of Holy Communion and on a Protestant interpretation of it. This is evident not only in the texts woven into the tapestries but also in details of representation, some of which have already been pointed out. In the *Last Supper* the paschal lamb is absent and the dish at the center of the table that would have held it supports the large chalice filled with wine. Luther repudiated the notion of the sacrifice of the Mass, symbolized by the slaughtered lamb, as an abomination. But he believed that Christ can be present in the Supper through his suffering and death, and that partaking of the bread and the wine signifies the fellowship of all as members of Christ's spiritual body. Therefore, bread has been placed on the table before the disciples, and the innkeeper pours wine. The MEI that appears on the collar of Christ's robe is a fragment of his words spoken at the breaking of bread and drinking of wine, "This do in remembrance of me."

In *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* the attending angel holds the eucharistic chalice as Christ utters the words "remove this cup from me," thereby emphasizing the connection of





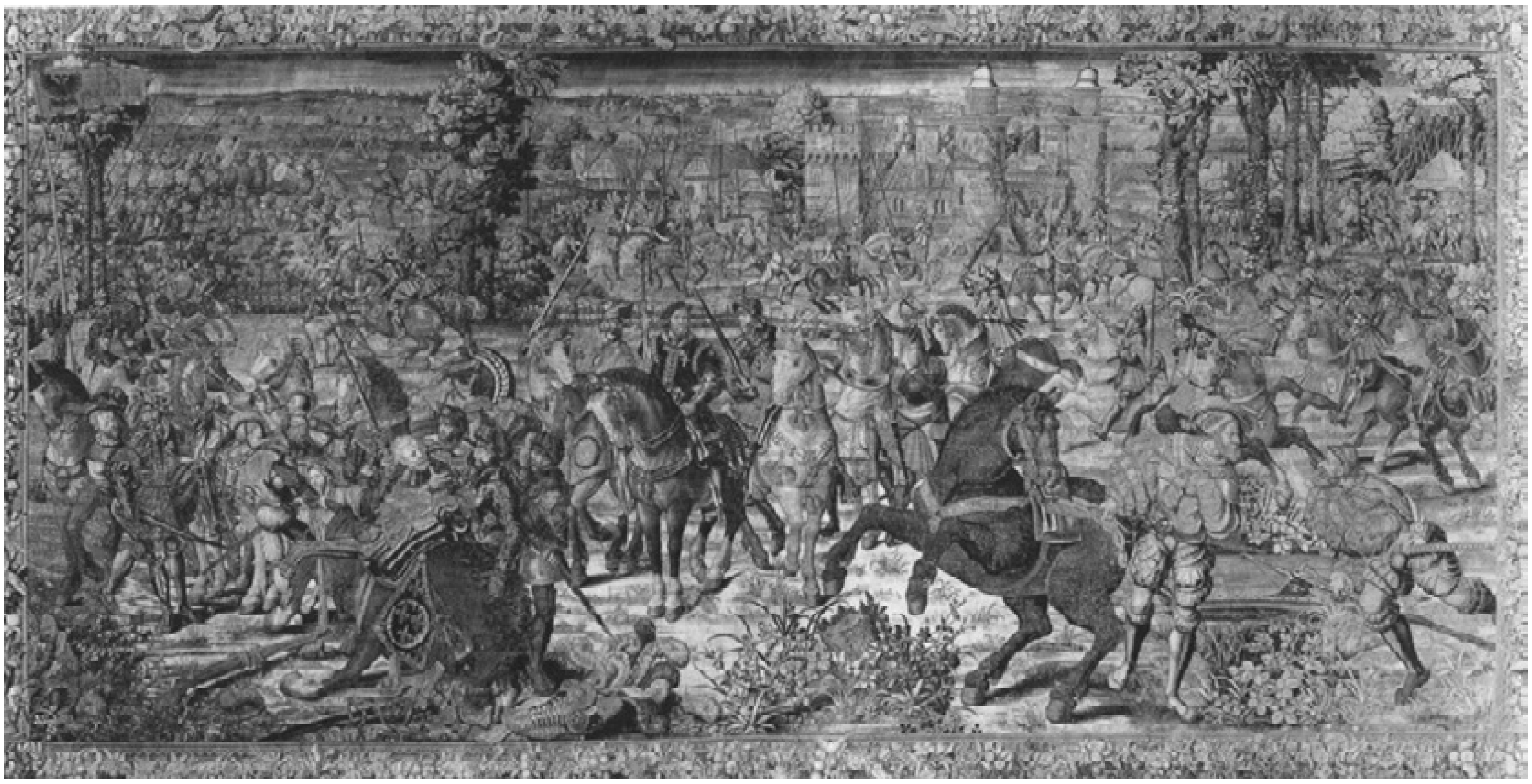


Fig. 147. *Surrender of King Francis I* (detail) from the *Battle of Pavia*. Tapestry designed by Bernaert van Orley, woven in the Dermoyen workshop, Brussels, ca. 1528–31. Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 435 x 880 cm. Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples

armor in the tapestry follows an eyewitness account given in the diary of the historian Marino Sanuto: gold spurs, a brocade of gold cloth with white silk crosses over his armor, and a crucifix with a piece of the True Cross.[5] Comparison of the drawing with the tapestry makes it apparent that many of these details were added at a later stage. In the tapestry the figures are much more clearly individualized, with the addition of further costume details such as the fleurs-de-lis on the caparison of Francis's horse.

Description of the Tapestry

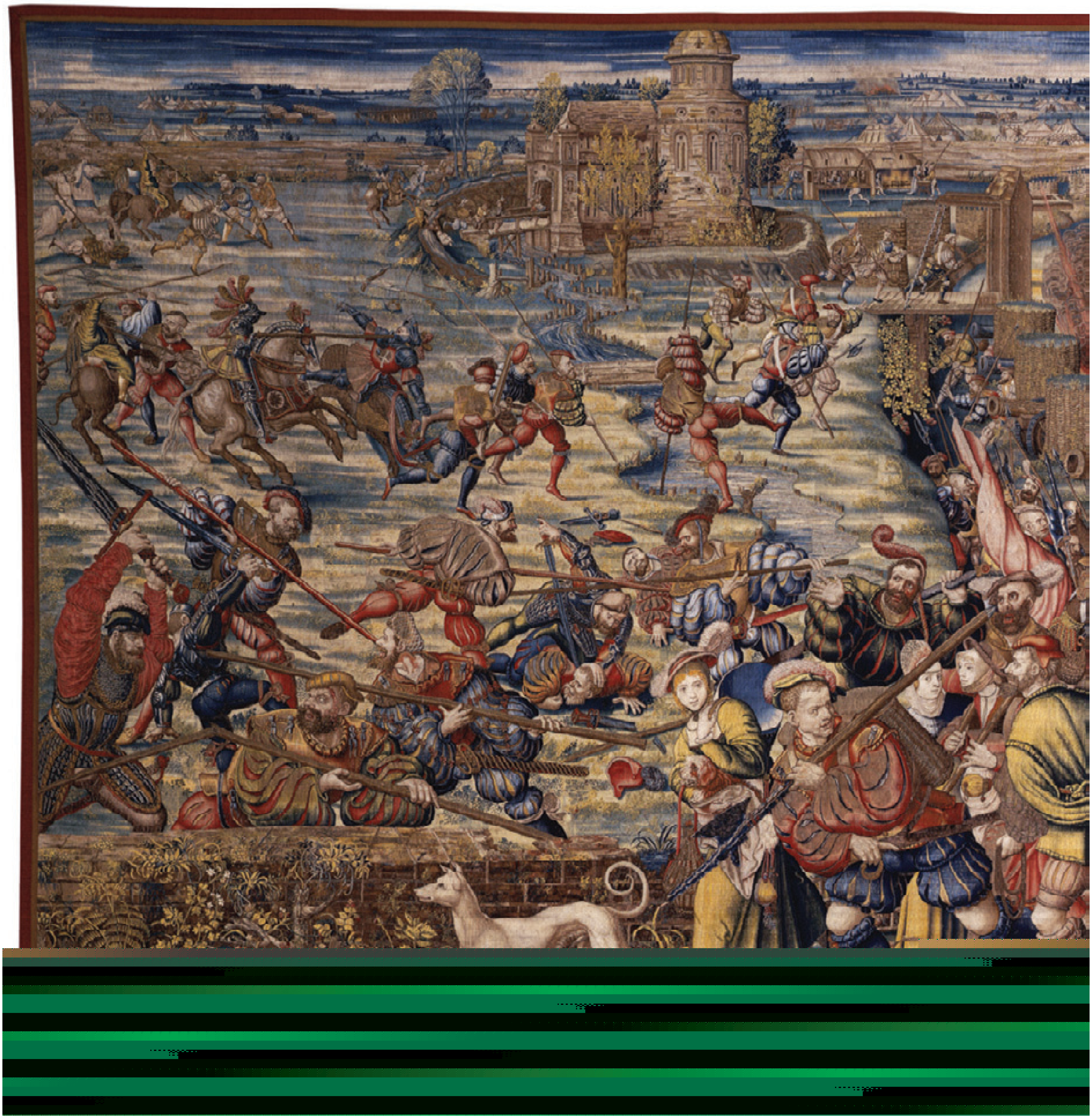
The tapestry of the *Invasion of the French Camp and the Flight of the Women and Civilians* takes its subject from the later stages of the battle. From the left the imperial cavalry and German pikemen attack the rear of the besieging French troops, and a French horseman, identifiable by his white Saint George's cross, is killed. The French are deployed in two trenches, protected by their artillery behind wicker-clad emplacements. The artillery to the left guards their rear, while the other cannons are directed against the walls of Pavia. The imperial cavalry has already invaded the camp and broken through this second line, pursuing the French, who flee onto open ground. The drawbridge is down, allowing the imperial troops, identifiable by their white sashes, to enter the camp. Within the camp the scene is confused as huge explosions among the campaign tents drive mules and soldiers in various directions. One golden tent in the center, decorated with the fleur-de-lis, the emblem of the French king, may represent Francis's campaign tent. However, it does not look like the tent of Francis I, captured by the marquis of Pescara at the battle and given to King Alfonso XII of Spain in 1881 by Francesco d'Avalos of Pescara, which is now in the Real Armería, Madrid. The building to the upper left is the castle of Mirabello; it closely resembles the castle in Jörg Breu the elder's 1525 woodcut the *Battle of Pavia*. The stream that runs through the park is the Vernavola.

In the foreground, treated in a more genre-like manner, is the flight of the French baggage train. Some of the soldiers and women—among them a beautiful young woman carrying a fluffy dog—escape in confusion through the broken wall and move to the left. The muleteer tries to restrain a mule that bolts to the right, and other people flee in this direction. In the center are two richly dressed women on mules, moving in opposite directions, while on a third mule, laden with heavy chests, is perched a parrot. A number of these figures correspond in terms of appearance and action to those in the imperial baggage train in the third tapestry, in what seems to be a deliberate parallel.

Patron and Date

The *Battle of Pavia* set can be traced to March 1531, when it was presented to the emperor by the States General in the Brussels royal palace. At this meeting, Mary of Hungary, Charles's younger sister, was enthroned as regent of the Netherlands on his behalf and in succession to his aunt Margaret of Austria, who had died in 1530. From this date onward, the set is closely linked with Mary of Hungary and perhaps was entrusted to her. According to resolutions of the States of Brabant, the emperor was given "certain tapestries made in Brussels of the battle of Pavia." The States added to this document a touching plea: they hoped the subject of the tapestries would be more acceptable to the emperor than those of their previous gifts, which he had given away.[6]

The *Battle of Pavia* is among the best-documented sets that belonged to Emperor



second panel leading the cavalry attack on the French.[16] The set is listed in the inventory of Francesco Ferdinando d'Avalos made at his death in 1571.[17] The tapestries remained in the d'Avalos collection until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when they were sold to the Grassi family, and in 1774 they came into the possession of Daniel I Delfino, patrician of Venice, who exhibited them in his palace along with an explanatory inscription.[18] Repurchased by the d'Avalos family in the person of Tommaso d'Avalos sometime before 1815, they were in the Palazzo Davalos in Naples.[19] This is the same set that was given to the Naples museum in 1862 by Alfonso d'Avalos of Pescara. Thus the tapestries of the *Battle of Pavia* now in Naples originally belonged to Mary of Hungary. Whether or not this is the same set that was given to the emperor in 1531 cannot be certainly stated, but it appears likely, given the number of times the set was displayed in the Netherlands and its absence from Charles V's inventory of 1544, which was made in Brussels. A curious feature of the set is that it was presented as a gift at least twice during its early history: once by the States General to the emperor and a second time by Don Carlos to the marquis of Pescara. That Don Carlos gave away a tapestry of such personal significance for the Spanish royal family is surprising. Perhaps there was another set in the Spanish royal collection, but there does not appear to be any mention of one in the surviving documents.

Artist

The tapestries were designed by Bernaert van Orley, court painter to Margaret of Austria and later to Mary of Hungary. All seven large-scale preparatory drawings that van Orley made for the series have survived (Louvre, Paris; see cat. no. 35). The drawings are mainly executed in brushpoint and a blue or gray wash, though some show more detailed work in pen and ink. They are principally compositional sketches and are followed quite exactly in the finished tapestries. As is customary with tapestry, the specific details of costume, accessories, and landscape were added at the later full-scale cartoon stage.

Workshop and Place of Manufacture

The tapestries were woven in Brussels, probably by the workshop of Willem and Jan Dermoyen. There is a weaver's mark on the second tapestry, the *Imperial Attack on the French Cavalry Led by the Marquis of Pescara and on the French Artillery by the Lansquenets under Georg von Frundsberg,* which was formerly thought to be that of Jan Ghieteels but has now been convincingly identified as that of the Dermoyen workshop.[20] The same weaver's mark appears on another set linked to the emperor, the *Hunts of Maximilian* (Louvre, Paris; see cat. nos. 39, 40). As the ordinance mandating the inclusion of the weaver's mark on Brussels tapestries dates to May 1528, the set must have been woven about 1528 to 1531. In a document of 1533 Willem Dermoyen agreed to supply the merchants Jan van der Walle and Jakob Rehlinger with sets of the *Battle of Pavia* and the *Hunts of Maximilian,* which were to be offered for sale to the sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.[21] As this document is dated two years after the Pavia tapestries were given to Charles V, it clearly refers to a duplicate *Pavia* set woven by Dermoyen from the original cartoons.

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1. For a list of pictures of the battle, see Taylor 1983, pp. 318–26.
2. Von Frundsberg 1525; Wintzerer 1525.
3. See *Notizia degli arazzi* 1776. Forti Grazzini (2000b) has argued that there were two sets of the *Battle of Pavia,* one with the triton borders, which has been lost, the other with the flower borders, which is now in Naples. However, the documentation shows that the set described in Venice with the triton borders was identical to that owned by Francesco Ferdinando d'Avalos and came from Don Carlos's collection. The borders of the Naples set are clearly composite, and there are no grounds for supposing the existence of a second set on the basis of this evidence.
4. For discussion of the composite nature of the lower borders, see Lion in Paris 1999, p. 100.
5. Sanuto 1893, pp. 39–42.
6. Gachard 1839, pp. 33–34.
7. The 1544 inventory is in Mechelen 2000, p. 168, doc. 5.
8. Alvarez 1964, pp. 90–97; Calvete de Estrella 1873–84, vol. 3, pp. 81–92.
9. Wauters 1878, p. 95; Pinchart 1878–85, p. 121.
10. Archivo General de Simancas, Casa y Sitios Reales, leg. 377; Steppe 1981c, p. 85.
11. Beer 1891, pp. CLVIII–CLXIV, no. 8436.
12. Delmarcel 1999b.
13. "Cargan sele mas siete paños de oro y seda de la toma de Pavia q. la reina Dona Maria de Ungria mando al dho. Principe en su testamento y el dho. Diego de Vargas recivio q. la villa de Vallid"; Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 1108. See Buchanan forthcoming.
14. Gachard 1863, vol. 2, p. 134.
15. Ibid., p. 282.
16. "Al Marques de Pescara los siete panos de oro y seda de la toma de Pavia y siete sabanas"; Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 1108.
17. Bernini 1996, p. 440.
18. *Notizia degli arazzi* 1776. Forti Grazzini 2000b gives full documentation on the ownership of the set by the Grassi and publishes documents that show that the set was offered in 1774 to the Austrian court of Milan, which declined to purchase it.
19. Romanelli 1815, pp. 106–7.
20. See Delmarcel in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 41–43.
21. For the document, see ibid., p. 45, n. 2.

37.

Departure for the Hunt

Bernaert van Orley, ca. 1528–31
Ink and watercolor on paper
39 x 59.2 cm (15⅜ x 23¼ in.)
Inscribed (upper left, in the sky) *La court de bruxelles quant on voir par derriere dedans le parck* (The court of Brussels when one looks from behind in the park)
Prentenkabinet Universiteit Leiden (PK 2047)

Provenance: Before 1741, collection of Pierre Crozat, Paris; 1741, sold to Pierre-Jean Mariette (along with six other hunting scenes by van Orley) in a sale held April 10–May 13, as no. 799, for 20 livres; before 1900, collection of the Prentenkabinet Universiteit Leiden.

References: Wauters 1893, pp. 76–92; Friedländer 1909, p. 162; Veth and Muller 1918, vol. 2, p. 100; Migeon 1919; Alfassa 1920; Beets 1931; Crick-Kuntziger 1943, p. 89; d'Hulst 1960, pp. 171–82; Lugt 1968, pp. 52–57; Farmer 1981, pp. 287–93; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 80–87; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 164–70; Delmarcel 1984; Balis in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 54–71 (with bibliog.); Farmer 1994, pp. 37–39.

38.

Departure for the Hunt

Workshop of Bernaert van Orley, ca. 1528–31
Brown ink and blue wash on paper
40 x 57 cm (15¾ x 22½ in.)
Inscribed (top left) xxv
Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (20.160)

Provenance: Everard Jabach collection, no. 43, as by Pieter Vantelet; 1671, acquired for the French royal collection.

References: Wauters 1893, pp. 77, 84–86; Michel 1906, p. 44; Friedländer 1909, p. 162; Veth and Muller 1918, vol. 2, p. 100; Migeon 1919; Alfassa 1920, pp. 132, 135; Beets 1931, pp. 156–59; d'Hulst 1960, p. 171; Lugt 1968, pp. 53–54; Balis in Balis et al. 1993, esp. pp. 54–71.

39.

Departure for the Hunt (Month of March)

From a twelve-piece set of the *Hunts of Maximilian*
Design by Bernaert van Orley, ca. 1528–31
Woven in the Dermoyen workshop, Brussels, 1531–33
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
440 x 750 cm (14 ft. 5¼ in. x 24 ft. 7¼ in.)
7–8 warps per cm
City mark of Brussels (bottom of left selvage); manufacturer's monogram of the Dermoyen workshop (bottom of right selvage)
Département des Objets d'Art, Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 7314)

40.

The Killing of the Wild Boar (Month of December)

From a twelve-piece set of the *Hunts of Maximilian*
Designed by Bernaert van Orley, ca. 1528–31
Woven in the Dermoyen workshop, Brussels, 1531–33
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
440 x 605 cm (14 ft. 5¼ in. x 19 ft. 10¼ in.)
7–8 warps per cm
No city mark; manufacturer's mark of the Dermoyen workshop (lower right selvage)
Département des Objets d'Art, Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 7323)

Provenance of the tapestries: 1589, listed in the inventory of Henri of Lorraine, duke of Guise; 1588, acquired by inheritance by Charles of Lorraine; 1655, acquired by Cardinal Mazarin and entrusted to the care of Colbert; 1665, purchased by Louis XIV and recorded in an inventory of the Mobilier de la Couronne at the Hôtel de Petit Bourbon, Paris; before 1678, exhibited at Versailles, then moved to furniture storage at the Place de la Concorde; 1797, moved to the Musée Centrale des Arts, then exhibited in August in the Grand Salon of the Louvre; 1914, removed to Toulouse for safekeeping; 1918, returned to the Louvre; 1939, removed to Chambord, again for safekeeping, then returned to the Louvre.

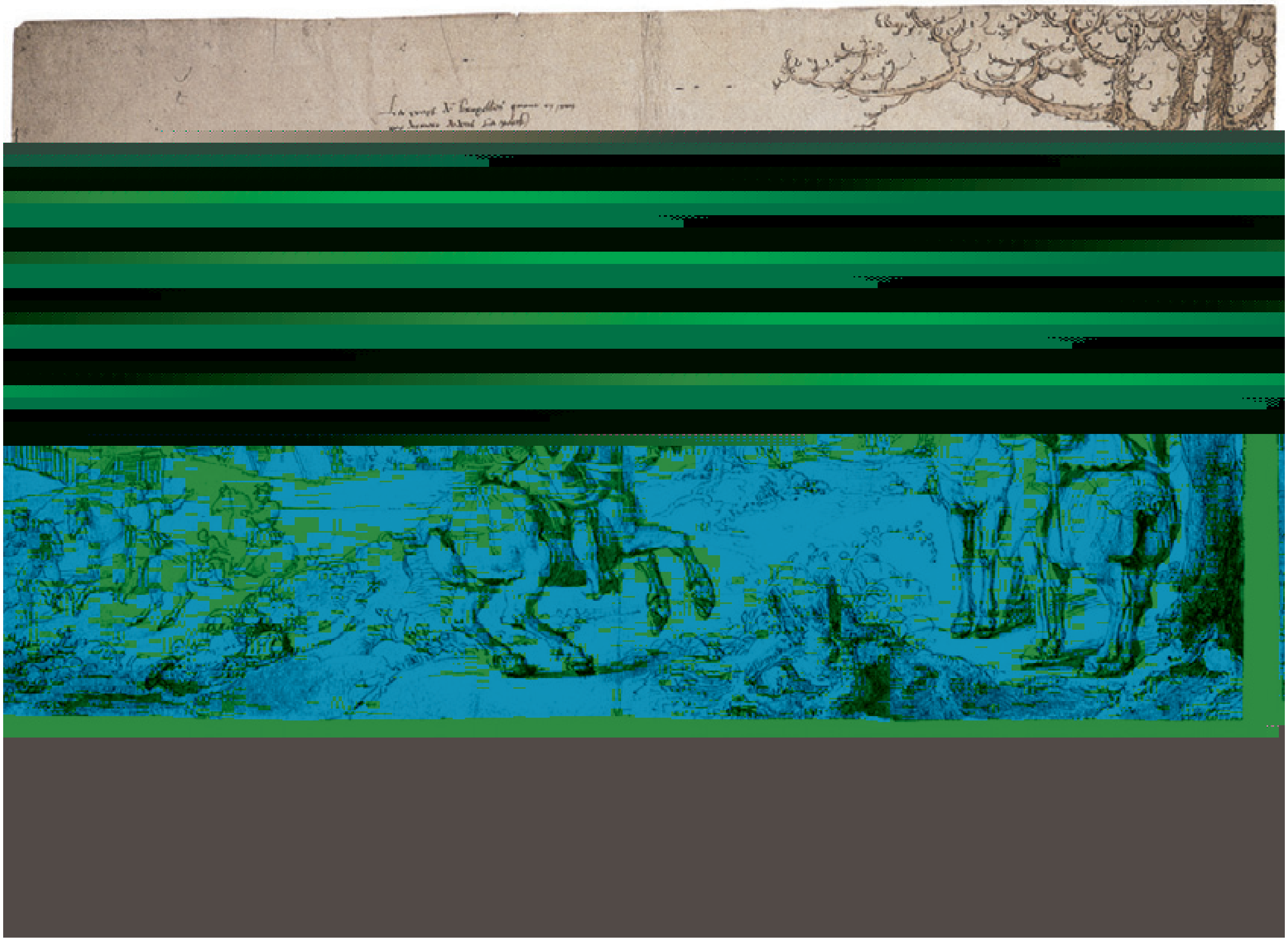
References: Van Mander 1604, fol. 211; Félibien 1666 (*Entretien* IV); Sauval 1724, vol. 3, p. 10; Alfassa 1920; Beets 1931; J. Duverger and E. Duverger 1981; Ainsworth 1982; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982; Delmarcel 1984; Necipoğlu 1989; Delmarcel 1991; Balis et al. 1993; Forti Grazzini 2000b.

The so-called *Hunts of Maximilian* comprises a set of twelve huge tapestries devoted to hunting scenes, namely the falcon hunt and the hunts of deer and wild boar. The settings are located in the Soignes forest, the imperial hunting ground near Brussels. Several of the portraits of hunters, as well as their emblems, refer to members of the imperial entourage around Charles V. Moreover, each tapestry is placed under a sign of the zodiac, shown in the upper border. The set is therefore a series of the Twelve Months of the Year, as well as of the hunt.

Together with the *Honors* (see cat. no. 17), this set is one of the most important and, at the same time, one of the most mysterious in the history of Netherlandish Renaissance tapestry. The circumstances in which the *Hunts* series was conceived remain uncertain, as no documentation has yet come to light. Current research suggests that the series was ordered between 1528 and 1533 by the Habsburg court in Brussels—perhaps by Mary of Hungary, sister of the emperor Charles V and regent of the Netherlands from 1531. Two sets of preparatory drawings are preserved. They are attributed to Bernaert van Orley, the leading tapestry designer of his generation, and to his workshop. The preparatory sketches were enlarged into lifesize cartoons (now lost) and woven into tapestries, which bear the city mark of Brussels as well as a monogram of the manufacturer. The set entered the collection of Louis XIV in 1665, where it joined several other very prestigious Netherlandish tapestries. All of these sets containing gold and silver were burned in June 1797 at the order of the Directory to recover the precious metal, but for unknown reasons, the *Hunts of Maximilian* escaped this fate.

Description and Iconography

Both sets of drawings are thought to be preparatory sketches for the tapestries: for the *Month of March,* the Leiden sheet (cat. no. 37) is now considered to be a working sketch from the hand of van Orley himself, while that in Paris (cat. no. 38) is thought to be a fair copy made in the van Orley workshop and later reworked. The drawings prefigure the composition of the tapestry



37

(cat. no. 39) in most of the details, except that the right part of the weaving extends farther beyond the tree and includes another man on horseback and a valet with a hunting dog. The faces of the riders in the foreground are more worked out and individualized in the tapestry, which suggests that they are portraits. Some authors consider the central, isolated cavalier on his rearing horse, with his beautiful red garment, to be Charles V himself, but comparison with known profiles of Charles leaves this open to question. It is possible that the reweaving of this figure, undertaken as part of a restoration campaign at the Gobelins workshops, completed in 1914, may also have obscured this identification. Whatever the case, this horseman, the one coming up from the left, and the two conferring at the right are undoubtedly members of the imperial court, richly clad and awaiting the start of the hunt.

The main focus of both the drawings and the tapestry is the splendid view of Brussels in the background. At the far right, the twin towers of the church of Saint Gudule are visible on a hill, while the city itself is shown in the center, behind its medieval walls. Specific details include the tower of the church of Saint Nicholas and, to its left, the much taller spire of the town hall. While these monuments still exist today, the impressive Coudenberg Palace of the dukes of Brabant, represented at the far left, was destroyed in a fire in 1731. The buildings in the foreground were erected in 1430–36, and the great central hall behind, the "grande salle," was built in 1451–61 during the reign of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. Part of the chapel appears at the right: the building itself was begun in 1522, and its temporary straw roof was laid in 1528. This imposing building was enlarged between 1533 and 1537, with new apartments and a gallery above, in emulation of that at Fontainebleau (erected in 1528). These later elements were added in ink in the Louvre drawing, but they are not represented in the Leiden drawing or in the tapestry. In conclusion, the Leiden sketch and the weaving of the tapestry can be firmly dated between 1528 (temporary roof of the chapel) and 1533, before the additions to the chapel were made under Mary of Hungary.

A medallion at the upper border of the tapestry *Departure for the Hunt* (*Month of March*)

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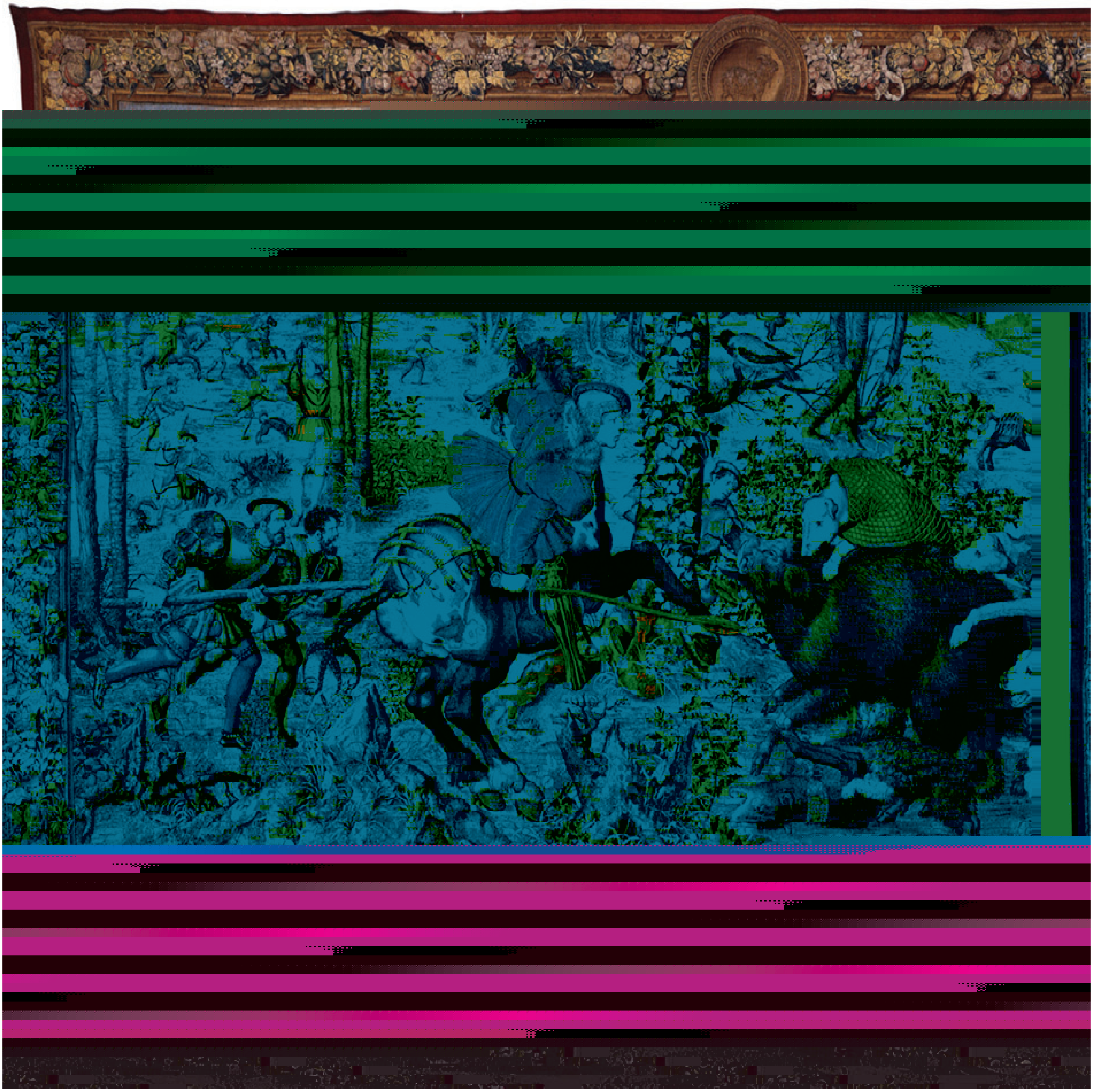
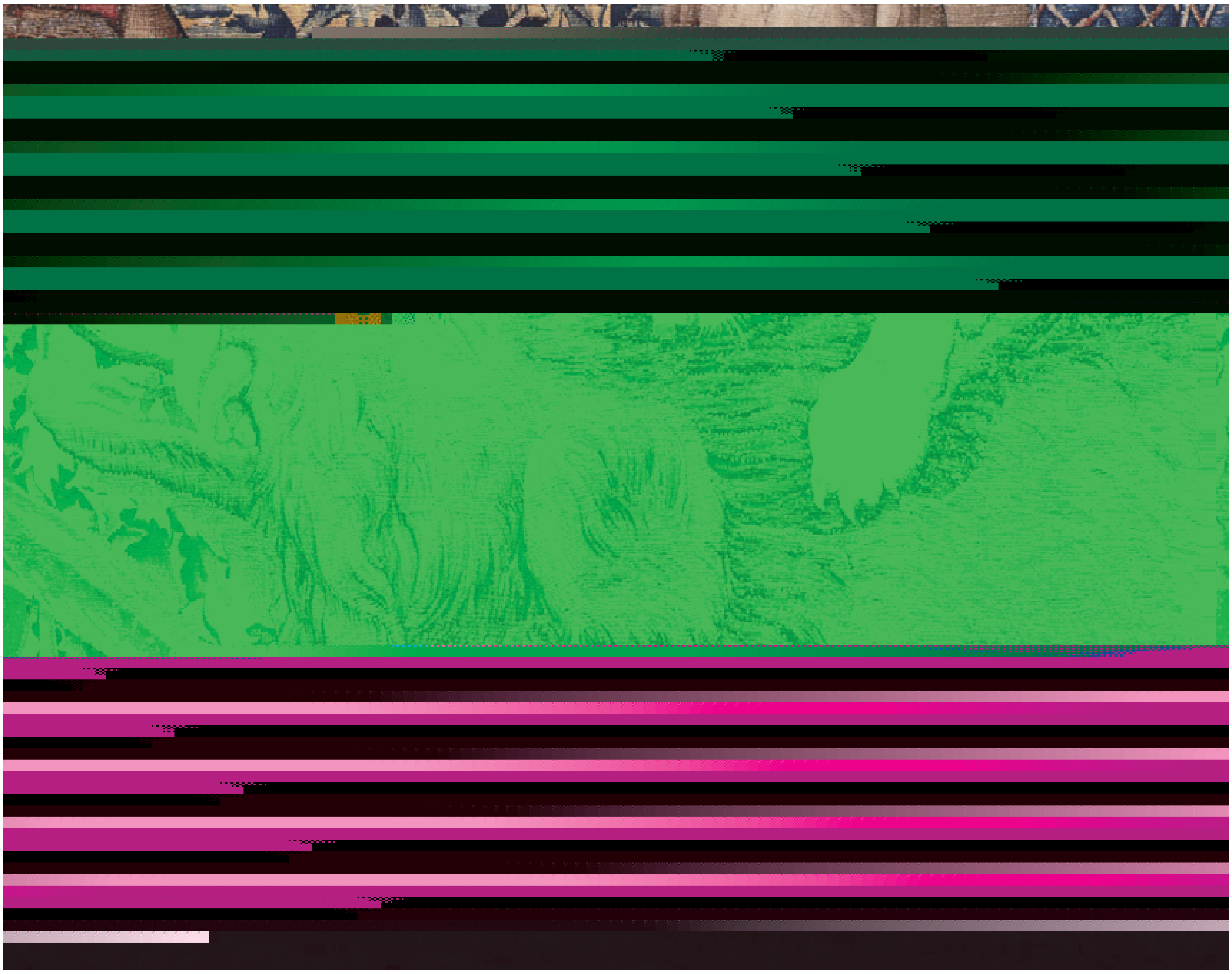
contains the zodiacal sign Aries, or the Ram, whose period of lunar influence begins in mid-March. This panel is therefore assumed to be the first of the twelve tapestries, because until 1575, the new year began in March, according to the Julian calendar. The tapestry is surrounded, as are the eleven others, by sumptuous borders filled with flowers, fruits, birds, and precious objects of goldsmith's work. The lower border includes a battle of sea-gods rendered in brown, in imitation of bronze relief sculpture. The formal model for the lower frieze must have been provided by Italian engravings, as van Orley himself never went to Italy.[1] At first sight, this theme is not connected to the general iconography of the *Hunts*, but the likely explanation is provided by *February* (fig. 141), the last scene in the set, where the entire sequence is placed under the protection of Diana. (Diana appears as a statue presiding over an allegorical scene in which huntsmen and their dogs pay homage to King Modus and Queen Ratio, who embody the "practice" and "theory" of hunting.) Besides her role as goddess of the hunt, Diana was also identified with Luna, the Moon, who reigns over the waters, as the phases of the moon determine the ocean's tides.

The *Killing of the Wild Boar* (*Month of December*) (cat. no. 40) takes place under the sign of Capricorn, or the Goat, and therefore represents December. It depicts a hunter on horseback about to spear an enormous wild boar. The animal is being attacked by three great hunting dogs (one in armor) and two small ones, while another lies wounded or dead on the ground. Behind this foreground scene, on the left, two other hunters are running to assist the horseman with wooden boar-spears in hand; a third valet is visible behind the tree in the center of the composition. In the background, several valets and hunters pursue another wild boar, while other participants blow their hunting horns. The chapel and houses in the distance, on the right, have been identified as belonging to the village of Terhulpen (La Hulpe), north of Brussels, which is still located on the border of what remains of the Soignes forest. As it is December, the tall trees have lost their leaves, and on the branches of the central tree, its trunk covered with ivy, several birds (including





Detail of cat. no. 40

1. Balis in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 104–5.
2. "Hy maeckte onder ander voor den Keyser verscheyden Jachten met de Bosschen en plaetsen ontrent Brussel daer dese Jachten van den Keyser gheschieden: in welcke den Keyser en meer Princen en Princessen nae t'leven quamen t'welck seer costlijkh in tapijt wiert ghewrocht"; van Mander 1604, fol. 211.
3. Ainsworth 1982, pp. 80–87.
4. Félibien 1685–88, vol. 1, p. 553; Sauval 1724, vol. 3, p. 10; Balis in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 57, 73. The hypothesis of Schneebalg-Perelman 1982 attributing the drawings to a certain Frans Borreman in 1540–52, the cartoons to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, and a weaving to 1548–52 was rejected by Delmarcel 1984 and has not found any further support.
5. Ainsworth 1982, pp. 80–87; Balis in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 60–71; M. M. Grasselli in Washington 2000, pp. 148–49.
6. See Alfassa 1920 and De Jonge in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 80–101.
7. Balis in Balis et al. 1993, p. 122.
8. Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 292–93.
9. J. Duverger and E. Duverger 1981 (with bibliog.).
10. Delmarcel in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 41–43.
11. See Necipoğlu 1989 and Delmarcel 1991.
12. See Buchanan 1999.

Italian Designs in Brussels, 1530-35

The restricted circumstances in which Pope Clement VII found himself in the years following the Sack of Rome limited his tapestry patronage to supporting the completion of projects that had been initiated before 1527. Nevertheless, the splendid sets with which he and his predecessor had equipped the Vatican during the 1510s and early 1520s evidently provided a remarkable example to other Italian patrons and to visitors to the papal court. And while the Sack of Rome accelerated the dispersal of Raphael's atelier that had begun with the departure of Tommaso Vincidor for Brussels in June 1520 and Giulio Romano for Mantua in 1524, it was through this very dispersal that Raphael's collaborators and pupils, now well schooled in the planning and execution of tapestry designs, were able to extend their experience and the memories of the Vatican tapestries, as they established themselves under new patrons. In the following years Giulio, Giovanni Francesco Penni, and Perino del Vaga were to conceive a number of remarkable new designs that would compound the initial influence of the earlier Raphael-school cartoons and *modelli* of the 1510s and early 1520s. Indeed, little time must have elapsed between the completion of the *Scuola nuova* set in Brussels and the arrival of the first of these new Italian projects.

GIULIO ROMANO

Giulio Romano was one of the strongest artistic personalities to emerge from Raphael's workshop after the master's death. Celebrated by Vasari for the extraordinary dexterity and swiftness of his draftsmanship (*facilità*), the protean creativity of his imagination (*invenzione*), and his ability to infuse modern subjects with the resonance and grandeur of classical art, Giulio eminently displayed all these factors in the large numbers of drawings and other works of art that can be attributed to him. Apart from the commissions he continued to work on and completed for Clement VII, such as the Sala di Costantino and the Villa Madama—which he worked on with Penni and Giovanni da Udine, respectively—he received orders for a variety of projects from other patrons, among them the altarpiece commissioned by Jakob Fugger II (Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome) and the design for an urban palazzo for the Roman patrician Cristoforo Stati (Palazzo Stati Maccarani). It was Giulio's abilities as an architect that appear to have been the main attraction for another patron, Federico II Gonzaga, fifth marquis and first duke of Mantua, who sought to persuade him to resettle in Mantua from 1522, a campaign that resulted in the artist's move there in autumn 1524. Giulio appears to have been involved in the design of extensions for the Marmirolo palace (destroyed) before that date, and the success of his relocation is reflected in a variety of ways: the steady stream of projects on which he was engaged in the following years, the intimate relationship that existed between artist and patron, and the privileges and positions with which he was rewarded. In 1526, he was made *capomaestro* for all the Gonzaga buildings in the Mantuan state and Superior of the Streets in Mantua, and in 1528 he was also granted the revenues of the state sawmill. Visiting Mantua in 1527, Cellini recorded that Giulio was "living like a lord."[1] Giulio's work for Federico encompassed a broad range of tasks, from producing designs for silver plate and decorative objects (one being a marble tomb for the duke's favorite dog) to executing paintings and frescoes and major architectural projects, of which the most important from 1527 was the design and decoration of his patron's suburban villa, the Palazzo Te, and its stables. This last project extended over the next ten years, growing in size and scale in proportion to Federico's increasing stature on the contemporary political scene. Although Giulio was well paid, the duke was clearly a hard taskmaster, and the artist's letters reveal the conditions in which he worked, a "harried impresario"—to use Hartt's description—laboring through illness and fevers to meet deadlines and keep his patron happy. Following Raphael's formula, Giulio accomplished his myriad projects by efficiently using a large workshop of assistants who executed paintings and frescoes from his *modelli*.[2]

Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio

Giulio's experience with the Raphael-school tapestry designs and the esteem in which the tapestry medium was held by Federico Gonzaga and his brothers, Ercole and Ferrante, might lead us to suspect that the execution of tapestry designs was an important part of Giulio's duties in Mantua; however, there is little evidence to support the notion that this was so, at least during the 1520s and

Fig. 148. Detail of cat. no. 44: *Apollo with the Signs of the Zodiac* from *Apollo and the Four Seasons*

early 1530s. Vasari notes that Giulio designed many tapestries for the duke of Ferrara, and we know that he provided drawings for sets of the *Gigantomachia* and *Hercules* to Ercole d'Este in the late 1530s and early 1540s, of which three workshop copies survive (see below, pp. 484–86).[3] But the earliest certain evidence of Giulio providing designs for Federico dates from 1539, when Federico established a tapestry manufactory in Mantua, whose first product was a set of *Puttini* tapestries woven from designs by the artist (see cat. nos. 57–59). Yet testimony that Giulio was involved in tapestry design for other clients from at least the late 1520s, and possibly earlier, is offered by one of the most influential series of the early 1530s, the twenty-two piece set of the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio,* of which the first edition was made between 1532 and 1535, not for Federico, or his patron, Charles V, but for Francis I, king of France.

The circumstances surrounding the conception of this project remain uncertain. The earliest reference to the set appears in the French royal accounts under July 9, 1532, when "Francoys de Francoys" from Lucca was paid 400 *livres tournois* for having helped the king to establish a good contract for a tapestry (or a set of tapestries) of silk and gold which would represent the story of Scipio the African (the exact nature of Francoys's intervention is unclear as the wording of the account is ambiguous).[4] Two days later, on July 11, a contract was issued from the king to Melchior Baldi, an agent representing the Brussels-based Venetian tapestry merchant Marc Crétif, whereby the latter was to complete provision of a gold and silk set of "l'histoire de Scipion l'Africain," of which the king had already been shown three finished pieces, in a period of eighteen months. The full set was to have a surface area of 400 square French ells (approx. 566 sq. m) and was to cost 50 *écus d'or soleil* per ell.[5] The contract specified that the tapestries were to be delivered in batches of between two and four pieces, the king paying half the value of each batch on delivery and the

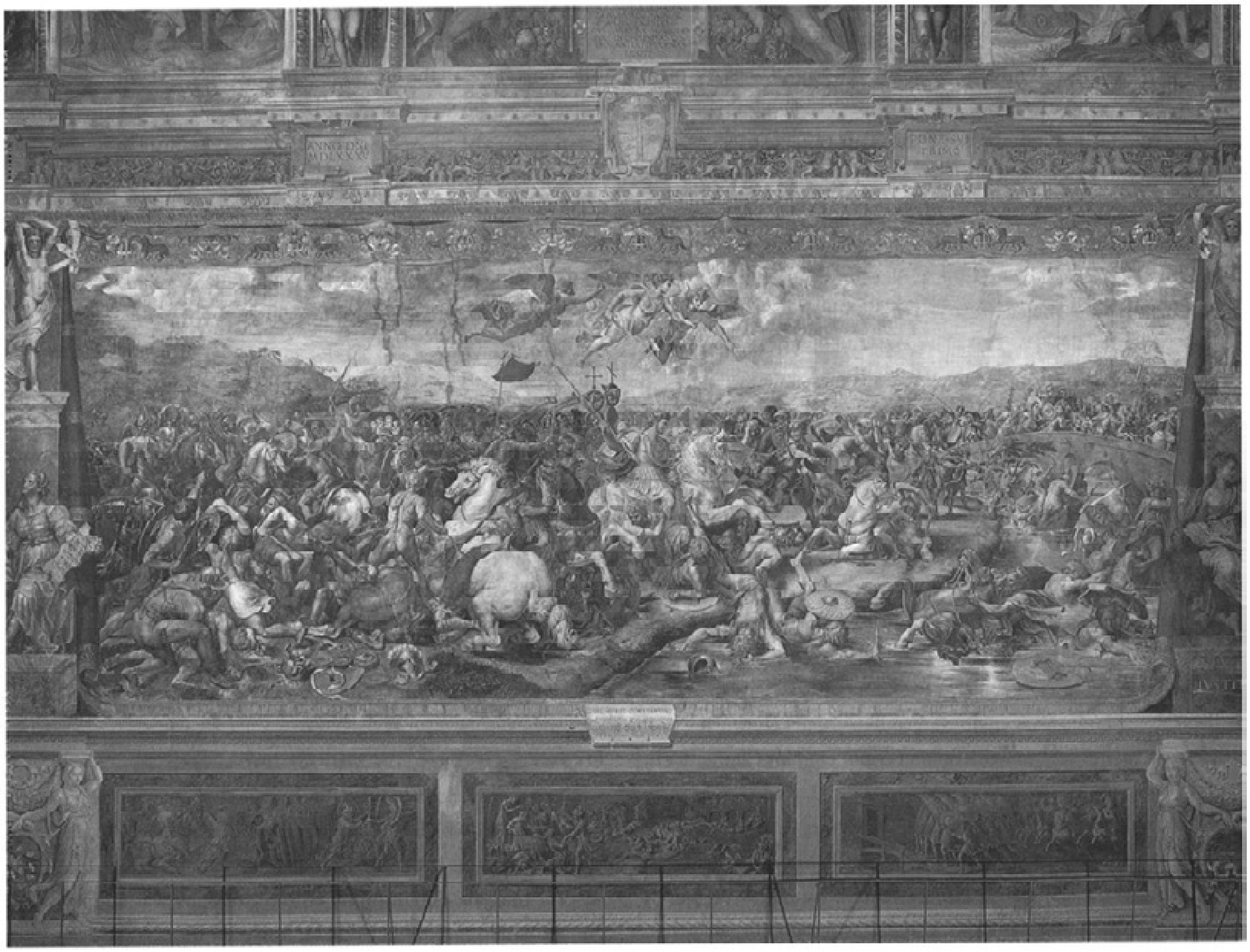
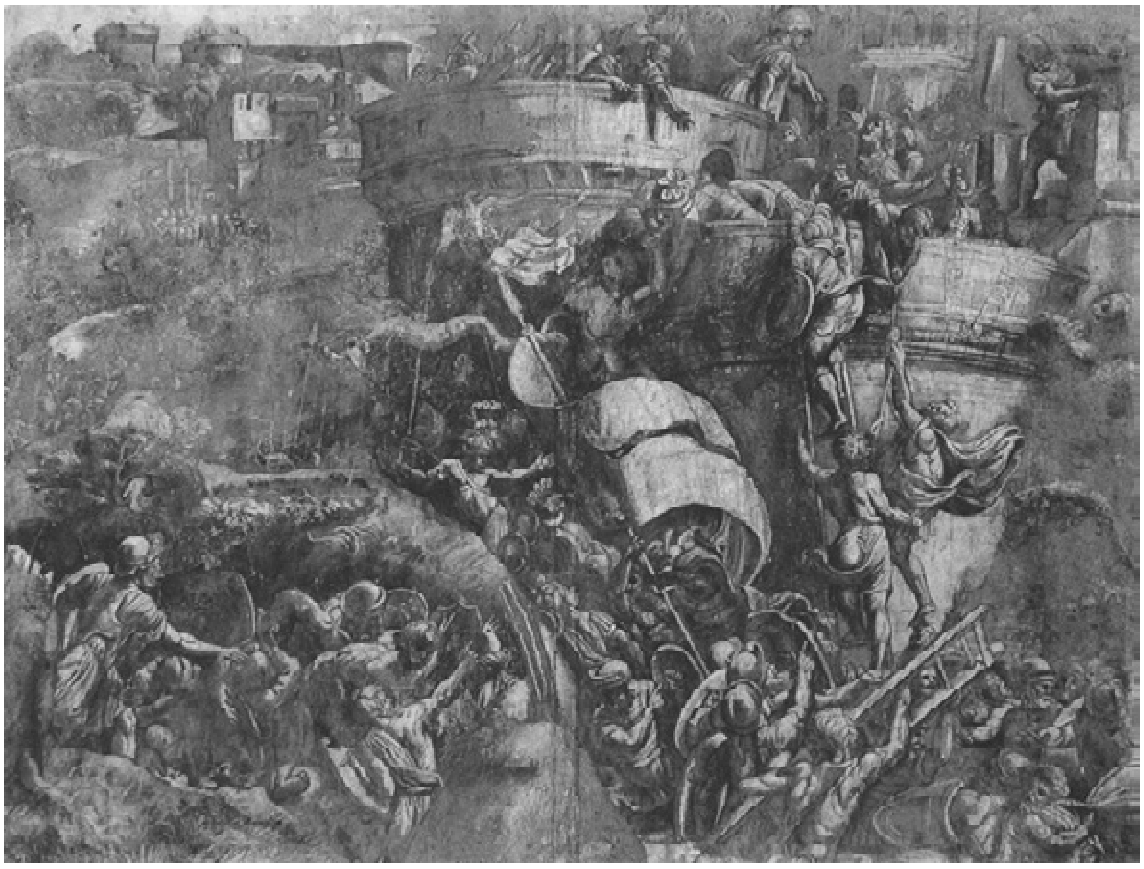


Fig. 149. *Victory of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge.* Frescoes in the Sala di Costantino, the Vatican, by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni, 1521–23

Fig. 150. *The Capture of Carthage*. Preparatory drawing for the tapestry from the *Deeds of Scipio* by Giulio Romano, ca. 1522–23 (?). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, with white highlights on paper. Musée du Louvre, Paris



balance six months later. Accordingly, a preliminary payment of 2,881 *écus d'or soleil* was made for four tapestries that had already been made and which were delivered for the king's use on August 1.[6] These four pieces were displayed at the banquet Francis hosted for Henry VIII at Boulogne that October, when a contemporary witness noted that they depicted the "victoires" (that is, deeds) of Scipio.

A subsequent account, undated but among records of payments for late 1532 and early 1533, reveals that the Italian artist Francesco Primaticcio, who had arrived at Fontainebleau shortly after March 23, 1532,[7] was provided with 200 *écus d'or soleil* to travel from France to Flanders, "where he had to carry a *modello* of the story of Scipio the African, intended for a tapestry that the king was having made in Brussels, and to bring back the cartoon of the said story."[8] Later accounts demonstrate that the completed tapestries were delivered in four separate groups, on March 3, 1533, August 1, 1533, July 9, 1534, and April 12, 1535, and that the completed set comprised twenty-two pieces with a height of 4 French ells (4.76 m) and combined length of 120 ells (143 m), giving a total surface area of some 470 square ells (680 sq. m).[9] The total cost was 23,448 *écus d'or soleil*, approximately 50,000 *livres*, making it the most expensive work of art in the king's entire collection.[10] The speed with which the tapestries were made suggests that Crétif must have divided the cartoons among a number of different workshops. It has been suggested that the Dermoyen workshop may have played a major part in the manufacturing of the set, as this establishment produced many of the other tapestries Crétif sold to Francis during the 1530s.[11] Another workshop that perhaps was involved was that of Balthazar van Vlierden, who sold a twelve-piece set of *Scipio* to the merchant Erasmus Schets (Schetz) in 1546.[12]

Subject

Francis's set was destroyed by the Directory government in 1797, but its subjects and appearance can be reconstructed on the basis of inventory descriptions (particularly a detailed seventeenth-century account, now lost but transcribed by Reiset in 1866), preparatory sketches and *modelli*, and later weavings made from cartoons that, if not the originals, were evidently good copies (see fig. 154).[13] An original study of this material was published by d'Astier in 1907, and a monographic exhibition of it was mounted by Jestaz and Bacou in Paris in 1978.[14] (The titles used in that exhibition are adopted in this discussion.) As these studies have demonstrated, Francis's set comprised two discrete groups of designs, differing in precise subject and style but both dealing with Scipio Africanus (236–183 B.C.), a paragon of military and civil virtue and leadership.[15] The first group, the *Deeds*, made up of twelve pieces (not thirteen as has recently been claimed),[16] depicted Scipio's battles against Carthage in the African campaign (218–201 B.C.), as described by Livy in his discussion of the Second

Punic War (33, 34) and in part by the Greek historian Polybius, in a text that was published in many of the numerous late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century editions of Livy.[17] The second group, the *Triumphs,* made up of ten pieces, showed the triumphal entry of Scipio into Rome as related in Appian's *Roman History.*[18] All the tapestries from both groups were surrounded by a blue border decorated with acanthus leaves.

Design

No contemporary documents refer to the designer of the *Scipio* tapestries; in fact, the earliest attribution, in records of the French royal collection, dates from the seventeenth century, when the officers responsible for Louis XIV's tapestries assigned the design to Giulio. At the same period Félibien gave related drawings in the Jabach collection to him as well.[19] But investigation of the extant sketches and *modelli* indicates that a slightly more complicated attribution may be in order. Five *modelli* for the *Deeds* survive in the Louvre, and critics have generally agreed on assigning these to the hand of Penni, leading Hartt and more recently Delmarcel to attribute the design of the entire group to that artist.[20] However, doubt is cast on this supposition by the evidence of five preliminary studies for the *Deeds.* Three of these, formerly in the Gatteaux collection, were destroyed in 1871, but they are known from photographs.[21] In his fundamental study of the series d'Astier accepted the traditional attribution of these lost drawings to Giulio. Moreover, in the catalogue of the monographic exhibition devoted to the series, Bacou affirmed this judgment, arguing that the lost studies appear to have been superior to the *modelli* of the same scenes given to Penni and that, as they were pricked for transfer, Giulio must have been responsible for the conception of all or most of the *Deeds.* This theory, which has been accepted by most subsequent critics,[22] is supported by the fact that a preparatory sheet with studies for the elephant heads in the *Battle of Zama* (fig. 152) also seems to be from Giulio's hand.[23] Two other preparatory sketches survive in the Louvre. Jaffé's attribution to Giulio of one, for the *Capture of Carthage* (fig. 150), has generally been accepted by later scholars.[24] The fifth preliminary sketch, for the *Conference of Scipio and Hannibal* (fig. 151), in which the composition is still in an early state of development, is clearly from Penni's hand (as is the more finished *modello*); but it is possible that Penni was not the author of even this concept, for Vasari attributes the design of the scene—as he knew it from an engraving—to Giulio.[25] Further support for ascribing the conception of the scheme to Giulio is provided by two engravings of the *Deeds,* of which one, the *Capture of Carthage,* was attributed to Giulio and signed and dated by Georg Pencz in 1539.[26] Evidently reproducing a drawing that was available to Pencz during his visit to Italy in 1539, it demonstrates that that design was firmly considered to be by Giulio at the time. A second engraving, of the *Clemency of Scipio,* was made by Antonio Fantuzzi in 1542, a time when his work seems to have been devoted exclusively to reproducing designs by Giulio.[27] To summarize, these factors all suggest that Giulio conceived the series, at least in part, but that the *modelli* were elaborated by Penni.

Date of Conception and Issues of Collaboration

Based on the evidence of a collaboration between Giulio and Penni, Jestaz and Bacou suggested that the series must have been conceived in Mantua during the brief period when the two artists, who had previously worked together in Rome, were reunited in 1528, before Penni's departure for and death in Naples,[28] but this conjecture is cast in some doubt by the sheet of studies for the elephant heads in the *Battle of Zama.* When this piece was published in 1989, Ferino Pagden argued that its drawing style is closely linked to that employed by Giulio during the early 1520s, in the period immediately following Raphael's death, which occurred in 1520. Furthermore, she noted the remarkable similarity of the compositions and figure style of the *Deeds of Scipio* and those of the frescoes Giulio and Penni created between 1521 and 1523 in the Sala di Costantino (fig. 149). She therefore dated the conception of the tapestry set to 1521–23, a dating that has been tentatively accepted by Lefébure and Forti Grazzini.[29] The use of red chalk—habitual for Giulio at this time—for the sketch of the elephant heads and the general approach to the conception of the *Deeds* certainly supports this theory. (It should also be mentioned here that if the conception is placed so early, the *modelli* by Penni may also have been made in the early 1520s.) This early dating would explain another curious issue, which has previously passed unnoticed: the apparent citation of the *Capture of Carthage* in a *modello* on the theme of Romulus and Remus that is signed by Bernaert van Orley and dated 1524 (fig. 139). If we accept Ferino Pagden's hypothesis, we can suppose that a copy of this design was available to van Orley in Brussels by this date, perhaps carried there by Vincidor from an undocumented return visit to Italy during the early 1520s.

Further support for an early dating is provided by the classical subject matter of the scheme and the interests of the Raphael school in such sources during the late 1510s and early 1520s. Pliny the Elder provides descriptions of wall paintings in ancient Rome depicting the defeat of the Carthaginians and other battles and victories.[30] Raphael and the artists in his workshop were fascinated by such classical precedents and applied them to their tapestry projects—as demonstrated by the *Grotesques of Leo X* and the

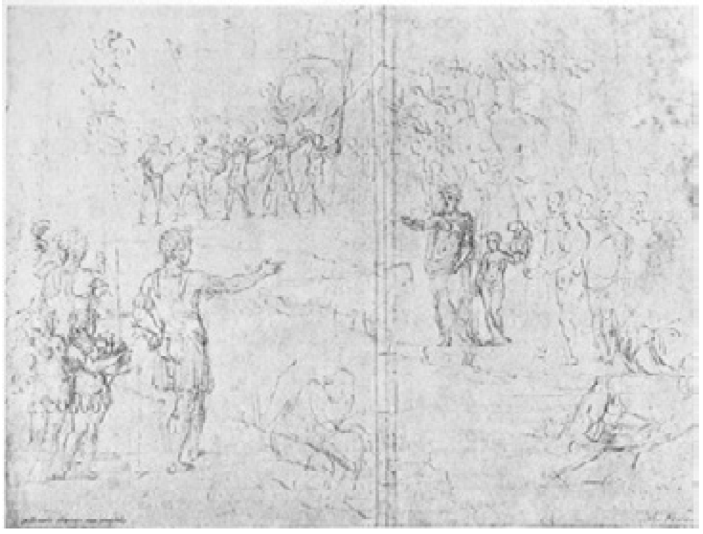


Fig. 151. *Conference of Scipio and Hannibal.* Preparatory drawing for the tapestry from the *Deeds of Scipio* by Giovanni Francesco Penni, ca. 1522–23 (?). Pen and brown ink, 38.9 x 51.7 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

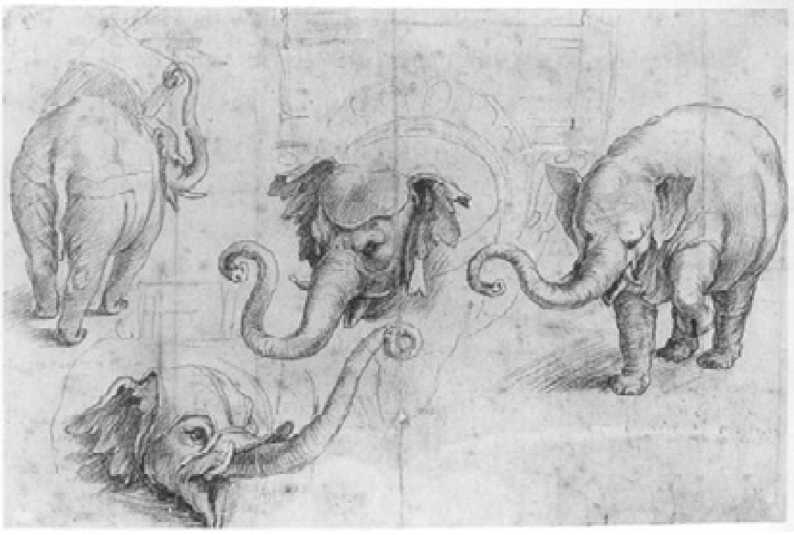


Fig. 152. *Four Elephant Heads.* Study for the *Battle of Zama* from the *Deeds of Scipio* by Giulio Romano, ca. 1522–23 (?). Red chalk on paper, 20.7 x 30.1 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

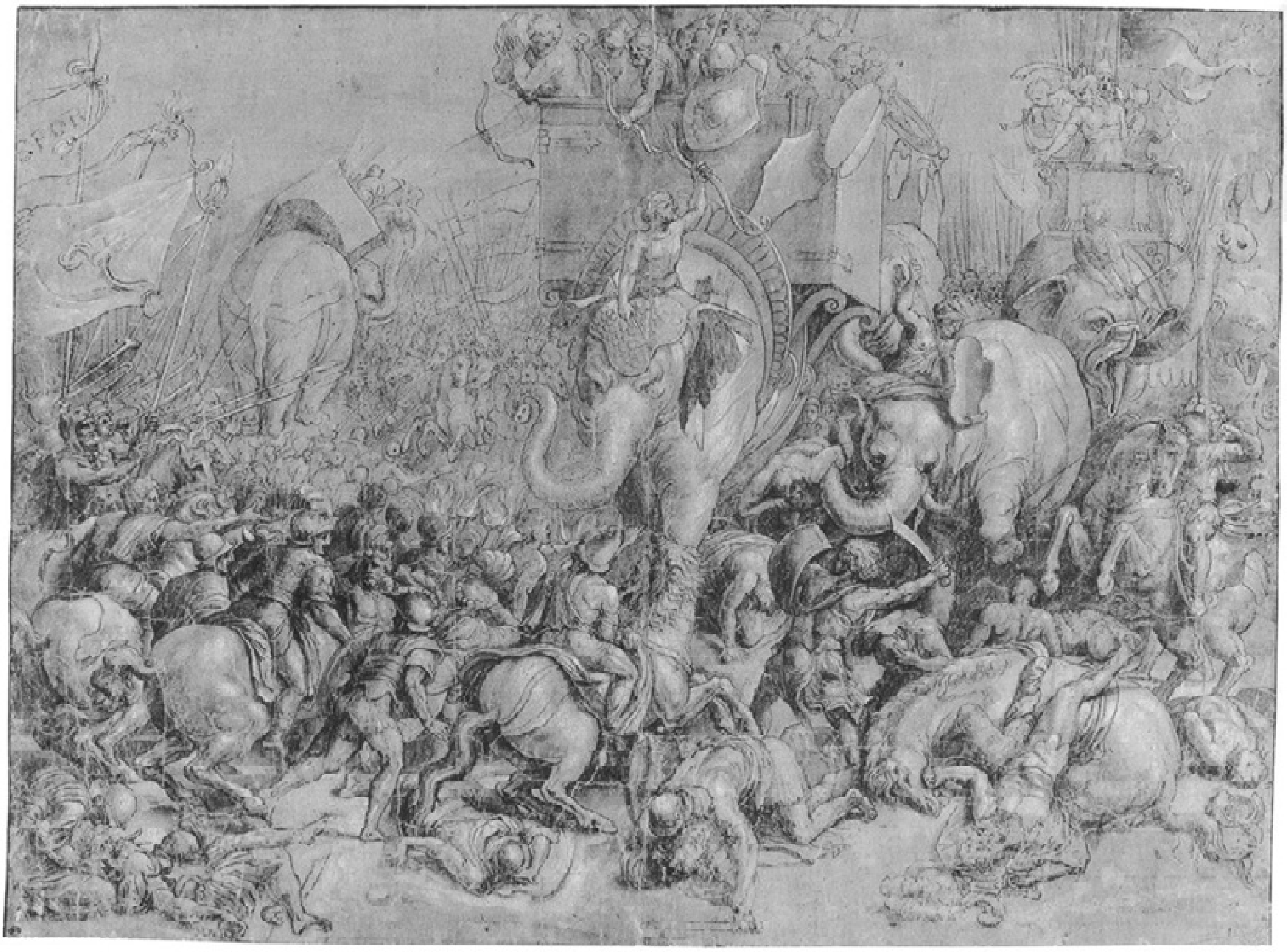


Fig. 153. *The Battle of Zama.* Workshop copy (?) of the *modello* for the tapestry from the *Deeds of Scipio* by Giovanni Francesco Penni after Giulio Romano, 1523–28 (?). Pen and brown ink, gray wash, and white heightening on paper, 41.9 x 56.7 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris

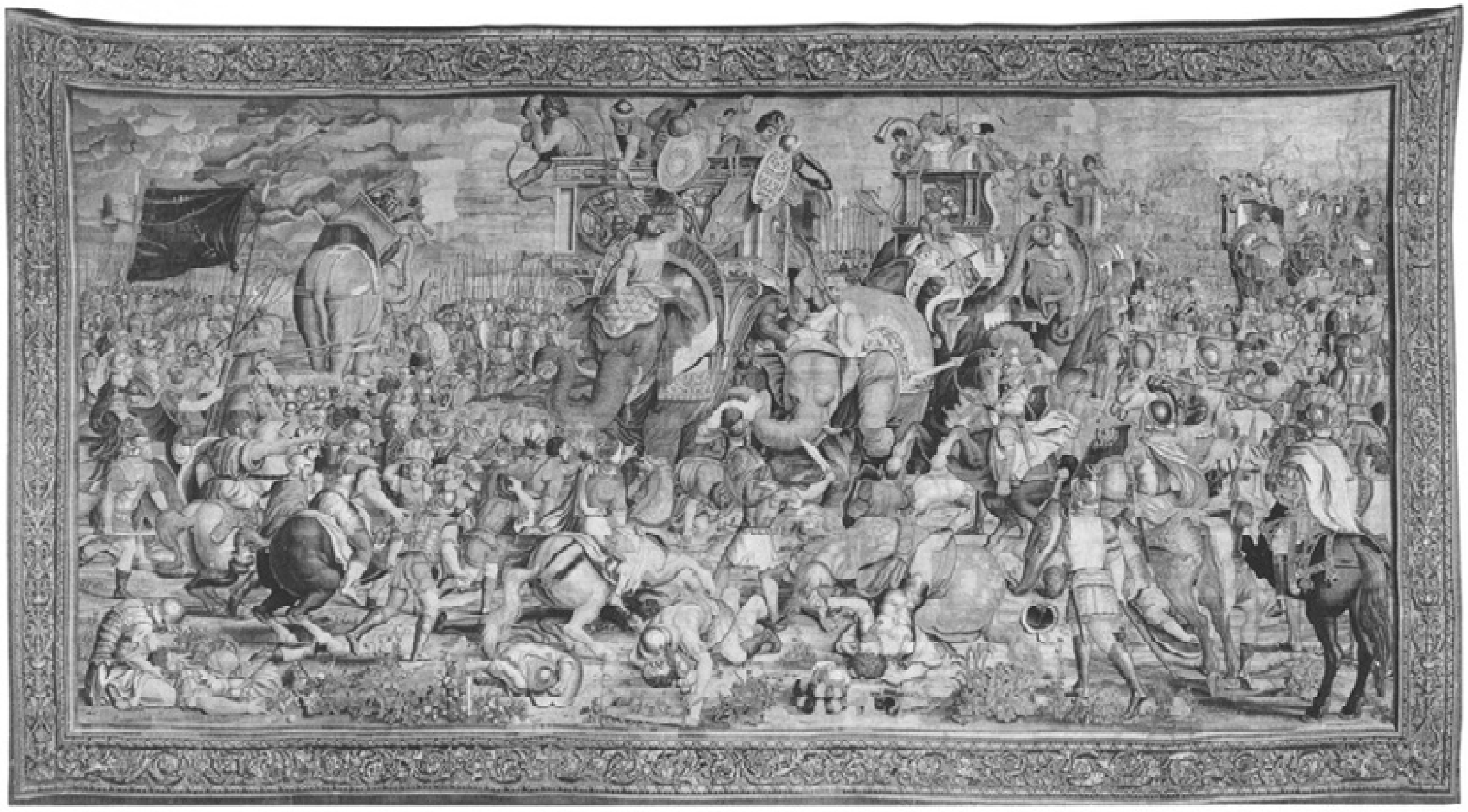


Fig. 154. *The Battle of Zama* from the *Deeds of Scipio*. Tapestry designed by Giulio Romano, probably woven in the workshop of Balthazar van Vlierden, Brussels, ca. 1544. Wool and silk, 480 x 902 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid

Giochi di putti series (see above, pp. 225–33). In view of this, it seems plausible to suggest that the conception of an enormous series of the *Deeds of Scipio* might equally have been inspired by such a classical account. In the absence of further evidence the issue of the date of conception of the *Deeds* must remain in question. However, at this point it appears appropriate to qualify previous assumptions that the preparatory work for the series was undertaken in 1528 with the caveat that it may in fact have been begun five or six years earlier and that the scheme was somehow revived and developed in the late 1520s.

If the project was initially intended for a series of tapestries (which itself is not certain), it might be suggested that the experience of painting the fictive tapestries in the Sala di Costantino stimulated Giulio and Penni to elaborate a real series conceived in a manner as grandiose and discursive in its narrative as the pieces depicted in the frescoes. We might also propose that the project may not have been developed in the early 1520s because of the collapse of Giulio and Penni's partnership, or because of Giulio's departure for Mantua, or because the project was too costly.

Where the design of the *Deeds* suggests a collaborative effort, the two extant preparatory studies and the ten surviving *modelli* (nine in the Louvre and one in Chantilly) for the *Triumphs* are all from Giulio's hand (see fig. 168, cat. nos. 41, 42).[31] The *Deeds* are conceived in a style that calls to mind the frescoes Penni and Giulio painted together in the Sala di Costantino, with multiple focal points and large numbers of diminutive figures placed in a broad, deep landscape. By contrast, the *Triumphs* reflect the more mannered approach Giulio developed in Mantua during the late 1520s. Representing boisterous, heavy-limbed figures marching, prancing, and dancing across the foregrounds of the compositions, the designs for the *Triumphs* have a friezelike character, in which the sense of depth is subordinated to linear emphasis. Compositionally, the scenes blend the rhythmic cadences of Trajan's column and the format of Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*, in a form that is virile and full of movement, a perfect example of what Pietro Aretino characterized as Giulio's ability to think "anticamente moderni e modernamente antichi."[32] The marked contrast between the *modelli* for the *Deeds* and the *Triumphs* evidently extended to the tapestries, giving rise to a seventeenth-century tradition, recorded by Félibien in 1666, that claimed that the *Deeds* were purchased by Francis I and the *Triumphs* by Henry II.[33] As we have seen, the documents demonstrate that this was not the case, and the divergence in style presumably results from the fact that Penni was responsible for the *modelli* of the earlier group of designs, while the *Triumphs* were conceived by Giulio without Penni's participation in any aspect of their execution in the early 1530s.

Cartoons

The artist or team of artists responsible for painting the cartoons of the *Deeds* is undocumented. The cartoons for the four tapestries presented to Francis in August 1532 must have been prepared as early as 1530, but where they were made is unknown. With the exception of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Grotesques of Leo X* cartoons, the Raphael-school designs appear to have been enlarged into cartoon form in Brussels under the direction of Vincidor, and it seems likely that this would have been done for the *Scipio* series as well. After all, Brussels was the town in which artists specialized in such work. Support for this assumption is provided by the record of Primaticcio's mission—referred to above—to travel from France to Flanders in late 1532 or 1533, although the exact purpose of his journey is unclear. D'Astier proposed that it was made in response to a change in the original conception and that Primaticcio was taking a single *modello* to Brussels and bringing back a related cartoon, while other critics have interpreted the wording of the document that refers to the trip more loosely, as evidence that Primaticcio was conveying the designs for the *Triumphs* to Brussels and returning with the cartoons of the four *Deeds* that had already been finished. Whatever the case, the document demonstrates circumstantially that the cartoons for at least the *Triumphs* were executed in Brussels, probably under the supervision of Primaticcio. It may also suggest that the cartoons for part of the series were returned to Francis after they had been used, thus ensuring the king's monopoly of the design.[34]

Patron

Not only the circumstances surrounding the development of the initial concept—in Rome in the early 1520s or in Mantua about 1528—are uncertain; so too are those in which the option to purchase the set arose for Francis. As Giulio was Federico's principal artist, it might seem logical to assume that the *Deeds* were originally conceived for his use. There is, however, no extant evidence that Giulio designed tapestries for the duke during the 1520s, and the series he subsequently designed for the Gonzaga and Este were much smaller than the grand, multifigured *Deeds of Scipio*. For these reasons and because we know from Vasari that Giulio produced designs for a variety of mediums for patrons other than Federico while he was in the duke's employ, it is appropriate to postulate that the *Scipio* drawings were made for a different client. But were they conceived specifically for Francis I? The putative dating of the conception of the series to the early 1520s allows for the possibility that it was initiated for Francis at that date, when relations between the French court and the papacy were flourishing, and that the project was delayed because of his defeat at Pavia in 1525 and imprisonment in Spain until March 1526. Or we might propose, alternatively, that the series was an independently conceived project that was brought to Francis's attention at some point during the 1520s, perhaps even before the debacle at Pavia, and then developed after his repatriation to France. Francis first met Federico at Milan in 1515, and subsequently they traveled to France together on a trip during which they are known to have discussed artistic mattters.[35] Despite Francis's defeat at Pavia and Federico's strong links with Charles V, connections between the French court and Mantua remained close. Furthermore, the active role such agents as Pietro Aretino played in acquiring Italian works of art for Francis during the late 1520s makes both possibilities outlined here entirely feasible.[36] However, the evidence that Francis only contracted to buy the complete set of tapestries after he had been shown three pieces in July 1532 does not, on the face of it, support the idea that the king initiated the scheme, or that he had a proprietary claim to the designs prior to that date.

A third theory is suggested by information first recorded in the seventeenth century. An account provided by Pierre de Bourdeilles, seigneur of Brantôme, relates that Crétif offered the set to Francis rather than to Charles V because of the French king's greater "libéralité," and, writing in 1752, the French chronicler Germain Brice reported a tradition whereby the set had been conceived for Charles V but had been sold instead to his rival, the king of France, because Charles did not have the money to pay for it. Following the lead of these two early observers, Delmarcel has suggested that Federico may have commissioned the *Triumphs* designs as a presentation to Charles V when the latter stayed in Mantua in March 1530 on his return home from his coronation by the pope in Bologna. (Federico was promoted from marquis to duke in April of that year.) According to this hypothesis, Crétif subsequently offered the set to Francis when it became clear that Charles, for unknown reasons, was not interested in acquiring the tapestries or was unable to pay for them.[37] This analysis is unconvincing, however, because it does not accord with what we know of Charles's character or the chronology that can be established for the four tapestries that were displayed and then sold to Francis I in July 1532. Assuming that the tapestries took approximately eighteen months to weave, it is possible that the cartoons for the first four pieces could have been created from designs presented to Charles in March 1530 if he had passed them on to Crétif immediately. But even if this had been the case, it is highly unlikely that Crétif would have offered the tapestries to Charles's rival so soon after the emperor rejected them—despite the temporary thaw in relations that was taking place between the French and Habsburg courts and the marriage of Francis to Charles's sister, Eleanor, in July 1530. Charles was a keen tapestry patron, and although he was sometimes slow to pay his bills (as demonstrated by van Aelst's mortgaging the *Honors* tapestries to the Fuggers before Charles agreed to purchase them in 1526), it seems most improbable that he would have allowed this extremely militaristic celebration of one of the greatest antique heroes to fall into his rival's hands, whatever the temporary political climate.

A fourth theory about the conception and sale of the tapestries was suggested by d'Astier in his fundamental survey of the series. Reiterated by Forti Grazzini at the time of the major Giulio exhibition in Mantua in 1989, this hypothesis maintains that the *modelli*, through unknown circumstances, belonged to Crétif, not to Francis or Charles, and that the series came into being as an entrepreneurial exercise, funded by Crétif himself.[38] As has been shown (see above, pp. 24, 30, 278, 280–82), entrepreneurial activity of this kind dated back to the late fourteenth century, when it was practiced by the Arras and Paris merchants who supplied the courts of Burgundy, Paris, and Berry, and it became an increasingly important aspect of the Netherlandish tapestry trade during the 1530s and 1540s. In any event, if we subscribe to d'Astier's argument we might suppose that, however the designs for the *Deeds* were conceived, they somehow came into Crétif's hands in the late 1520s and that he had the cartoons for the first four pieces developed, knowing that he would be likely to find a patron for the set at one of the European courts.

We might go even further and suggest that Francis, hearing of this enterprise and having acquired the option to purchase the *Deeds,* through the agency of the mysterious Francoys de Francoys of Lucca, commissioned Giulio to provide additional designs in order to adapt the original series to the dimensions of a specific venue. Certainly, we know from Vasari that Francis had attempted to attract Giulio to his court. The effort was rebuffed by Federico but resulted in the dispatch of Giulio's pupil Primaticcio, who, as noted above, arrived in France shortly after March 23, 1532. That Primaticcio came to the French court so close to the time the contract with Crétif was generated, on July 11, 1532, has led to the suggestion that Giulio's pupil may have carried the *modelli* for the *Triumphs* from Mantua to France, thus resulting in a situation that encouraged Francis to draw up a contract for the entire twenty-two piece ensemble with Crétif. This theory is attractive, especially in view of Primaticcio's subsequent journey to Flanders, where he presumably played a part in directing the execution of the cartoons. The notion that the *Triumphs* were designed, or at least modified, to take account of Francis's particular needs is supported by the fact that the combined length of the *Triumphs* and the *Deeds* is equal to that of the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau, which was constructed between 1528 and 1530.[39] Although the stucco and fresco decorations subsequently executed in the gallery by Rosso and Primaticcio would have prevented the display of the tapestries in this forum, it is entirely possible that this enormously costly series was initiated for use in one of Francis's most cherished palaces.

Many questions remain to be answered with regard to the context in which the designs of the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio* were conceived and the circumstances surrounding the weaving of the first four pieces. The fact remains that between 1532 and 1535 Francis acquired one of the most expensive tapestry commissions executed during the sixteenth century and that this series embodied stylistic ideas that were to have a profound impact on Netherlandish tapestry design in the 1530s and the 1540s.

Significance

The *Scipio* designs were revolutionary in a variety of ways.[40] In terms of theme, they formed the first extensive tapestry series, apart from the *Acts of the Apostles* (see cat. nos 18–25) and the *Life of Christ* (see cat. no. 29), and certainly the first history series in the tapestry medium, conceived with an intensely imagined vision of the classical world, replete with accurate representations of its costumes and its customs. As such, it was immensely stimulating to Netherlandish designers such as Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Michiel Coxcie during the 1530s and 1540s. Structurally, the *Deeds* and the *Triumphs* were also of great significance. The *Deeds* provided a new model for the depiction of grand narrative subjects on an epic scale, with the main action in the center and subsidiary events portrayed at the sides in an extended landscape. (It is true that van Orley's *Battle of Pavia* tapestries, woven about 1528–31, employed this format before the *Deeds* were woven for Francis I. However, the citation of the *Capture of Carthage* from the *Deeds* in the Netherlandish artist's Romulus and Remus *modello* of 1524, noted above, suggests that other *modelli* from the *Scipio* series may also have been available to him in Brussels by the mid-1520s and that they may thus have inspired some of the *Pavia* scenes.) In contrast, the *Triumphs* replaced Raphaelesque classicism with an alternative formula that was more concerned with line, movement, and rhythm than with spatial issues, a formula that was to be particularly influential for Coecke's later work and the production of the unidentified follower of Giulio responsible for such designs as the *Fructus belli* and the *Story of Moses* (see below, pp. 395–98).

Later Versions

The payment to Primaticcio in 1532–33 indicates that he may have been charged to bring one or more full-scale cartoons back from Brussels to the French court. Nonetheless, various partial duplicate sets were woven during the 1540s and 1550s. If Francis did retain the cartoons to ensure his exclusive ownership of the designs (which is less certain than sometimes assumed), we must surmise that these later versions were woven from second-generation cartoons based on the original *modelli* or copies of them that remained in the hands of the Brussels merchant-weavers who had produced the editio princeps. The earliest documented reweaving of the *Scipio* design was a seven-piece set sold to Mary of Hungary by the Antwerp merchant Erasmus Schets, which had probably been manufactured at the workshop of Balthazar van Vlierden. This was made up of five of the *Deeds* (see fig. 154) and two of the *Triumphs* (see cat. no. 43). Another set was delivered for Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este in 1551 (which may survive in part in the Museo Stibbert, Florence, and the Accademia Belgica, Rome).[41] The character of these two sets is close to that of the Penni *modelli,* with slight figures placed in deep landscapes. A ten-piece set of the *Deeds* was woven in the late 1540s for Jacques d'Albon, the marshal of Saint André, a favorite of Henry II, or his son Jean.[42] Although the original set is now dispersed (to San Simeon, Calif., and the Cincinnati Art Museum) and partly destroyed, a fine copy made at the Gobelins Manufactory in the late seventeenth century is now in the Louvre, along with four of the original cartoons (see fig. 194).[43] This set included a number of scenes not found in Francis's tapestries; moreover, its figures are bulkier and more muscular, indicating that the d'Albon set was woven from a set of cartoons different from those used for Francis's and Mary of Hungary's sets. The figure types in d'Albon's tapestries suggest that their cartoons may have been prepared under the supervision of Coxcie (see below, pp. 404–5).

GIULIO'S LATER TAPESTRY DESIGNS

Despite Giulio's evident facility in the discipline, there is no documention that Federico commissioned tapestry designs from him until 1539, by which time the artist had already provided designs for a set of the *Gigantomachia,* and possibly a second group for a *Story of Hercules* to the duke's cousin Ercole II d'Este. These were woven at the workshop established in Ferrara in 1538–39 under the direction of two Netherlandish brothers, Jan and Nicolas Karcher (see below, pp. 484–85). In 1539 Federico persuaded Nicolas to relocate with a team of eleven weavers to Mantua, where the first set of tapestries they made was one devoted to *Puttini* based on designs by Giulio (see cat. nos. 57–59). This set represents the first concrete evidence of a tapestry series produced for Federico from a design by Giulio. It should be noted, however, that while we have very little specific information about Federico's tapestry patronage, the inventory taken after his death reveals that his tapestry collection was large and impressive (unfortunately the inventory gives few details of the subjects treated).[44] It is therefore quite possible that Giulio did, in fact, provide designs for Federico that were executed in the Low Countries during the 1530s and of which all trace has been lost.

Circumstantial evidence that this may have been the case has been provided recently by Delmarcel's identification of a tapestry representing *Cephalus Mourning over the Body of Procris* (fig. 156) as a faithful reproduction of a design by Giulio that is now in Frankfurt (fig. 155).[45] This drawing is one of a group depicting mythological-hunt accidents, such as the *Death of Adonis,* the *Hunt of the Calydonian Boar,* and *Hylas and the Nymphs.* Hartt proposed that these drawings may have been intended for decorative panels in the Marmirolo palace, while Oberhuber thought that they perhaps were models for frescoes. Delmarcel's identification of the *Cephalus* tapestry, however, suggests that they were made as tapestry designs. Further support for this idea is provided by a fine tapestry of the *Death of Adonis,* based on another of this group of mythological-hunt drawings, a tapestry that appeared at auction in the 1930s and then again more recently (location unknown).[46] The border of the *Cephalus* tapestry is typical of those used in Netherlandish production in the mid-1530s, a fact noted by Delmarcel. As such, this piece may testify that Giulio produced a number of otherwise undocumented tapestry designs for Federico for execution in the Low Countries during the mid-1530s.

A second design series of the mid- to late 1530s that Delmarcel has considered in this context depicted the *Story of the Sabine Women.* A sixteenth-century set on this subject was formerly in Louis XIV's collection, whose records assigned its design to Giulio, an attribution that was repeated by Félibien in his *Entretiens* in 1685.[47] That set was destroyed after the Revolution, but its appearance can be reconstructed on the basis of four early Brussels reweavings and copies of the designs made at the Paris ateliers in the seventeenth century.[48] The borders of the Brussels tapestries are identical to those around the *Cephalus* tapestry, suggesting that their design was conceived in the mid- to late 1530s, a dating supported by the fact that a weaving of the set seems to have been among a group of tapestries that Henry VIII acquired for Westminster Palace in the late 1530s.[49] Here it should be noted that although the designs demonstrate a familiarity with Giulio's work, the etiolated nature of the figures and the general lack of invention may indicate that they were created by an artist in his circle rather than by the master himself. Whether this work was undertaken

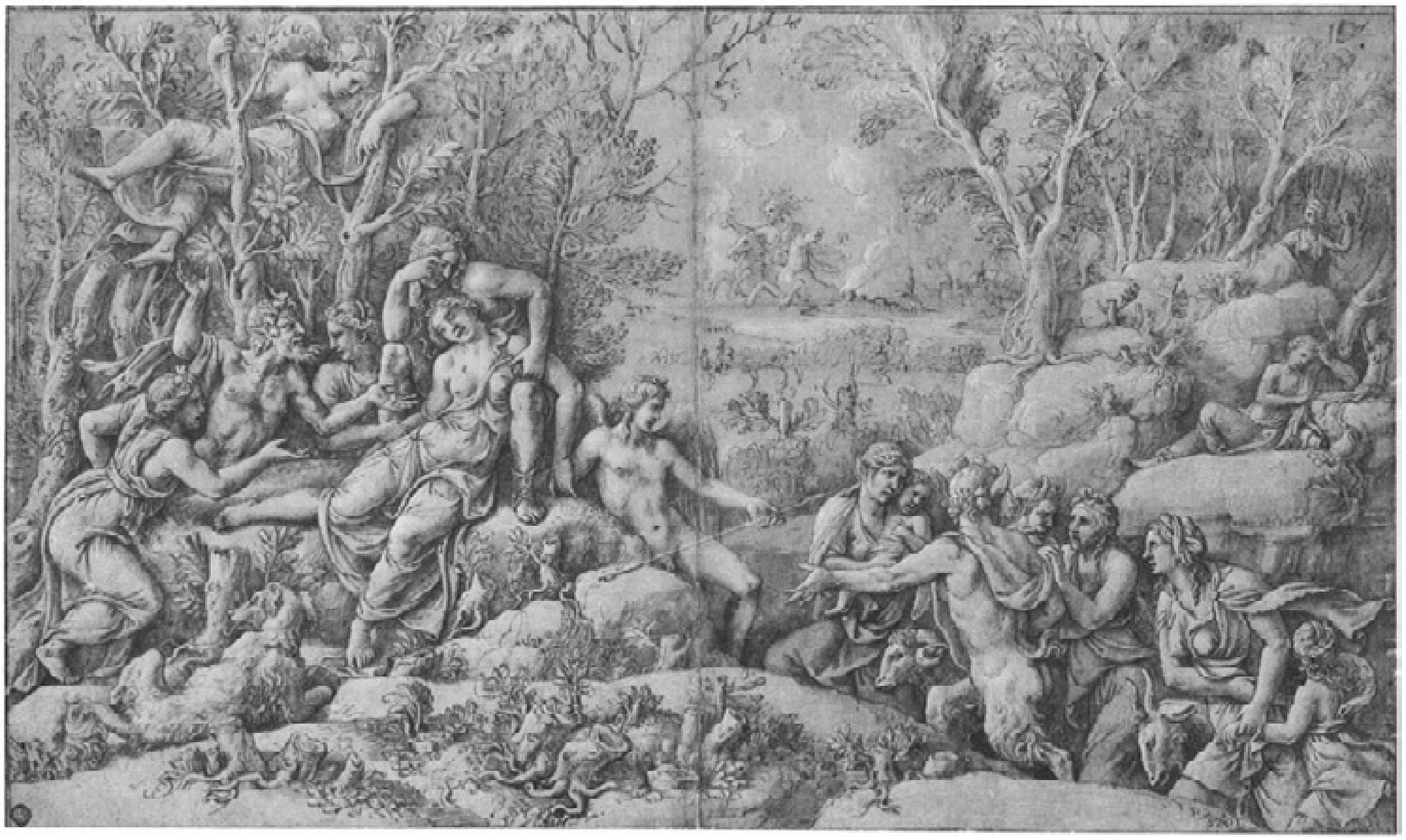


Fig. 155. *Cephalus Mourning over the Body of Procris. Modello* for the tapestry by Giulio Romano, ca. 1530–35. Pen and brown ink, brown wash with white highlights on paper, 33.3 x 56 cm. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt

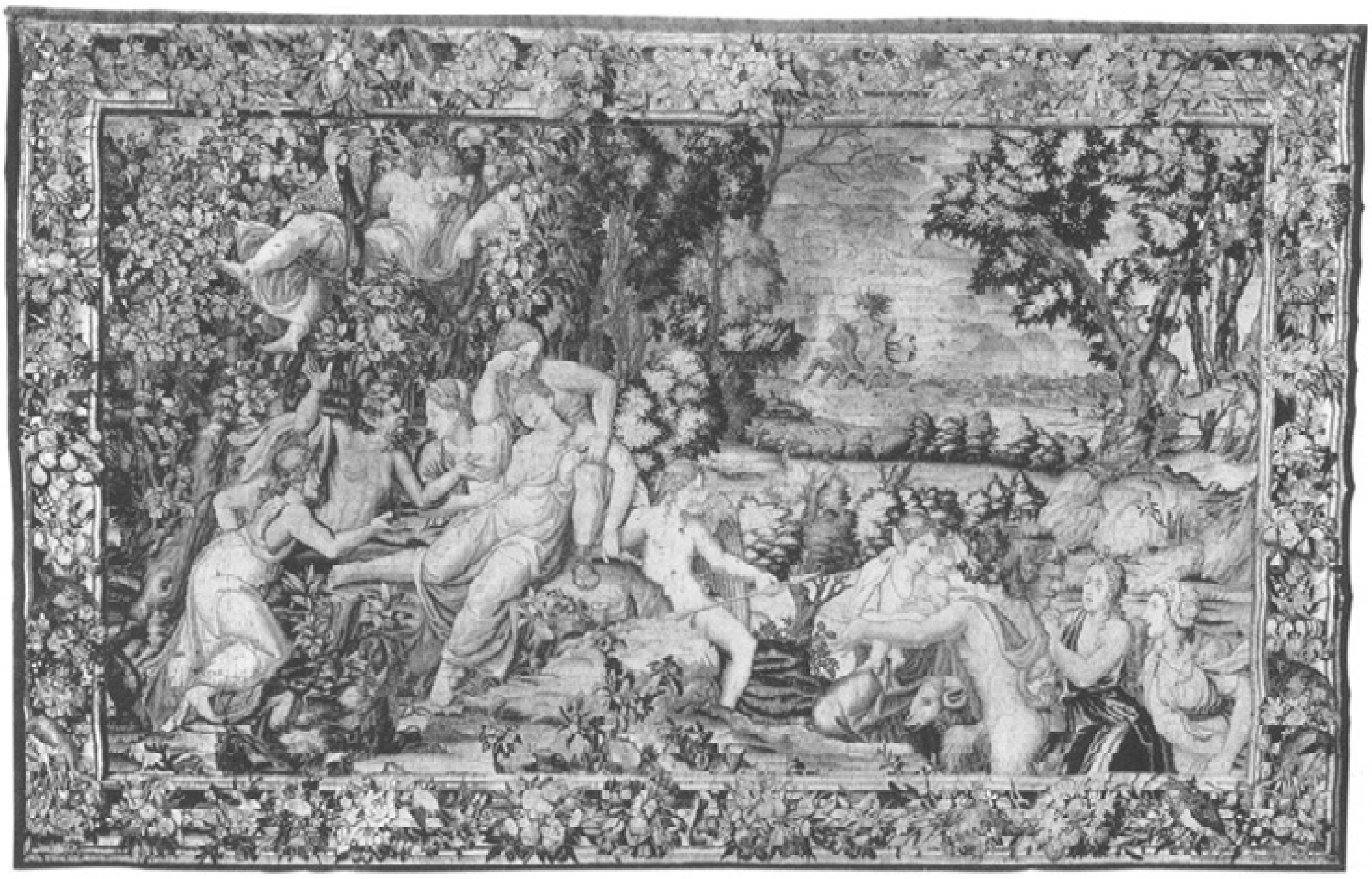


Fig. 156. *Cephalus Mourning over the Body of Procris.* Tapestry designed by Giulio Romano, woven in Brussels, ca. 1535. Wool and silk, 295 x 465 cm. Location unknown

under Giulio's direction or independently by an Italian artist who had traveled from Mantua to the Netherlands in the mid-1530s is unclear. However, it is certain that the style of design is closely related to that of a group of tapestries woven for Ferrante Gonzaga during the 1540s, and it is likely that their author was responsible for the *Sabine* designs as well (see discussion of Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona below, pp. 395–98).

PERINO DEL VAGA

Contemporaneous with the execution of the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio,* between 1532 and 1535, the Brussels workshops were also engaged in the production of a number of extraordinary tapestry sets for Andrea I Doria (1466–1560), designed by another of Raphael's former collaborators, Perino del Vaga (Pietro Buonaccorsi, 1501–1547). Doria was a Genoese condottiere, who, as commander of the fleet of Genoa helped the French recapture the city from imperial forces in 1524. Impatient with his treatment by Francis I, he joined forces with Emperor Charles V in 1528 on the expiration of his contract with the French. He was subsequently to enjoy an especially cordial relationship with the emperor, who, according to their agreement, established Genoa as a republic. Although Doria refused offers of the lordship and dogeship of the republic, he accepted the title of perpetual censor, in which capacity he exercised predominant influence in Genoa's councils. In 1531 Charles gave Doria the city of Melfi and the title prince of Melfi. During the 1530s Doria was very active in the emperor's service, commanding several expeditions against the Turks and playing an important role in the capture of Tunis in 1535. When not campaigning, Doria devoted his attention to building and decorating the palace he constructed in the suburbs of Genoa at Fassolo (now known as the Palazzo del Principe Doria).[50]

The design and decoration of this palace was entrusted to Perino del Vaga, one of the most brilliant artists to have emerged from Raphael's studio. Perino had trained in Florence and in early 1516 traveled to Rome, where he is said to have joined the Raphael workshop at the recommendation of Giulio and Penni.[51] Working in part from designs by Raphael, he collaborated in the decoration of the Vatican Loggia, and worked with Giovanni da Udine on the ceiling frescoes of the Sala dei Pontefici in 1521. His first major independent commission was for the decoration of the interior of the Palazzo Baldassini in Rome, executed between 1521 and 1525. During the same period he also carried out frescoes in the Cappella Pucci in the church of Trinità dei Monti for Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci, and on the ceiling of the Cappella del Crocifisso in San Marcello in Rome for Clement VII. According to Vasari, Perino was persuaded to move to Genoa by Nicola Valentini, Doria's upholsterer and embroiderer, in 1528.[52] For Perino it was a most opportune time to relocate: he had suffered the depredations of the Sack of Rome and intense personal trials, including imprisonment of himself and his family, which ended only after he had payed a ransom.

Vasari tells us that Doria welcomed Perino to Genoa with great warmth and over the next few years was closely involved in discussions with him regarding the aggrandizement and decoration of the palace at Fassolo. The scheme Perino carried out celebrated Doria's role as champion of the Republic of Genoa under the patronage of Charles V. This theme was announced on the exterior of the building in a fresco showing *Jason and the Golden Fleece,* which was obviously intended as an homage to the Order of the Golden Fleece that Charles bestowed on Doria in 1531.[53] In 1533 and 1536 Charles visited Doria and stayed in the palace on which occasions it fulfilled the function and enjoyed the status of an imperial residence. Anticipation of such a function appears to have played a major part in determining the interior decorations, which encompassed frescoes, paintings, stuccoes, and tapestries. The author of the iconographic program is unknown, and there seem to have been few prominent Genoese scholars who might have been involved. Vasari indicates that Perino worked very closely with Doria in developing the decorations, so it is possible that the artist and his patron were jointly responsible for the scheme. Aretino described Perino to Titian as "d'intelletto mirabile" (possessing a marvelous mind), implying that Perino would have been quite capable of devising the plan for this visual panagyric.[54]

Eyewitness accounts demonstrate that contemporaries attributed much of the magnificence of the palace to Doria's textiles. The inventory of Doria's holdings taken in 1561 demonstrates that, in addition to the rich suites of brocade and velvet he obtained through Valentini, he possessed more than two hundred tapestries.[55] While the majority of these were verdures, the collection also included a number of figurative sets. Some of them, such as a set known as the *Medallion Months,* depicting seasonal scenes and allegorical figures within medallions decorated with symbols of the zodiac, were evidently woven from Netherlandish cartoons. There is no reason to assume that Doria was involved in the inception of these designs.[56] Others, however, were clearly made to order from designs provided by Perino. These included a seven-piece set of *Furti di Giove,* four pieces of *Caritas,* six pieces of *Aeneas,* and several ensembles of grotesque subjects. These sets must have been among the most ambitious tapestry ensembles commissioned to order by an Italian patron from the Brussels workshops during the 1530s. They reflect the high value Doria placed on tapestry, relative to the other arts, as a means of projecting and reinforcing his stature.

Furti di Giove

The *Furti di Giove* tapestries were evidently made for the principal room of the palace, the Sala di Giove, which was probably adjacent to Doria's private apartment and seems to have been used by the emperor as an audience chamber during his visits in 1533 and 1536. The name of the room derives from the ceiling painting that depicted *Jupiter Expelling the Giants* (fig. 157), which apparently was chosen as a metaphor for Charles defeating the enemies of the Catholic Church.[57] The earliest certain account of the tapestries woven for this location is provided in a description that was sent to Cosimo de' Medici in 1548 when his son Francesco visited Genoa on the occasion of a visit by Prince Philip of Spain. According to this report, Philip's lodgings were "furnished with the richest tapestries of gold and silk, in which one saw all the fables of Jupiter that the Poets imagined worked and woven with marvelous ingenuity."[58] Additional detail is provided by the 1561 Doria inventory, which lists seven pieces of the *Furti di Giove*. Subsequent inventories demonstrate that six pieces of the set had a height of 4.6 meters and a total length of about 28 meters. The seventh panel, actually composed of five tapestries sewn together in the shape of an inverted E, with a total width of 8.5 meters, was evidently intended to surround the two windows that occupied the south end of the room. In view of the dimensions of the room, it is clear that the other tapestries were intended to completely cover the remaining walls and windows. They were presumably hung so that adjacent tapestries met, edge to edge, in front of the principal doors, and were drawn back to allow access.

Although the whereabouts of the *Furti di Giove* tapestries can be traced until the late seventeenth century, their subsequent fate is unknown. However, as Davidson has demonstrated in a seminal article, their appearance can be reconstructed on the basis of preparatory sketches and a *modello* by Perino (fig. 158) and an eighteenth-century copy (fig. 159) and engravings of five of the cartoons (which were extant at that date in the Orléans collection). More recently, the central section of the original cartoon for one of the tapestries has come to light in the holdings of the Louvre (fig. 161), confirming Davidson's assumptions, including her suggestion that Perino played a role in the execution not only of the *modelli* but also of the cartoons.[59]

Reconstruction and Subject

The most complete impression of the lost tapestries is provided by a *modello* depicting *Jupiter and Juno* (fig. 158), formerly in the Heseltine collection, and an eighteenth-century copy of the original cartoon for *Jupiter's Seduction of Io* (fig. 159). These demonstrate that each scene was staged in a trompe l'oeil architectural

Fig. 157. *Jupiter Expelling the Giants*. Ceiling fresco by Perino del Vaga, ca. 1530. Sala di Giove, Palazzo del Principe Doria, Genoa

brocades."[70] Valentini's pique provides us with a rare glimpse of the appreciation that must have attended and inspired so much of the courtly tapestry patronage of the day.

Although the place in which the *Furti di Giove* tapestries were manufactured is undocumented, Valentini's letter confirms what we might in any event assume—that they were made in the Netherlands, presumably in Brussels, the center of high-quality figurative weaving at the time they were produced. Here it is to be noted that these designs must have been among the most challenging that had ever been woven in the Netherlands for their images required the depiction of subtle nuances of flesh tones and equally subtle nuances of background colors to indicate aerial perspective, achieved largely without the decorative and linear elements on which the tapestry weavers normally depended to suggest spatial recession. As such, the set was a truly fitting embodiment of the classical legend of Arachne's *Loves of the Gods* tapestries, a splendid demonstration of the Raphael-school use of the princely medium of tapestry to re-create and enlarge upon the grandeur of the antique world. We can only regret that the passage of time has been as unkind to Doria's tapestries as Minerva was to Arachne's.

Story of Aeneas

Adjacent to the Sala di Giove, Perino created the Sala di Nettuno, which had a vault frescoed with an image of Nepture calming the storm, embodying "all the emotions aroused by the perils of the sea."[71] The painting is no longer extant but the composition is known from a drawing by Perino that shows Neptune quelling the storm that has destroyed the Trojan fleet on the coast of Libya (fig. 162). This composition appears to have been inspired in part by the *Quos ego* engraving Marcantonio Raimondi executed after Raphael (fig. 163).[72] The subject derives from the first book of the *Aeneid*,[73] according to which the hero, Aeneas, was to found a kingdom in Italy and father a line that would produce a caesar who would inaugurate an empire of perpetual law and peace. The mantelpiece of the Neptune salon includes a marble relief carved with related imagery—Venus and Cupid at Vulcan's forge, crowned by the inscription *Optima pandes* (You will reveal the best things), in reference to the scenes of the future that appeared on Aeneas's shield and the vision Jupiter reveals of Rome's future dominion in the opening book of the *Aeneid*. During the late medieval era this promise was often taken as a prophecy of the coming of Christ. Thus the implications of the fresco operated on various levels. On one it paired Doria the great admiral with Neptune, Jupiter's brother; on another it provided a flattering allusion to Charles V as the fulfillment of the prophecy of a future caesar; and on another it can be read as a metaphor of the Triumph of the Catholic Church under Charles V. [74]

Vasari provided the first and indeed the only contemporary published reference to this once-famous tapestry set which was evidently woven to complete the decorations of the Neptune chamber.[75] According to his *Life* of Perino, the artist made "drawings of the greater part of the Aeneid, with the stories of Dido, from which tapestries were woven."[76] The 1561 inventory provides the additional information that the set comprised six pieces, and an inventory of 1741 indicates that the tapestries were 17 *palmi* high (425 cm) and between 15 and 18 *palmi* long (380–455 cm). These documents tell us that the tapestries were woven in silk and wool and were called the *Navigazione d'Enea*. They continued to be recorded in Doria inventories until the early nineteenth century, when they were at the Villa Doria Pamphilj in Rome, but their fate after 1825 is unknown.[77]

Design and Cartoons

The appearance of these lost tapestries, like that of the *Furti di Giove*, can be deduced from preparatory drawings and, in this case, later weavings of their design. Davidson identified one autograph drawing by Perino and two copies after lost drawings from his hand, which all illustrate scenes from the first book of the *Aeneid* and can be related to extant tapestry designs, as well as other drawings that may be preparatory studies for the series that were abandoned.[78] Two of the group of three that are linked to surviving tapestries demonstrate the conception and development of a scene of the banquet at which Cupid, disguised as Ascanius, made Dido fall in love with Aeneas. One, at Chatsworth, was executed rapidly in pen and brush, apparently as Perino worked out the composition in terms of volume and chiaroscuro. The second (fig. 164), from Hamburg, which carries Perino's monogram, embodies a refined composition that more fully considers the nature of the tapestry medium. Here the high, angled viewpoint of the Chatsworth sketch has been replaced by a more frontal, friezelike arrangement whose figures appear parallel to the picture plane and in which the shadowy depth of the earlier sketch has given way to architectural elements that provide a stage for the foreground scene. As Davidson noted, the general composition, with the principal actors seated at a table at the left and the banquet being brought in from the right, and even such details as the distinctive feet of the three-legged table, derive from the Raimondi engraving that inspired Perino's vault painting for the Sala di Nettuno.

Davidson's study demonstrated that the Hamburg drawing was, in turn, the *modello* for a tapestry (fig. 165), from a design series that evidently enjoyed great success during the 1540s and

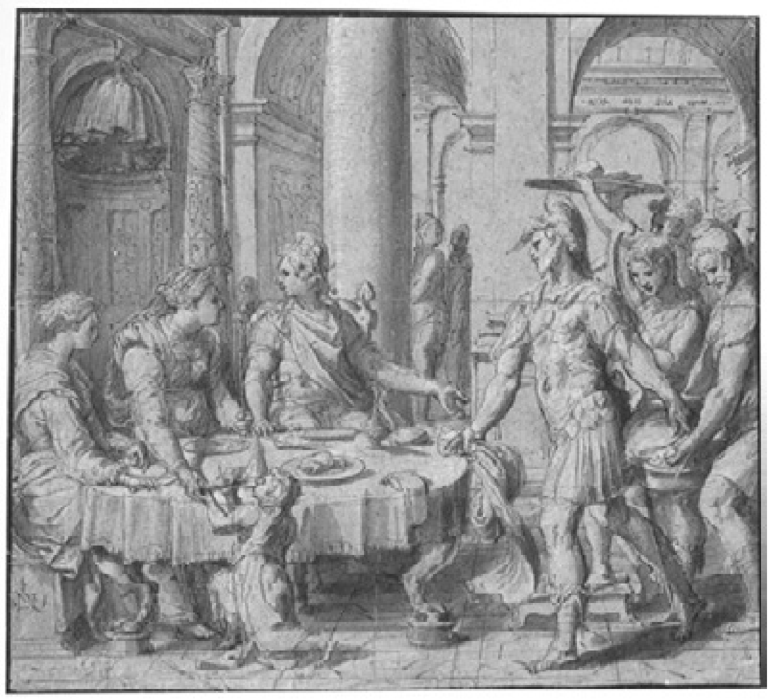


Fig. 164. *The Banquet of Dido and Aeneas. Modello* for the tapestry from the *Story of Aeneas* by Perino del Vaga, ca. 1532. Pen with gray wash and white heightening on paper, 218 x 24.3 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle

1550s and of which several partial sets survive. However, Perino's Hamburg *modello* and the related tapestry contrast markedly in style. Although the composition of the *modello* is more frontal than that of the Chatsworth sketch, like that drawing it is carried out essentially in terms of light and shade and volumetric forms in an architectural space, while the tapestry is conceived in a much more linear fashion, with the figures and landscape articulated by line and detail, rather than tonal nuances. As previous commentators have recognized, this divergence in style indicates beyond any question that the cartoons for the extant *Aeneas* tapestries were executed in Brussels, presumably from Perino's *modelli.* Yet it should be noted that these later weavings may not faithfully reproduce the Doria tapestries. The stylistic distance between the *Furti di Giove* designs and the extant *Aeneas* tapestries tells us that the latter were perhaps woven from second-generation cartoons that embodied a bastardized version of Perino's design, which was developed from the original conception for a commercial market.

Circumstantial support for this hypothesis is provided by the fact that while only six *Aeneas* tapestries are listed in the Doria

Fig. 165. *The Banquet of Dido and Aeneas.* Tapestry after design by Perino del Vaga, woven in Brussels, ca. 1535–40. Wool and silk, 495 x 742 cm. MAK–Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna

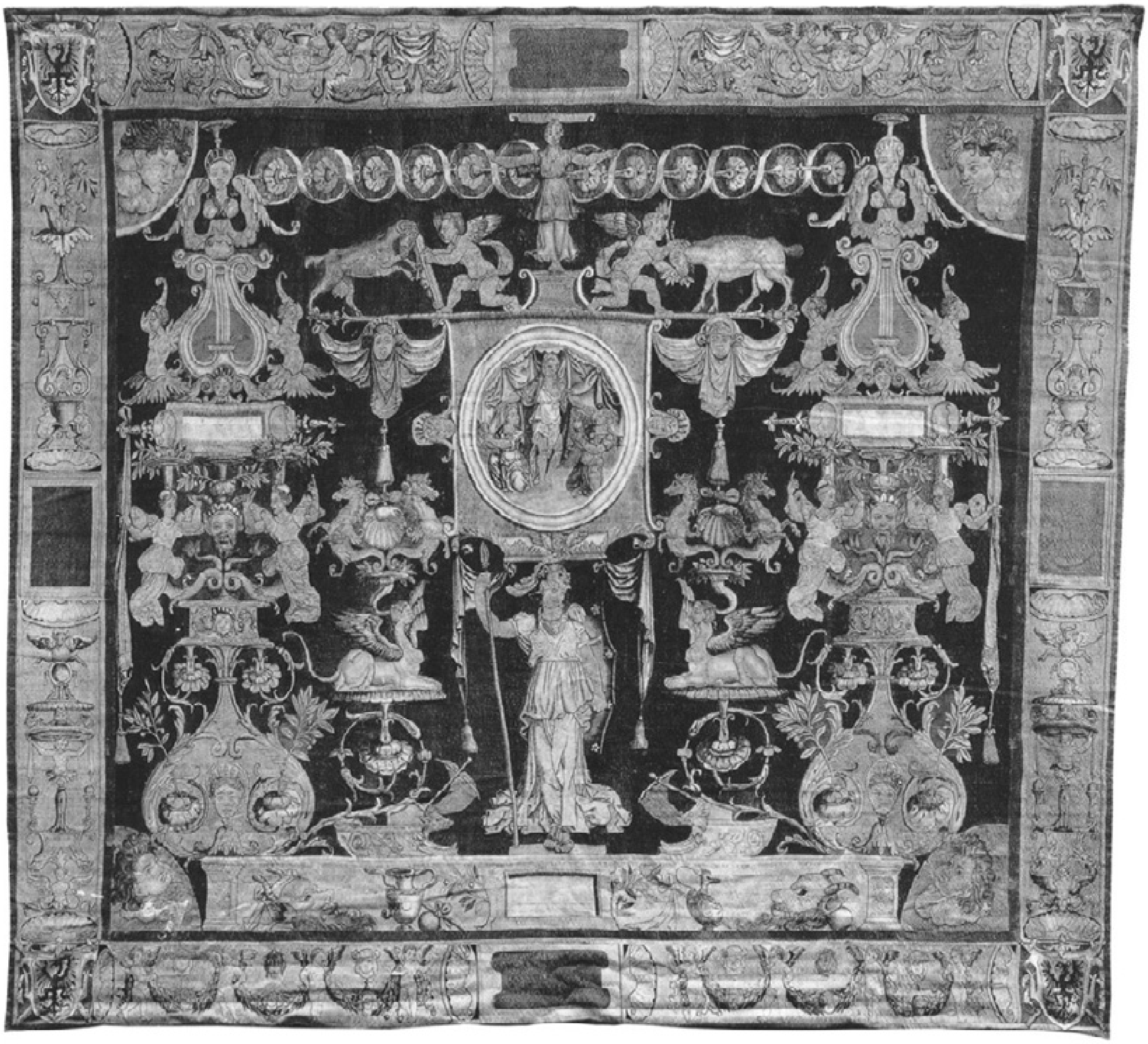
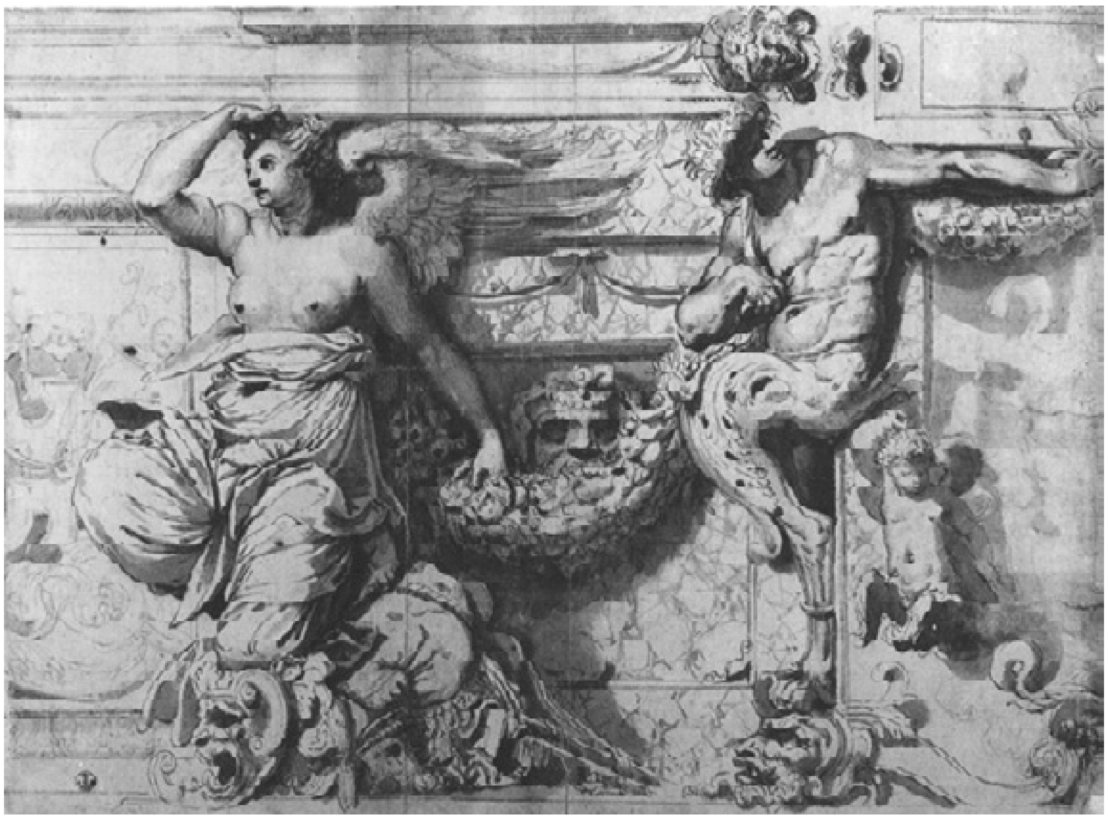


Fig. 166. *Grotesques with Minerva.* Tapestry after Perino del Vaga, woven in Brussels, ca. 1540. Wool and silk, 381 x 404 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bequest of Annie C. Kane, 1926 (26.260.59)

indeed the designer. They also propose that the execution of the cartoons in Brussels from sketchy *modelli* and the mediocre quality of the weavings probably account for the deficiencies of design and composition. (That the *Grotesques* were woven in Brussels is attested by the town mark that appears on various pieces.) Forti Grazzini has theorized that these tapestries may be designs prepared for Doria after Perino returned to Rome from Genoa and that perhaps they are connected to the payment recorded in Doria accounts as made on November 5, 1545, to "Agostino Fabiano, master courier, to carry the sketches of the cartoons that master Perino sent."[86] Indeed, along with the town mark of Brussels there appears on the panels the mark of the unidentified workshop of the Master of the Geometric Mark, who was active in the mid-sixteenth century and wove some of the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries for Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga in the late 1540s or early 1550s (cat. no. 24). Thus the presence of the mark of the Master of the Geometric Mark may provide circumstantial confirmation that Perino's *Grotesques* series is related to the documented payment of 1545.

Fig. 167. *Modello* for the Sistine Chapel *spalliera* by Perino del Vaga, ca. 1545. Pen with gray and brown wash over pencil on paper, 33.7 x 43.3 cm. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence



PERINO IN ROME

Perino returned to Rome before 1538 and thereafter was involved in decorating the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne and the Cappella Massimi in Trinità dei Monti. Work for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese brought him to the attention of Pope Paul III, for whom he undertook various projects, including the frescoed ceiling of the Sala Regia and the pope's rooms at the Castel Sant'Angelo. Perino's prowess in the tapestry medium evidently led the pope to commission him to design a tapestry *spalliera* to hang below Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel. This work was to be woven in the Netherlands but according to Vasari remained incomplete at Perino's death; it presumably was never realized. The cartoon for this project survives today in the Palazzo Spada in Rome. It represents a trompe l'oeil architectural entablature with relief sculptures and is executed in tempera on canvas. The dimensions of the cartoon (240 x 980 cm) correspond to the spaces between the altar now in place and the two doors that existed in 1542. A preparatory drawing or *modello* for part of this design survives in the Uffizi (fig. 167), and a second sheet, possibly a copy after Perino, is in Palermo.[87]

In the context of discussion of tapestry designs conceived by Giulio and Perino in the 1530s, it is appropriate to call attention to the high-quality but little-known set of grotesques with roundels, *Apollo and the Four Seasons,* now in the Hermitage (see cat. no. 44). The whereabouts of this five-piece set before its acquisition by Baron Stieglitz in Saint Petersburg in 1885 are undocumented.[88] Four pieces were exhibited in Antwerp in 1994, on which occasion Delmarcel demonstrated that embodiments of the Seasons depicted in the roundels were inspired by an ekphrastic account of some antique reliefs in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.* This famous Neoplatonic fantasy recounting the journey that Poliphilo, guided by Polia, made in a terrestrial paradise populated by figures from antique mythology, was first published by Aldo Manucci in Venice in 1499.[89] While assisting at the triumphal entry of Vertumnus and Pomona, god and goddess of the harvest and of gardens, the protagonists encounter an altar faced with marble reliefs. As Delmarcel showed, the description and the illustration of these reliefs in engravings accompanying the text were the prototypes for the personifications of the Seasons seen in the roundels of four of the Hermitage tapestries. The fifth (cat. no. 44) shows a medallion featuring signs of the zodiac and Apollo, whose portrayal is close in style to the figures of the deities in the *Story of Aeneas* tapestries, which, as we have seen, were surely based in part on *modelli* by Perino. Delmarcel noted the stylistic analogy between the five Hermitage tapestries and an engraving of 1532 by the Master of the Die after Perino but, on the basis of the vogue for grotesque tapestries in the 1550s, dated the series to about 1560. A comparison of the tapestries and decorations that Perino executed at the Doria palace during the 1530s and in Rome following his return there in 1538 reveals so many close links that it is tempting to attribute the design of this exquisite series to Perino with a dating in the early 1540s. The possibility that this design was executed for Paul III or his grandson Alessandro Farnese is considered in catalogue number 44.

1. Hartt 1958, pp. 73–77; B. Talvacchia in Grove 1996, vol. 12, pp. 753–59; Cox-Rearick in New York 1999, pp. 13–27.
2. Cox-Rearick in New York 1999, pp. 19–21.
3. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 4, pp. 549–50.
4. "[A]ydé a estre le moyen de luy faire avoir bon compte et marché d'une tapisserie d'or et de soie où sera contenu l'histoire de Scipion l'Affricain"; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS fr. 15626, fol. 46, no. 119; d'Astier 1907, pp. 15, 215–16, doc. I. I thank Laura Weigert for checking the original document for me.
5. D'Astier 1907 pp. 216–18, doc. II; Paris 1978, p. 149.
6. D'Astier 1907, p. 16.
7. Carroll in Washington 1987, p. 223.
8. "[O]ù il doit porter un petit patron de l'histoire de Scipion l'Africain, destinée à la tapisserye que le Roy en fait faire à Bruxelles, et en rapporter le grand patron de ladite histoire"; *Catalogue des actes* 1887–1908, vol. 7, p. 701, no. 28467. Delmarcel (1997, p. 384) correctly notes that the journey was from France, not from Italy, as stated by Forti Grazzini in Mantua 1989, p. 468.
9. D'Astier 1907, pp. 16–17, 218–20 docs. III, IV; Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 5. Cox-Rearick 1996, p. 377, incorrectly gives the height as 2.47 m.
10. Cox-Rearick 1996, p. 378.
11. Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 33–36.
12. Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 15.
13. Reiset 1866, pp. 243–45; Paris 1978, p. 6.
14. D'Astier 1907; Jestaz and Bacou in Paris 1978. See also Cox-Rearick 1996, pp. 379–80.
15. Cast 1974; Horn 1989, pp. 284–85.
16. Cox-Rearick 1996, p. 380, lists thirteen pieces in Francis's set of the *Deeds,* mistakenly including a scene known as the *Battle on the Plateau,* which was first created for the variant set of designs woven for Jacques d'Albon in the 1550s. Gnann repeats this error in Mantua and Vienna 1999, p. 208. For the correct analysis, see Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 55, and Lefébure 1993, p. 84.
17. Jestaz in Paris 1978, pp. 17–19.
18. Ibid., pp. 103–5.
19. Ibid., p. 5.
20. Hartt 1958, p. 227; Delmarcel 1997, p. 384.
21. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, BB 14b, fols. 32–34.
22. D'Astier 1907, pp. 73, 79, 90; Bacou in Paris 1978, pp. 21–22; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 1989, pp. 467–68; Lefébure 1993, p. 86; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 206–7; Cox-Rearick 1996, pp. 379–80; Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, p. 129. For a recent and unconvincing attempt to reattribute the conception of this series to Raphael, see Gnann in Mantua and Vienna 1999, pp. 208–11. For forceful rebuttals of this suggestion, see Monbeig-Goguel 1999, p. 498, and Wolk-Simon 2000.
23. Ferino-Pagden in Mantua 1989, pp. 262–63, 265. Again, inappropriately reattributed to Raphael by Gnann in Mantua and Vienna 1999, p. 210.
24. Jaffé 1964–65, pt. 1, p. 396, n. 28, pt. 2, p. 35, pl. 24.
25. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 4, p. 550; Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 13; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 1989, pp. 468–69. For a recent reattribution of this *modello* to Raphael and a subsequent reaffirmation of Penni's authorship, see Gnann in Mantua and Vienna 1999, pp. 208–9, and Monbeig-Goguel 1999, p. 498.
26. D'Astier 1907, p. 32; Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 13; Rome 1993, pp. 49–52.
27. Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 13.
28. Jestaz and Bacou in Paris 1978, pp. 13–14, 22–23, 86; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 1989, p. 468; Cox-Rearick 1996, p. 380.
29. Ferino Pagden in Mantua 1989, pp. 262–65; Lefébure 1993, p. 86; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 206–7; Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, p. 129.
30. Pliny *Natural History* 35.22–25; Pollitt 1966, pp. 51–52.
31. D'Astier 1907, p. 33; Hartt 1958, pp. 227–31; Bacou in Paris 1978, pp. 106–7 and passim; Forti Grazzini 1989, pp. 468–73. For an additional copy after one of Giulio's *Triumphs,* now in a private collection in Seattle, see M. McAuliffe in New York 1999, pp. 132–33.
32. Letter of June 1542, quoted by Cox-Rearick in New York 1999, p. 17.
33. Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 6.
34. Ibid., p. 13; Cox-Rearick 1996, p. 378.
35. Tamalio 1997, pp. 79–80.
36. For Aretino's activity, see Cox-Rearick 1996, pp. 88–95.
37. Delmarcel 1997, pp. 384–85.
38. D'Astier 1907, p. 28; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 1989, p. 468.
39. Adelson in an unpublished lecture cited by Cox-Rearick 1996, p. 382.
40. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 92.
41. Baratte 1976, p. 120; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 1989, p. 169; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, p. 207.
42. Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 207–8.
43. Jestaz in Paris 1978, pp. 7–11 and passim; Lefébure 1993, pp. 81–87.
44. C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 85–89.
45. Delmarcel 1997, p. 391. The tapestry was sold at the Palais Gallièra, Paris, June 10, 1966, no. 140. A tapestry, in fragmentry condition, reproducing Giulio's design for the *Death of Adonis,* has also appeared on the French art market in recent years (location unknown).
46. R. Chochon, M.-F. Chochon, J.-P. Allardi, Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, February 3, 1990, no. 10.
47. Félibien 1685–88, vol. 1, pp. 436–37.
48. For the documentation, see Paris 1965a, pp. 37–38; for surviving pieces, see Asselberghs in Culan 1971, p. 16, and Franses 1986, pp. 18–22. For attribution of the design, see Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 202–4, 205, n. 11; and Delmarcel 1997, pp. 391–92.
49. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 163–64.
50. Boccardo 1989; Mantua 2001, passim.
51. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 593.
52. Ibid., p. 612.
53. Boccardo 1989, p. 43.
54. Davidson 1988, p. 446.
55. Boccardo 1989, pp. 79–87.
56. Ibid., pp. 79, 86.
57. Cordellier in Mantua 2001, p. 245 (with bibliog.).
58. "[A]pparata di ricchissimi arazzi d'oro, et argento, dove si vedevano con maraviglioso ingegno lavorate, e tessute tutte le favole, che i Poeti fingono di Giove"; Davidson 1988, p. 428; Cordellier in Mantua 2001, p. 245. Curiously, the inventories describe the tapestries as made of silk and wool alone. However, the 1548 account is so specific that it suggests that the lack of reference to metallic thread in the inventories is an omission.
59. Davidson 1988, pp. 424–29; Boccardo 1989, pp. 51–75; Cordellier in Mantua 2001, pp. 242–46.
60. Davidson 1988, pp. 433–42; Parma in Mantua 2001, pp. 248–49.
61. Parma in Mantua 2001, p. 255, nos. 133, 134.
62. Hoogewerff 1945, pp. 9–15; Hoogewerff 1963; Cordellier in Mantua 2001, p. 245.
63. Mantua 1989, pp. 278–79.
64. Davidson 1988, p. 447.
65. See Cordellier in Mantua 2001, pp. 242–43, for a full history.
66. Davidson 1990, p. 41.
67. Cordellier in Mantua 2001, p. 245.
68. Ibid., pp. 242–46; H. Bartelloni in Mantua 2001, p. 247. Images of the cartoon are reproduced in reverse in the Mantua catalogue.
69. Davidson 1988, p. 447; Cordellier in Mantua 2001, p. 246.
70. "[D]e le superbe cosse che sia mai stato fatte in italia da poi"; "fatte in

fiandre che seguitano le istorie de le piture che sono nele volte de le ditte chamere quale furono fatte fare aposssta che sono statte comendotte da tutti quessti signori piu che li brochati"; Davidson 1988, p. 427.

71. "[T]utte le passioni che dànno le fortune marittime"; Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 614; translation, 1996 ed., vol. 2, p. 172.
72. Gnann in Mantua 2001, p. 232, no. 118.
73. Parma Armani 1986, pp. 123–28, 271–72; Parma in Mantua 2001, pp. 208–9, no. 99.
74. Davidson 1990, pp. 36–39; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 2001, p. 239.
75. Davidson 1990; Forti Grazzini 1993; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 2001, pp. 238–41, nos. 123, 124.
76. "[I] disegni che e' fece della maggior parte della Eneide con le storie di Didone, che se ne fece panni d'arazi"; Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, p. 617; translation, 1996 ed., vol. 2, p. 174.
77. Davidson 1990, pp. 35, 50 n. 57.
78. Davidson 1990; Parma in Mantua 2001, pp. 233–36, nos. 119–22.
79. Forti Grazzini 1993; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 2001, p. 240.
80. C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 64, 100; Forti Grazzini in Mantua 2001, p. 240; T. Thomson 1815, p. 49.
81. Forti Grazzini in Mantua 2001, p. 240.
82. Erkelens 1962a; Boccardo 1989, p. 82; Boccardo in Mantua 2001, p. 260.
83. Forti Grazzini in Lugano 1998, p. 159.
84. Ibid.
85. Erkelens 1962a, pp. 132–34; Davidson 1988, p. 424, n. 5.
86. "Agostino Fabiano, maestro de' correri, per il porto de li frexii de li cartoni che ha mandato maestro Perino"; Boccardo 1989, pp. 82–85 (quote on p. 83); Forti Grazzini in Lugano 1998, p. 158.
87. Parma in Mantua 2001, pp. 282–83.
88. Saint Petersburg 1956, p. 38.
89. Delmarcel in Antwerp 1994, pp. 43–48.

41.

The Triumphal Chariot of Scipio

Preparatory drawing for the tapestry in Francis I's
Triumphs of Scipio
Giulio Romano, ca. 1531–32
Pen and brown ink and pencil over brown
chalk on paper
42 x 52.3 cm (16½ x 20⅝ in.)
Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (P.II.246)

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Michael Sadler; 1947, purchased by the Ashmolean Museum.

REFERENCES: K. T. Parker 1956, pp. 118–19, no. 246, pl. LXII; Hartt 1958, vol. 1, no. 264, vol. 2, fig. 484; van Gelder 1965, p. 14, pl. 17; Bacou in Paris 1978, pp. 136–37, no. XXII 1; Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 471; Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 380–81.

42.

The Triumphal Chariot of Scipio

Modello for the tapestry in Francis I's *Triumphs of Scipio*
Giulio Romano, ca. 1531–32
Brown ink, brown wash, and white heightening on paper
41.4 x 60.2 cm (16¼ x 23¾ in.)
Département des Art Graphiques,
Musée du Louvre, Paris (3536)

PROVENANCE: Before 1671, acquired by Everard Jabach; listed in the Jabach inventory as "School of Raphael," no. 246; 1671, purchased by Louis XIV; 1797–1827, listed in the inventory of French royal collection by Morel d'Arleux, no. 1932; passed to collection of the French state, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.

REFERENCES: D'Astier 1907, pp. 107–10; Hartt 1958, vol. 1, no. 265, vol. 2, pl. 479; Bacou in Paris 1978, pp. 137–38, no. XXII 2; Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 471; Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 380–81; Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, pp. 134–35.

43.

Oxen and Elephants

From a seven-piece set of the *Deeds and*
Triumphs of Scipio
Design by Giulio Romano, between 1523 and 1532
Woven in Brussels, attributed to workshop of Balthazar van Vlierden, ca. 1542–44
490 x 816 cm (16 ft. 1 in. x 26 ft. 9¼ in.)
7½–8 warps per cm
Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Madrid
(TA-26/6, 10005922)

PROVENANCE: 1544, purchased by Mary of Hungary; 1555–58, recorded in inventory of Mary of Hungary and bequeathed, according to a marginal note, to her nephew Philip II of Spain; 1701–3, recorded in inventory of Charles II; 1788, recorded in inventory of Charles III; 1834, recorded in inventory of Fernando VII.

REFERENCES: Valencia de Don Juan 1903, vol. 2, pl. 95; d'Astier 1907, pp. 146–48; Tormo Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 69–73; Jestaz in Paris 1978, pp. 15, 119, no. XV 2; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 183; Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 470 (with bibliog.); Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, p. 69; Buchanan 1992, pp. 380–82; van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, pp. 294–97; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 206–7, 234–36; Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, p. 129.

These two drawings and the tapestry relate to the *Triumphs of Scipio,* a ten-piece series designed by Giulio Romano to complement a group of twelve designs of the *Deeds of Scipio* that he had created in conjunction with Giovanni Francesco Penni. Although the circumstances in which the *Deeds* were conceived are unclear, the designs for the *Triumphs* were likely made with the artist's knowing that they would be sent to King Francis I of France. The designs were probably transported from Mantua to the French court by Francesco Primaticcio in the spring of 1532.[1]

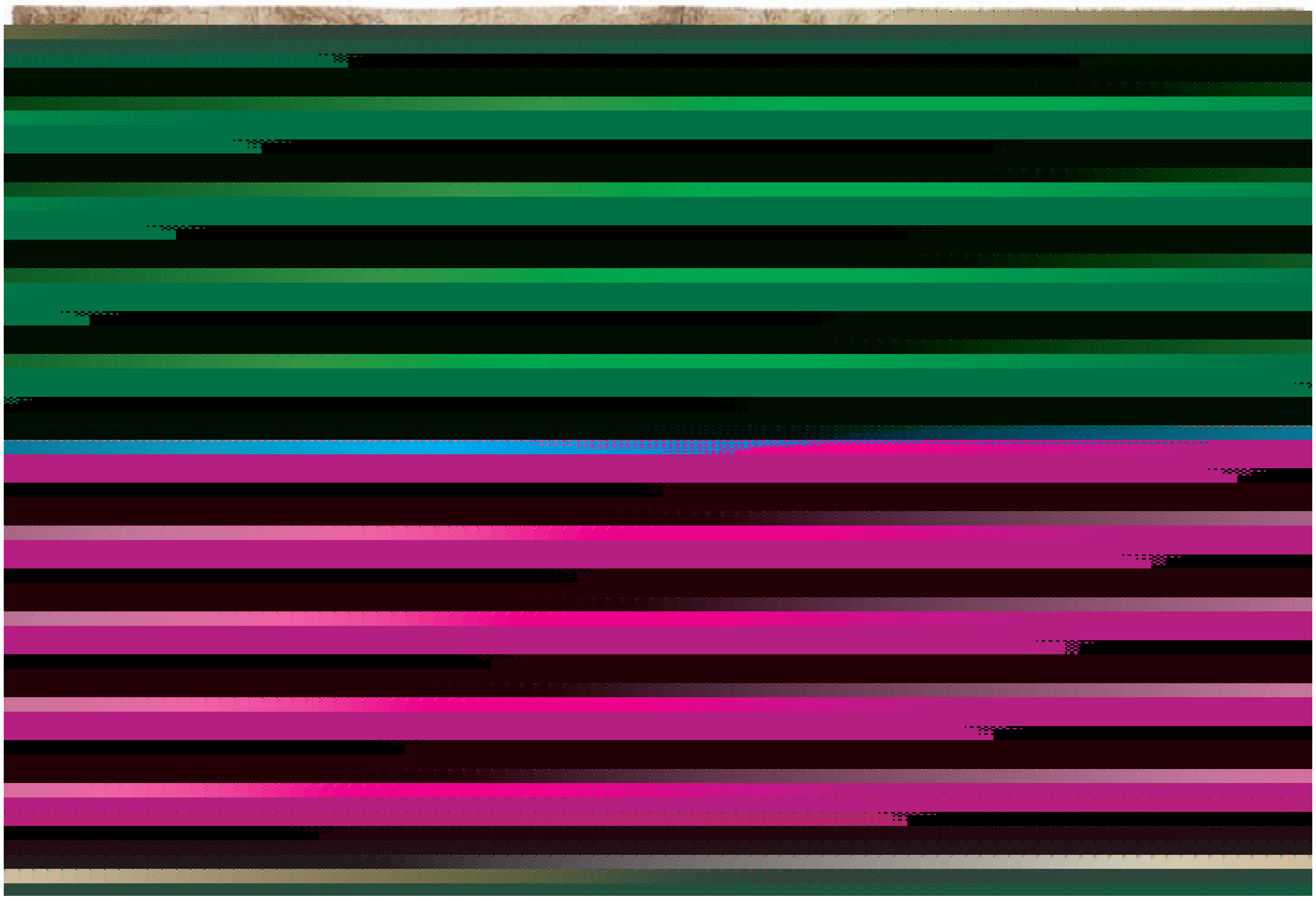
Following the presentation to Francis I of three completed tapestries from the *Deeds* sequence in 1532, the French king commissioned the rest of that set as well as the complementary *Triumphs* from the Venetian merchant Marc Crétif. The enormous undertaking of weaving these tapestries was completed by 1535. Francis's set was destroyed at the order of the Directory in 1797, but the appearance of the twenty-two-piece set can be reconstructed on the basis of inventory descriptions, preparatory drawings by Giulio and his workshop, and later weavings of the design. Of these, the set purchased by Mary of Hungary in 1544, from which catalogue number 43 derives, is the earliest known reedition of the design.

For a detailed discussion of the artist, design, and what is known of the circumstances in which the *Deeds* and the *Triumphs* were conceived, see above, pages 341–49. The subject of the *Triumphs* is taken from Roman history as recorded by Livy, Polybius, and Appian and represents the victorious entry into Rome accorded to the general Scipio Africanus after his conquest of Carthage in the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.).

Description of the Drawings

The two drawings, both assigned to Giulio Romano, are preparatory works for the tapestry the *Triumphal Chariot of Scipio,* which was the penultimate scene in the *Triumphs of Scipio.*[2] The drawings demonstrate the development of the design for this panel, providing a vivid impression of Giulio's creative process. The first (cat. no. 41), a rough compositional sketch in ink and pencil over brown chalk on paper, defines the basic elements of the scene: a procession of six horses and female figures moving from right to left and pulling Scipio's triumphal chariot, only minimally indicated. The hero, at the top right, wears a victor's crown of laurel leaves. Across the top of the sheet are four winged figures, three Victories carrying crowns and Fame with her trumpet. At the far left is a figure of Athena, goddess of war, wearing a helmet, her breast bared.

Building on this rough sketch, the Louvre sheet (cat. no. 42), in brown ink with brown wash and white highlights, offers a more complete and detailed composition. Here the chariot is richly ornamented, with carvings and draperies carefully represented. The lower right corner is filled with figures including a reclining nude, seen from the back, representing Rome's Tiber River, and the infant twins Romulus and Remus, founders of Rome, with the she-wolf who nurtured them. At the left, an eagle, emblem of the Roman Republic, perches atop a plaque engraved SPQR (the Senate and People of Rome); behind is a landscape suggestive of the seven hills of Rome. With its prancing horses, expressive, modeled figures, and precise details arranged as a classical frieze, the sheet clearly reflects Giulio's style of the late 1520s and early 1530s.



Detail of cat. no. 43

reactions of those immediately in front of the bellowing elephant) perfectly demonstrates Giulio's ability to breathe fresh life into antique forms.

A preparatory drawing for *Oxen and Elephants* survives in the Louvre (fig. 168).[5] Often described as the *modello* for this design and generally attributed to Giulio, this drawing differs in a number of ways from the composition of the design as it is known from the Mary of Hungary panel (as do the *modelli* for other Giulio *Triumphs* scenes in relation to all known weavings). Although the *Oxen and Elephants* drawing contains many of the elements that appear in the tapestry, it presents a much more condensed composition. The animals are packed close together, leaving no room for the landscape that appears in the background of the tapestry. The drawing also lacks various figures with which the composition of the tapestry is extended. Seeking to account for these divergences, d'Astier, assuming that Mary of Hungary's tapestry was a faithful reproduction of Francis I's lost weaving of this design, suggested that the Louvre drawing preceded a final *modello* by Giulio in which these modifications were effected.[6] More recently, Forti Grazzini, following Jestaz, suggested that the changes were made by the artists who painted the cartoons in Brussels in 1532–33.[7] A possible explanation for the elongation may be provided by Adelson's suggestion that Francis intended the combined sequence of the *Deeds* and the *Triumphs* to hang in the long gallery at Fontainebleau. If this was the case, the elongation of the design may have been to accommodate the dimensions of this room.

In addition to the Louvre drawing, a cartoon for the *Oxen and Elephants* has also survived (State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg).[8] The relationship among the cartoon, Francis I's lost set, and Mary of Hungary's set remains unclear.

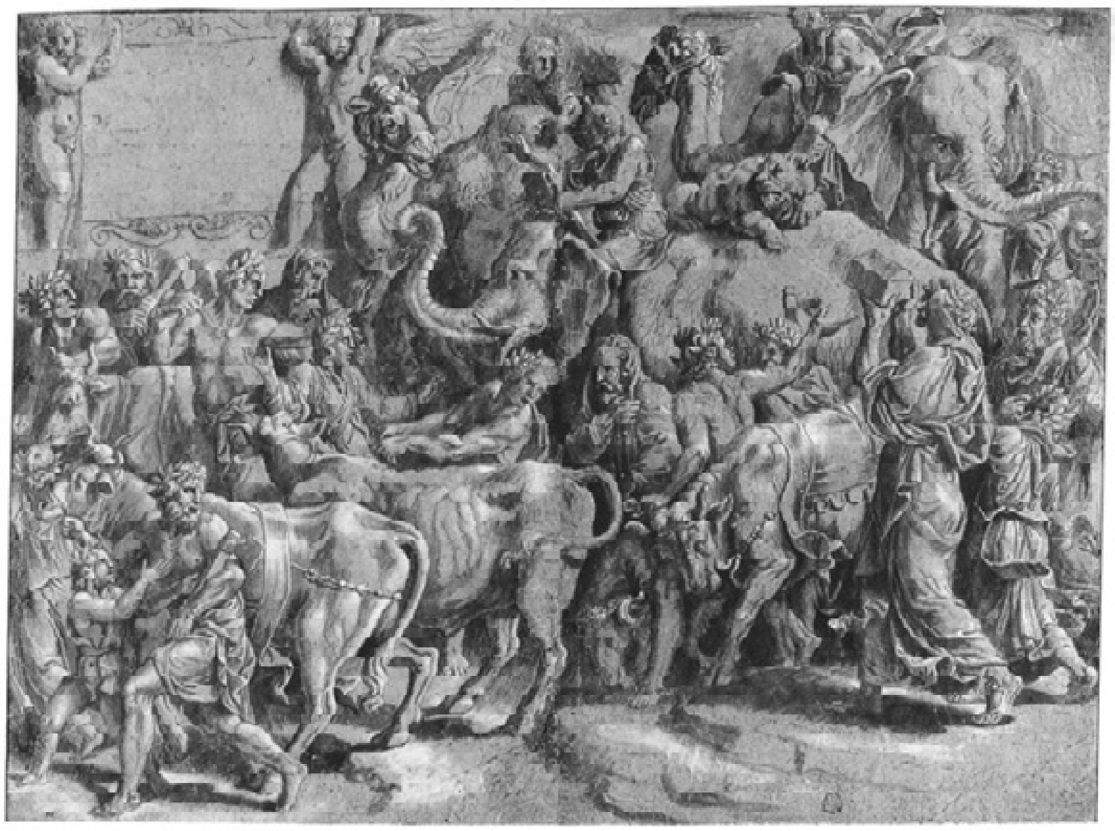


Fig. 168. *Oxen and Elephants.* Preparatory drawing for the tapestry, attributed to Giulio Romano, ca. 1532. Pen and brown ink, brown wash and white heightening on paper, 41.3 x 55.9 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Although the cartoon is remarkably close in many aspects to the detail in both the *modello* and in Mary of Hungary's tapestry in Madrid, it also shows significant divergences from both. The cartoon differs from the *modello* in such areas as the addition of the richly decorated caparison over the central elephant and of the driver on the second elephant, changes that might be explained as elaborations of the design either in a subsequent preparatory drawing or, more probably, by the artists who made the cartoon. However, there are differences that are less readily explained. Most obviously, the cartoon lacks the cartouche and inscription at the left of the Louvre drawing and the Madrid tapestry. In addition, the figures in the foreground at the front of the procession (cartoon's right, tapestry's left) differ, and the cartoon has a short balustrade in front of the foremost figures that is lacking in both the Louvre drawing and the Madrid tapestry, as well as in all later seventeenth-century reweavings of the design.

The explanation for these divergences is unclear. That Francis I's *Oxen and Elephants* was woven from the Hermitage cartoon—as it now survives—seems to be ruled out on the basis of a seventeenth-century account that describes Francis's tapestry as including the inscribed plaque envisaged in the *modello* and appearing in Mary of Hungary's tapestry.[9] Some scholars have proposed that the Hermitage cartoon is a sixteenth-century copy developed either from the lost original cartoon or from the *modelli* created for the production of a now lost reedition of the design.[10] Alternatively, it is possible that the Hermitage cartoon is the original, that it was used for production of both Francis I's and Mary of Hungary's sets, and that it was subsequently extensively patched and repainted to take account of damage to the right-hand side. The cartoon currently hangs in a large glass-fronted case, so study is not easy, but it is to be hoped that future analysis may elucidate this issue.

Patron and Date

This tapestry is from a seven-piece set purchased by Mary of Hungary in 1544 from Erasmus Schets, the earliest documented reweaving of the original twenty-two-piece set made for Francis I.[11] Mary's abbreviated version of the series incorporated two scenes from the *Triumphs* and five of the *Deeds.* The set was made in Brussels as evidenced by the marks it carries. A document provides the probable identity of the workshop in which it was woven: it records a 1546 transaction between the Brussels weaver Balthazar van Vlierden, who had relocated from Brussels to Antwerp in 1544, and François Thonis, director of the Antwerp wine excise. According to this, van Vlierden sold to Thonis his share of twelve pieces of *Scipio* and eight pieces of the *Story of Tobias,* having previously sold his interest in another part of the group to Erasmus Schets. Thus it seems likely that Mary's set was also woven in van Vlierden's workshop.[12] Mary of Hungary's set bears two marks, of which one, barely legible, has been attributed to Erasmus Schets.[13] However, since the 1546 document shows that Schets made purchases from van Vlierden for tapestries that he did not commission, this attribution must remain in question. The second mark, published by d'Astier but no longer visible, is unidentified.[14]

THOMAS CAMPBELL AND
LORRAINE KARAFEL

1. See above, pp. 343, 347–49.
2. Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 135.
3. Appian *Roman History* 8.9.66.
4. D'Astier 1907, pp. 54–55; Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 470.
5. Jestaz in Paris 1978, pp. 115–16.
6. D'Astier 1907, p. 148.
7. Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 119; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, p. 236.
8. Inv. no. 6343; Paris 1978, pp. 118–19.
9. Jestaz and Bacou in ibid., pp. 6, 119.
10. Jestaz in ibid., p. 119; Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 470; Forti Grazzini in Colorno 1998, p. 129.
11. Finot 1892, p. 243; Buchanan 1992, p. 382.
12. Donnet 1896, p. 281; Jestaz in Paris 1978, p. 15; Buchanan 1992, pp. 380–82.
13. Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 470.
14. D'Astier 1907, p. 146; Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, p. 69; Buchanan 1992, p. 380.

44.

Apollo with the Signs of the Zodiac

From a five-piece set of *Apollo and the Four Seasons*
Design here attributed to an Italian artist, probably Perino del Vaga, ca. 1540–45
Woven in Brussels, ca. 1545
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
394 x 585 cm (12 ft. 11 in. x 19 ft. 2¼ in.)
7–9 warps per cm
The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
(T 15623)

PROVENANCE: 1885, acquired by Baron A. L. Stieglitz, Saint Petersburg; 1923, acquired by the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.

REFERENCES: Saint Petersburg 1956, p. 38; Delmarcel in Antwerp 1994, pp. 41–48.

CONDITION: Good. All the colors are somewhat faded, and the gilt-metal-wrapped thread is tarnished.

This tapestry is one of a group of five tapestries of *Apollo and the Four Seasons*. The inspiration for this little-known and enigmatic set is drawn from the influential but perplexing Neoplatonic text the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* by Francesco Colonna, first published in Venice in 1499. When four pieces of the set (not including this one) were first exhibited in Antwerp in 1994, they were tentatively identified as the product of a Brussels workshop of about 1560. New research suggests that while the tapestries were almost certainly woven in Brussels, their design is closely related to work executed by Perino del Vaga in Genoa and Rome during the late 1530s and early 1540s and that the idiosyncratic iconography of the set may point toward a member of the Farnese family as patron in the mid-1540s. The *Apollo* tapestry and the other four, *Spring, Summer, Autumn,* and *Winter,* are remarkable for their vivid imagery and complex iconography. Indeed, the set represents a high point in the melding of Italian design and iconography and Netherlandish weaving in the mid-sixteenth century.

Description

The tapestry depicts the sun god Apollo surrounded by the signs of the zodiac, set against a rich background of imaginative grotesques. The figure of Apollo is represented as an ideal nude striding forward, swathed in red drapery. Delmarcel identified the source of the central images in the other four tapestries of the set, which depict the Seasons, as a group of wood engravings from the 1499 edition of Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.*[1] The Apollo figure is also related to an illustration in Colonna's book; in both, the figure steps forward, arms outstretched, holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right. Both figures also recall the antique sculpture the Apollo Belvedere, which was well known from the 1490s. In the tapestry, Apollo's divinity is suggested by an aura of carefully defined rays. At his lower right is a raven, identified by Ovid as "Apollo's bird."[2] At the god's lower left is a serpent, wounded with an arrow, probably a reference to the monstrous Python of classical literature that terrorized the earth in its beginnings and that was slain by one of Apollo's arrows.[3]

Signs of the zodiac—symbols of the heavenly stars, each in a blue field reminiscent of the evening sky—encircle the sun god. In both the tapestry and the wood engraving, Apollo is framed by a wreath of fruit and leaves, perhaps an allusion to nature and the earthly elements that are featured in the other four tapestries. This central medallion is surrounded by fantastic beasts arranged symmetrically against a deep red ground. Below is a pair of sphinxes, and above, a pair of griffins, their lions' bodies ending in curling fish tails. On either side of the medallion, against a dark blue ground, a tall balustraded column supports a many-breasted figure of Diana of Ephesus, symbol of abundance. In this guise, Diana, sister of Apollo, embodies the fecundity of nature and becomes a goddess of fertility, protector of children and childbirth. Antique representations of Diana of Ephesus were known in Renaissance Rome, inspiring a depiction by Raphael in the Vatican Loggia (1517–18).[4] Another image was installed in the Palazzo Farnese, where, under Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, it was located in the Stanza del Toro, leading to the garden; in a Farnese inventory of 1644 it was listed as "a torso of Mother Nature with many breasts."[5] At the lower left and right of the tapestry, exotic mermaids and mermen reach up toward exuberantly scrolling acanthus vines, intertwined with playing putti.

The tapestries, as noted, are visually and iconographically linked to the 1499 edition of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.* This influential book, written in a particular combination of Italian and Latin, is both a treatise on art and a narrative of the romance of Poliphilo and the nymph Polia, all of which takes place in a dream. Though the name of its author is not certain, a document of 1512 identified him as a Venetian Dominican friar, Francesco Colonna; this is generally accepted by scholars. The text presents Apollo by means of Poliphilo's description of a magnificent, jewel-encrusted chariot whose decorations incorporate a frieze illustrating the narrative of the recent and curious birth to a noblewoman of two eggs, one with a flame emerging from it and the other with two bright stars. Apollo has been called on to interpret the meaning of this birth. After describing the scenes, Poliphilo accompanies the nymph Polia and her companions in a triumphal procession in honor of Vertumnus and Pomona, arriving at an altar carved with depictions of the Four Seasons; in this context appear the illustrations on which the central images of the other four tapestries are based.

In Colonna's text, whose full meaning continues to elude literary scholars, the eggs may represent earthly love or passion (egg with flame) and heavenly or divine love (egg with two stars), reinforcing the text's theme of the nature of love. Apollo, employed as an oracle and interpreter in Colonna's text, was viewed in classical mythology not only as the god of poetry and music but, like the Muses, as a giver of inspiration. In the *Apollo* tapestry, as the symbol of enlightenment and creativity, he perhaps offers a counterpoint to the sensuous fertility symbolized by the figures of Diana of Ephesus that flank him. Apollo is also linked to the Roman emperor Augustus, patron of art and literature, who encouraged the cult of Apollo, erected a temple to him on the Palatine, and chose Apollo as his special protector. The figure of Apollo thus evokes the spirit of Augustus and the golden age of art and literature that he supported.

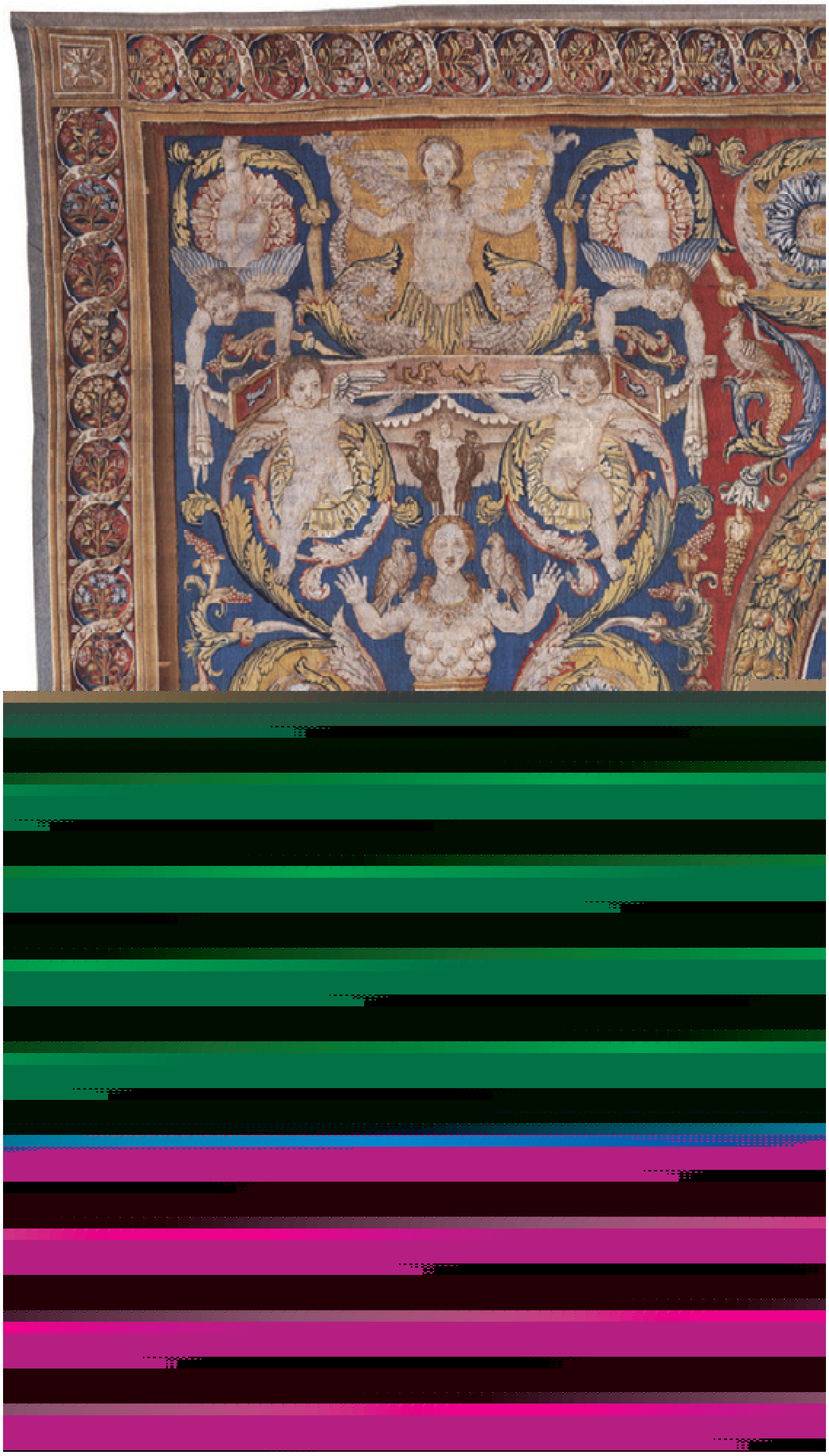
Apollo can also be interpreted here as a metaphor of Christ. In medieval literature, Apollo, as son of Jupiter and god of light, became associated with Christ, and his myths became Christianized. For example, in the *Ovide moralisé,* a Christianized retelling of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* written in the early fourteenth century by an unknown author, Ovid's tale of Apollo slaying the Python is interpreted as an allegory of Christ overcoming the Devil.[6] The story of the raven is also interpreted in the *Ovide moralisé* as the bird representing Apollo's selfless "faithful servant," a metaphor for the followers of Christ.[7]

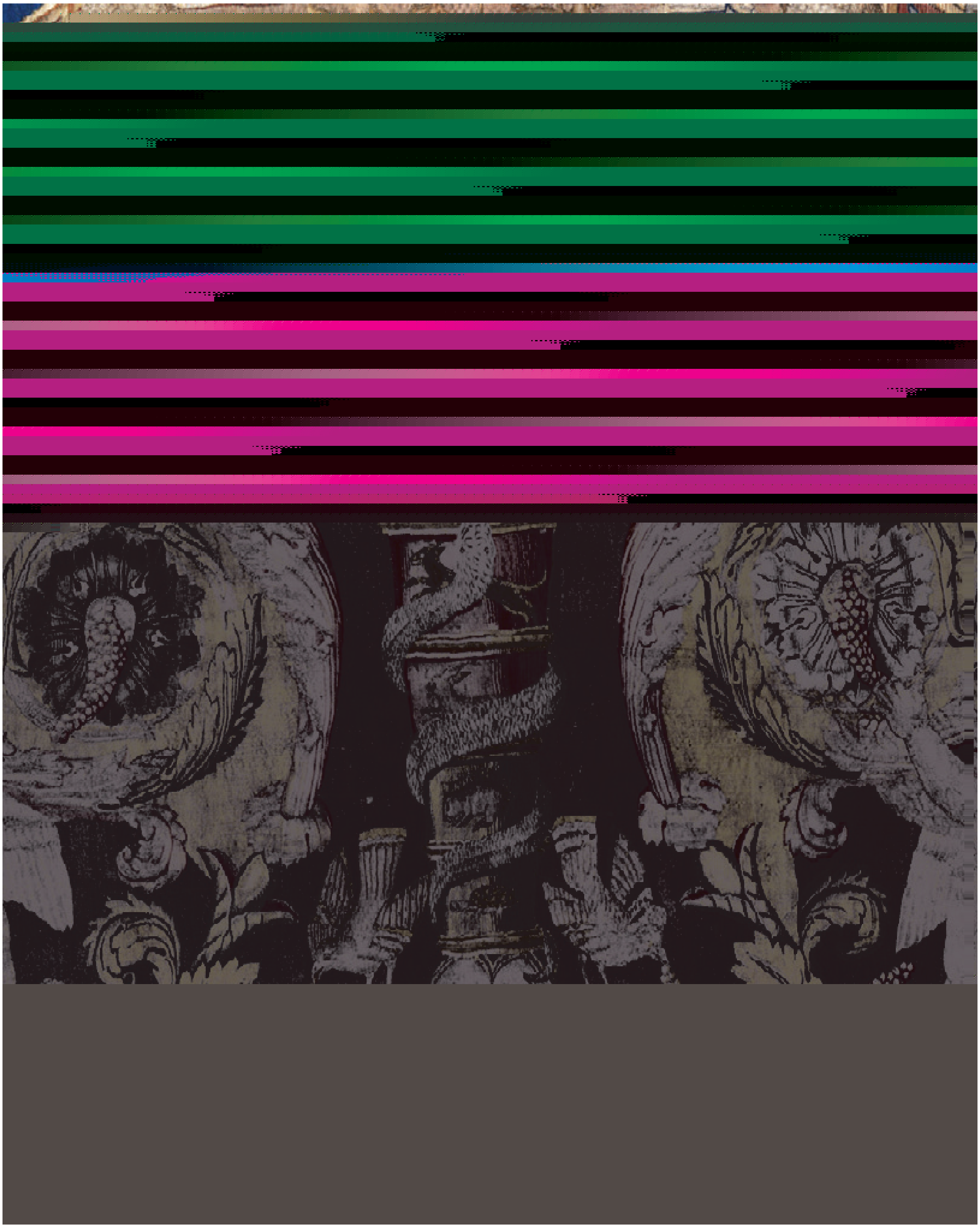
While the iconography of the tapestries, like that of Colonna's enigmatic text, remains to be analyzed in detail, the set evidently carries complex symbolic references to heaven and earth (Apollo and the zodiac or the Four Seasons), to time (the cycles of day and night or month and year), to love (sacred and profane), to religion (pagan classicism or Christianity), and even to creativity (art and nature) that reflect a highly developed program for a sophisticated patron who would have appreciated the complexity of its many allusions.

Designer

When the tapestry series was exhibited in 1994, Delmarcel, noting the high quality of design and execution, assigned the set to Brussels and suggested about 1560 as a possible date of production by analogy with the manufacture of a number of other sets with grotesque designs in this period.[8] However, the design of the *Apollo and the Four Seasons* set differs markedly from these later series, which were woven from designs by Netherlandish artists who had placed a decidedly Northern stamp on the grotesque forms they used. In contrast, the grotesques in this set are more in the spirit of the work of various Raphael-school artists of the late 1520s and 1530s, especially that of Giulio Romano, Giovanni da Udine, and Perino del Vaga. Many of the components of the design are particularly close to those in designs by Perino, done both during his sojourn in Genoa in the 1530s and, especially, in the 1540s after his return to Rome.

This link with Perino's work was mentioned in passing by Delmarcel, who cited the similarity





Detail of cat. no. 44

of the grotesques of playing putti to a print after Perino of 1532, without elaborating further on this theme.[9] Detailed examination of Perino's work reveals many other resonances. For example, a drawing of griffins and lions that appears to be designed by Perino for a fountain, executed in 1530–32 for the Palazzo Doria in Genoa, could also have served as a source for the griffins at the lower left of the *Summer* tapestry.[10] The scene of the Battle of the Nereids (inspired by a Mantegna engraving) at the lower left of the *Winter* tapestry is stylistically close to similar depictions in fresco and stucco designed by Perino about 1545 for the Sala Paolina in the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome.[11] In the *Autumn* tapestry (fig. 169), the lions that appear on the central frieze of the antique vase in the foreground are strongly reminiscent of those in the Triumph of Bacchus design that Perino executed about 1543 for one of the incised crystal panels for a gold casket commissioned by Alessandro Farnese (Museo Capodimonte, Naples).[12] The figure of Apollo in the *Apollo* tapestry, with its idealized form, is reminiscent of a stucco representation of that god in the loggia of the Palazzo Doria, Genoa.[13] With its zodiacal frame, it also recalls the divine figures that appear in the *Story of Aeneas* tapestries designed by Perino for Andrea I Doria during the early to mid-1530s.[14] An attribution of the design of the *Apollo and the Four Seasons* set to Perino is further supported by a consideration of the iconography and patron for whom the set may have been made.

Patron

The earliest record of a set of tapestries similar to that in the Hermitage is found in an inventory of tapestries and textiles in the French crown collection (most of which had belonged to Francis I), which was taken in 1551 after the death of the royal tapissier, Guillaume Moynier. This describes "five large tapestries of fine work, in the manner of Brussels, enhanced with cyprus gold and silk, representing the Planets or seasons of the year."[15] Although this description is not adequate to identify the French royal set as a weaving of the present design, an inventory of the French royal collection made under Louis XIV in 1675 provides further information. Under the title *Apollo and the Four Seasons,* the set is described as woven in wool and silk, as of

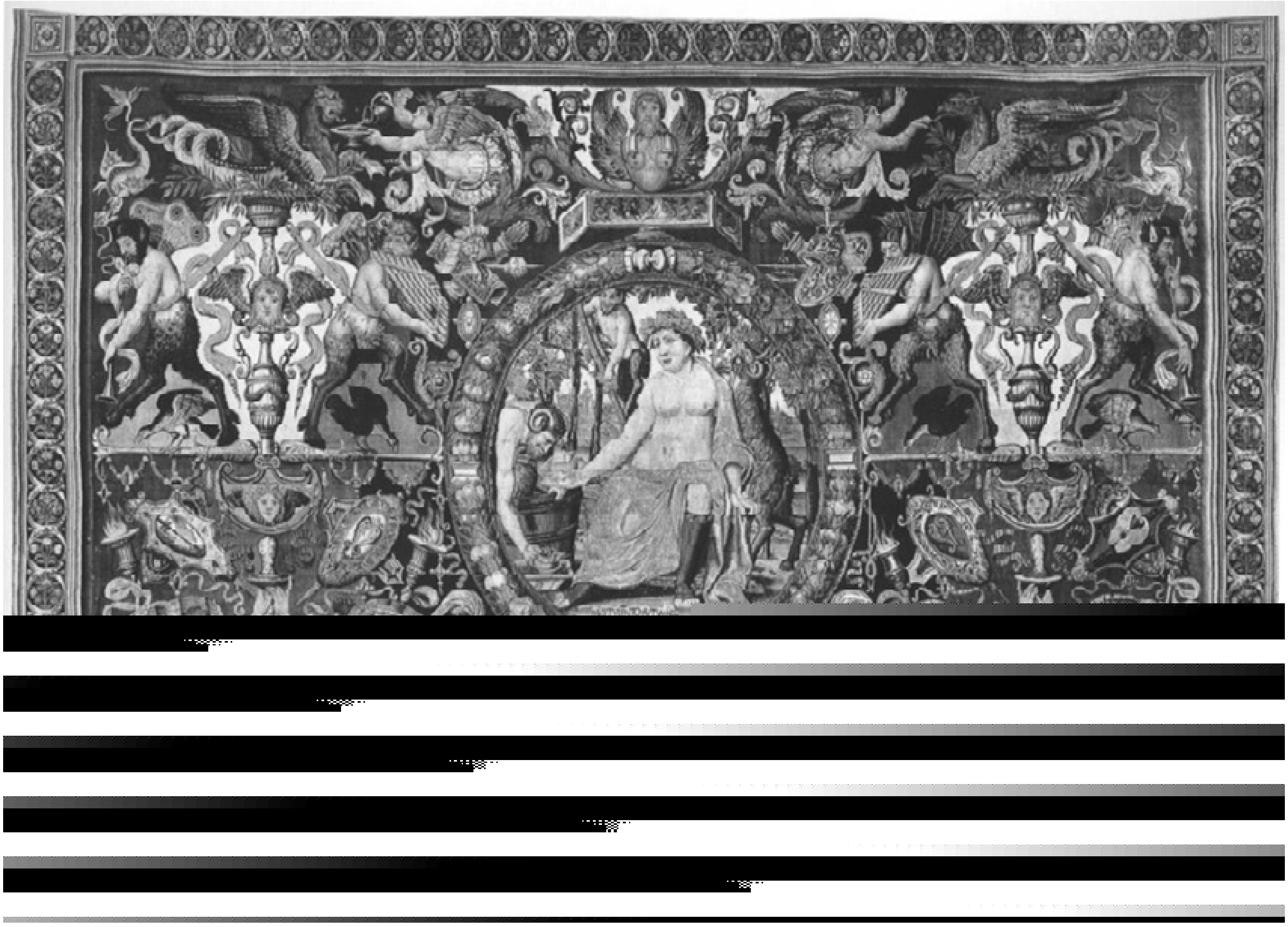


Fig. 169. *Autumn* from *Apollo and the Four Seasons*. Tapestry probably designed by Perino del Vaga, woven in Brussels, ca. 1545. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 393 x 585 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

Netherlandish Designers, 1530-60

Fueled by the enormous sums of money that contemporary patrons were channeling into tapestry commissions and purchases, the Brussels industry enjoyed a period of extraordinary expansion and prosperity during the second third of the sixteenth century. With a sizable proportion of the town population involved in this production in one way or another, the leading workshops were able to turn out an unprecedented volume of high-quality tapestries with remarkable rapidity. This activity required a steady stream of new designs, and although we know relatively little about the process of cartoon manufacture, it is clear that during the 1530s there must have been dozens of artists in Brussels engaged in the preparation of tapestry cartoons from designs by the leading artists of the day. From the early 1540s, if not before, a similar situation may have existed in Antwerp. It was in these circumstances that a second generation of Netherlandish designers came into prominence, working with the elements Bernaert van Orley had drawn from the northern European and Italian traditions, each artist bringing a particular contribution to the synthesis.

PIETER COECKE VAN AELST

The first artist from van Orley's circle to achieve independent stature as a tapestry designer was Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550).[1] Although his life is poorly documented, the main outlines of his career can be established on the basis of the few extant records. He was born in Aalst, some fifteen miles northwest of Brussels; Karel van Mander tells us that Coecke served his apprenticeship with van Orley and that he made a long trip to Italy, where he studied the art, sculpture, and buildings of Rome. The style of Coecke's early work and his subsequent activity as a tapestry designer provide circumstantial evidence for the first assertion, while his lifelong fascination with classical art and architecture, as attested by the paintings and designs he produced, as well as by architectural treatises he translated during the 1540s, support the second. If van Mander is correct, we might posit an apprenticeship with van Orley in the late 1510s and a trip to Italy in the early 1520s.[2] By 1526 Coecke was employed in Antwerp, probably in the workshop of Jan van Doornicke, to whose daughter he was married and by whom he already had two children. Van Doornicke died in 1527, and as Coecke was listed as a "Franc-Maître" in the Liggeren (guild register) of Antwerp in this year (on the occasion of taking on an apprentice), it seems likely that he took over his father-in-law's workshop. His name appears in the registers again in 1529, 1539, and 1544, when he accepted new apprentices, and in 1537 he was named a "Doyen" of the guild.[3] Nevertheless, it is clear that Coecke continued to maintain very close links with the Brussels tapestry community throughout this period, whether directly or via the Antwerp merchants who funded so much of the Brussels industry.

A variety of activities related to tapestry making have been ascribed to Coecke during the 1520s, of which roles in the execution of the *Scuola nuova (Life of Christ)*, *Battle of Pavia,* and *Hunts of Maximilian* cartoons, although unproven, are the most plausible.[4] That he did have considerable experience in tapestry design and cartoon production by the early 1530s is confirmed by evidence of his first certain connection to the tapestry trade. According to a brief account of 1572 by Georg Braun and a more detailed one by van Mander, Coecke traveled to Turkey to negotiate, so van Mander tells us, the sale of tapestries to the sultan Süleyman the Magnificent on behalf of the Dermoyen tapestry merchants—an enterprise that foundered because of the Muslim interdiction against the representation of human and animal figures in art.[5] Van Mander's account is substantiated by the testimony of two contracts drawn up in 1533 between Willem Dermoyen on one side, and the Augsburg merchant Jakob Rehlinger and his Antwerp associate Pieter van der Walle on the other. These agreements gave Rehlinger and van der Walle an option on two tapestry sets, one a duplicate of the *Battle of Pavia,* the other a duplicate of the *Hunts of Maximilian,* sample pieces of which they intended to convey to Constantinople to show to the sultan.[6] It seems reasonable to assume that Coecke must have been among the party that conveyed the tapestries to the sultan and that he would not have been included unless he was a voice of some authority in this medium. His relationship with Rehlinger is attested by the fact that the merchant helped him with the translation for the German edition of Sebastiano Serlio's fourth book on architectural orders, published in 1542. Although the intended sale to Süleyman came to nothing,

Fig. 170. Detail of cat. no. 47: *The Triumph of Lust* from the *Seven Deadly Sins*

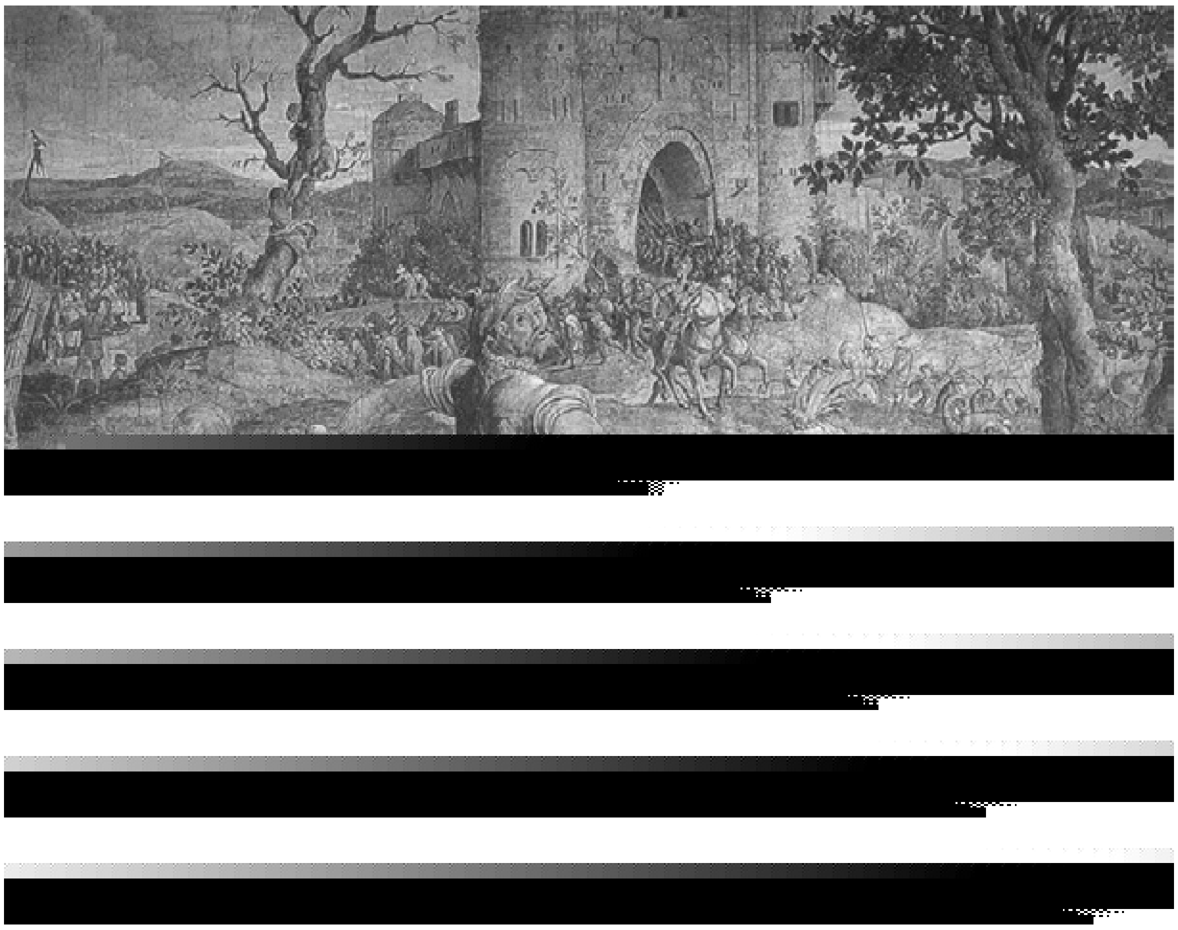


Fig. 171. *The Martyrdom of Paul.* Fragment of a cartoon for the tapestry from the *Story of Saint Paul* by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30. Chalk and washes of dilute body color on paper, 342 x 384 cm. Musée de la Ville, Brussels

Coecke's second wife, Mayken Verhulst, was to publish a series of engravings in 1553 (three years after her husband's death), titled the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (*Moeurs et fachons des turcs*), which must have been based on detailed drawings he made during this trip (see fig. 178).[7] On the basis of the format and style of these drawings it has been suggested, quite plausibly, that they may have been conceived as a series of tapestry designs. There is, however, no certain evidence that such a set was ever woven.[8]

Coecke must have been back in the Low Countries by 1534, by which time he had already achieved considerable status as an independent artist. This is attested by the inscription *Peintre de l'Empereur* that appeared on the base of the *Giant of Antwerp,* a sculpture he conceived in 1534 (the sculpture together with the inscription is recorded in an engraving of 1665 by Gilles Hendricx).[9] Modern claims that he accompanied Charles V to Tunis appear to be unfounded.[10] Archival documents reveal his activity as a glass designer in 1536, 1537, and 1540, while the large number of paintings that Marlier has associated with his style demonstrate that by these years he must have been directing a sizable shop that produced a considerable volume of repetitive work with limited participation on his part.[11] Indeed, like van Orley, Coecke seems to have focused his principal creative attention on tapestry design during the 1530s, and it is in the preparatory drawings that he executed for this medium that we find him at his most ambitious and innovative. Although no record of purchase links his name to any series of this period, Marlier was able to lay the foundations for analysis of Coecke's tapestry oeuvre by collating a number of groups of designs largely on the basis of stylistic affinity. His work was complemented by a monographic exhibition organized at Schloss Halbturn in 1981 that focused on three design series that can be attributed to Coecke with some certainty.[12]

The earliest of these was probably the *Story of Saint Paul* (cat. nos. 45, 46), of which nine subjects are extant in various complete and partial sets. Preparatory sketches and *modelli* for seven of the designs, as well as one large cartoon fragment (fig. 171) and two smaller pieces (British Museum), are also known for the sequence. The series was evidently conceived under the influence of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles,* with which it shares three subjects in common. Yet Coecke's debt to Raphael's compositions, figures, costumes, and architectural settings has been subsumed within a distinctive personal style that was to characterize the Netherlandish artist's work throughout the 1530s. Following a traditional model that van Orley revitalized in his 1524 *Foundation of Rome* designs and later developed in his *Story of Jacob* series, Coecke's *Saint Paul* compositions

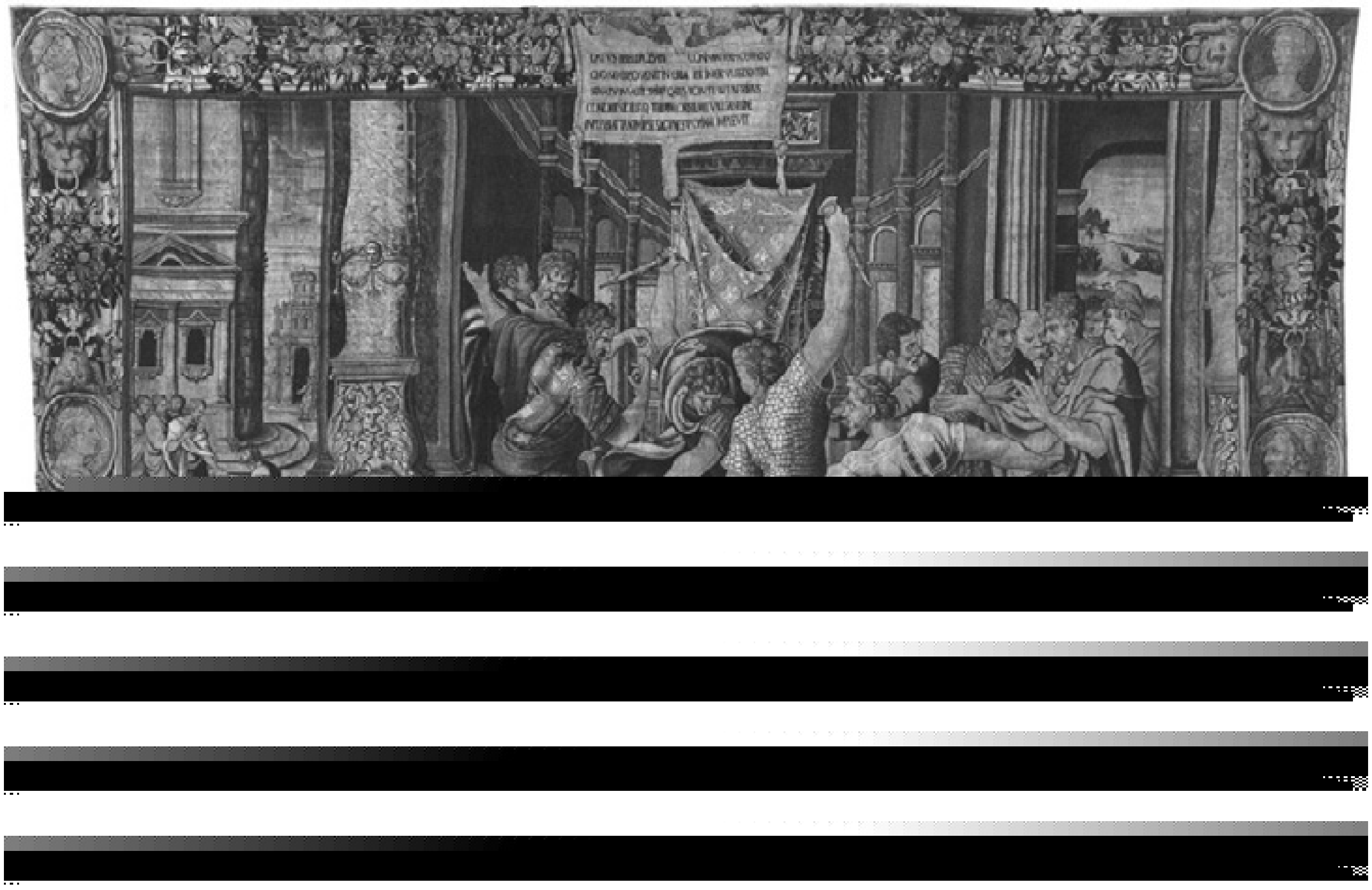
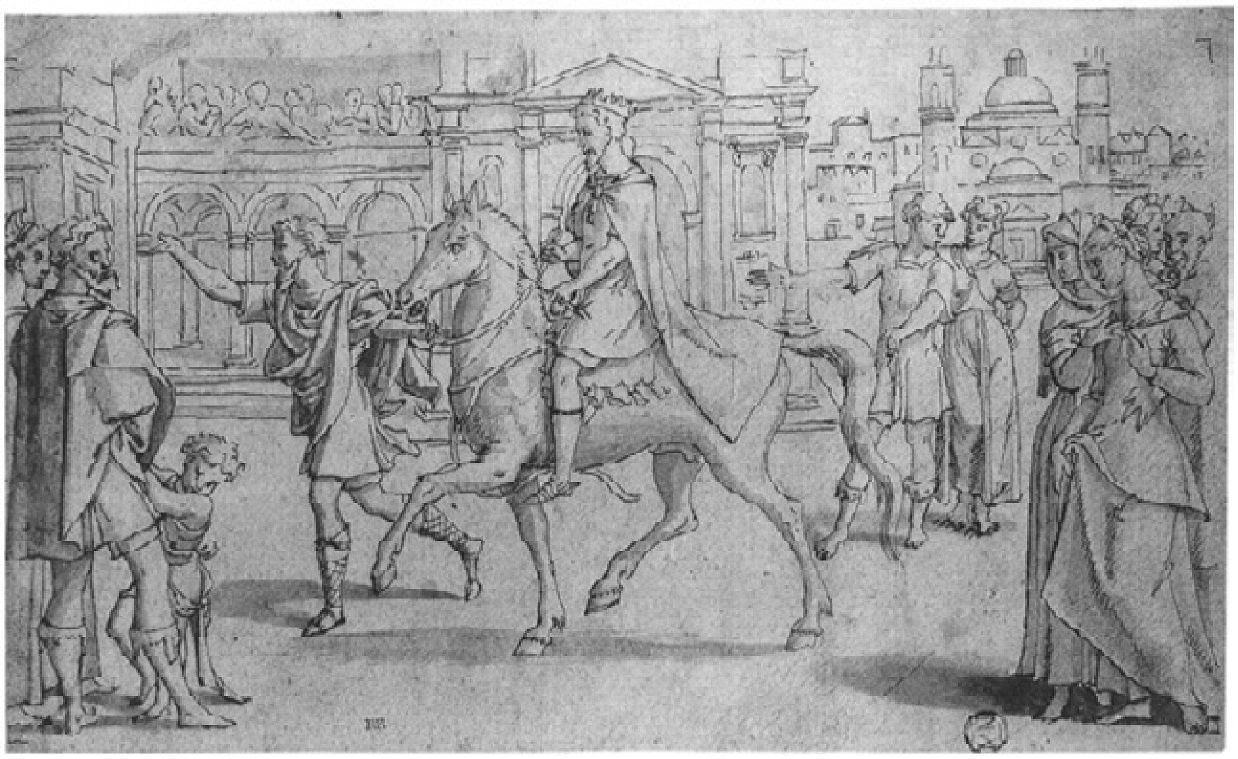


Fig. 174. *The Assassination of Caesar* from the *Story of Julius Caesar.* Tapestry design here attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, woven in Brussels, ca. 1549. Wool and silk, 495 x 710 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican City

as a tapestry designer during the 1530s to his activity as a publisher. From 1539 he is known to have devoted himself to the task of translating a series of Italian architectural treatises, an enterprise that van Mander hailed for having "brought the light [of knowledge] into our Netherlands and redirected the lost art of architecture to the right direction."[19] In 1539 Coecke published a synthesis of Vitruvius's work concerning the classical orders and a translation of Serlio's fourth book (based on the original published two years earlier in Venice). A German translation was published in 1542 and a French edition in 1545. Coecke's Flemish translation of Serlio's third book followed in 1546, a new Flemish translation of the fourth book in 1549, and in 1550 the French translation of the third book appeared. In 1555, after Coecke's death, his wife published Flemish editions of the first, second, and fourth books.[20] While it is true that these projects must have occupied a considerable amount of time, they would not have been all consuming. Moreover, it is doubtful that Coecke would have abandoned one of the most profitable and prestigious aspects of his profession for what was effectively a hobby.

In fact, evidence that he did continue to play a substantial role in tapestry design can be deduced from various quarters. First, a drawing of a previously unknown subject (Staatliche Graphische Samlung, Munich), which Marlier correctly published as an example of Coecke's later style, has recently been identified as a preparatory sketch for a series devoted to the *Story of Julius Caesar.* The editio princeps of the design was supplied to Henry VIII in 1543–44, suggesting a conception date in the early 1540s.[21] Although Henry's set vanished in the nineteenth century, the appearance of the series can be reconstructed on the basis of a single scene, the *Assassination of Caesar* (fig. 174), from a set acquired by Pope Julius III in 1555. Dated 1549 (presumably indicating the year of the weaving), this tapestry provides the connecting link to a fragment deriving from one of the original cartoons (fig. 175), and to a number of second-generation weavings, in which certain compositions and figure types are clearly in Coecke's distinctive style. These offer an impression, albeit simplified, of the original designs, although judgments about their style and quality must be very guarded in view of the loss of all but one of the first-generation works. It is to be noted, however, that the figures in the *Assassination of Caesar* lack the highly individualized character of those in earlier Coecke designs, perhaps indicating that the master was responsible for only the *modelli* for the set and that the cartoons were executed largely by assistants.

Fig. 177. *The Triumph of Mordecai. Modello* for a tapestry by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1545. Pen and ink and wash on paper, 16.9 x 28 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris



took place in Haarlem under Cornelis Willemsz or in the Amsterdam establishment of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, perhaps followed by a spell in van Orley's studio, before he set up his own workshop in Mechelen in 1525.[29] In 1525 he entered the service of Margaret of Austria, for whom he worked primarily as a court portraitist, traveling with her to Cambrai in 1529 and to Augsburg and Innsbruck in 1530. According to a bill presented after Margaret's death in 1530, by that date Vermeyen had already executed the portraits of nineteen members of the imperial family, including Charles V.[30] The style of his early work reflects the influence of Jan Gossart with whom he may have trained in his formative years, and with Jan van Scorel with whom, van Mander tells us, he maintained personal and commercial links. Following Margaret of Austria's death, Vermeyen's services were retained by Mary of Hungary, for whom he painted portraits and religious subjects. By June 1534 Vermeyen had joined Charles V in Spain, from whence, in April 1535, he accompanied the emperor on the crusade to Tunis. Whether he had been summoned specifically for this task is unclear; however, the fact that he had been in Spain for eight months before Charles announced his plans suggests that

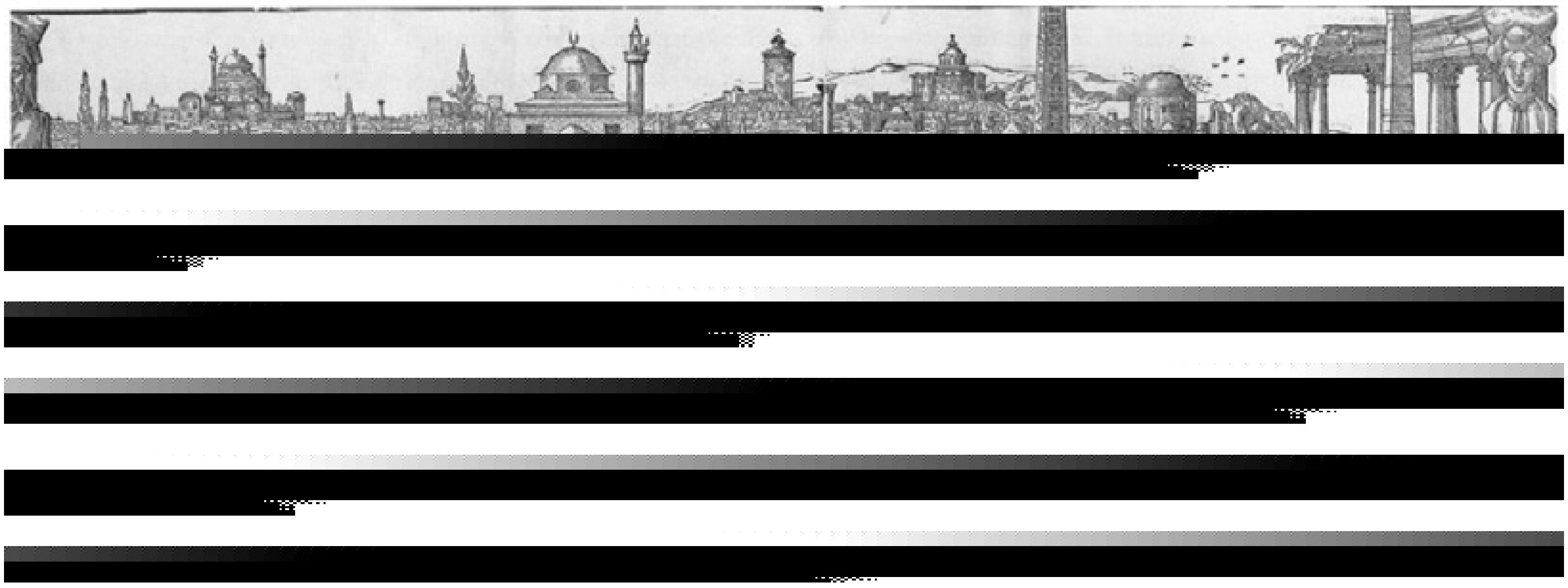


Fig. 178. *Procession of Sultan Süleyman through the Atmeidan* (detail of right side) from the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks.* Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1553. Woodcut, 29.5 x 83.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.85.7a, b)

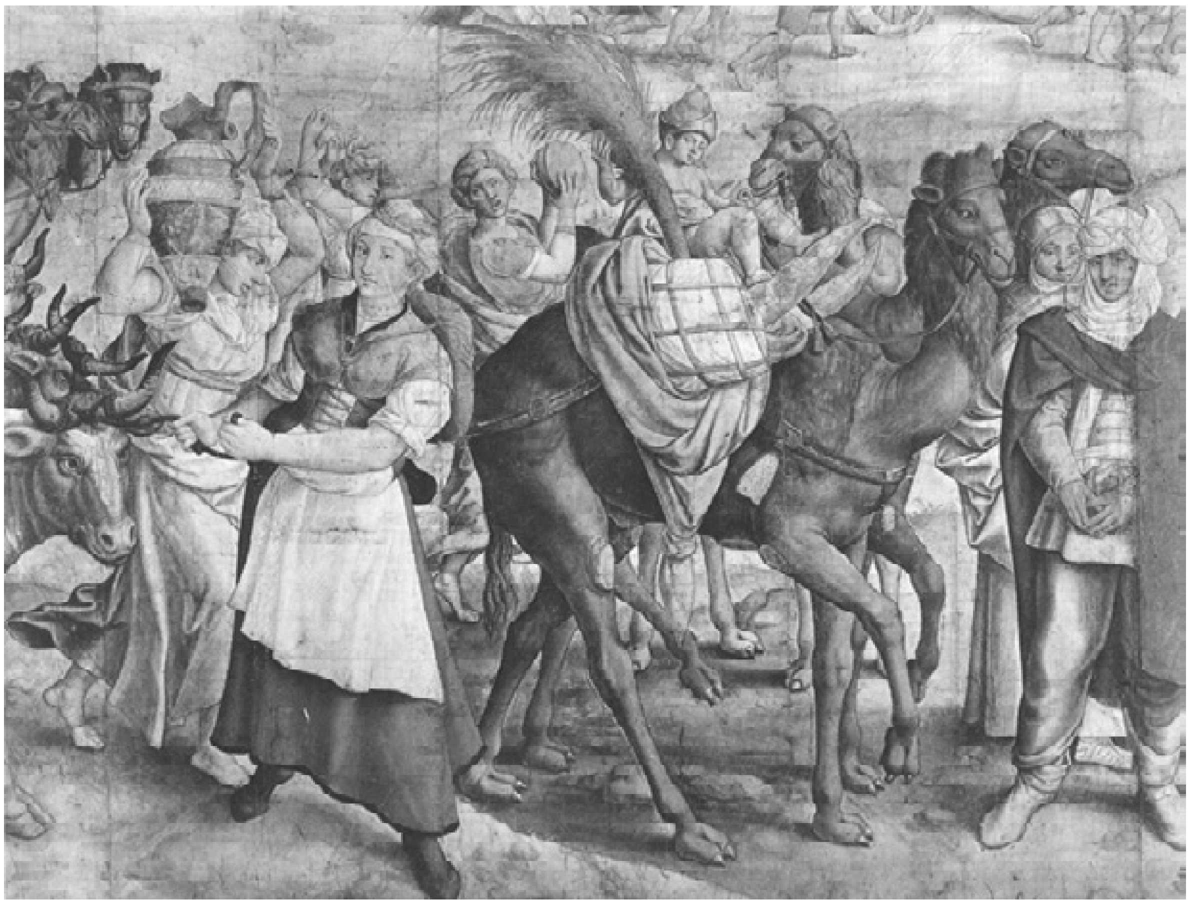


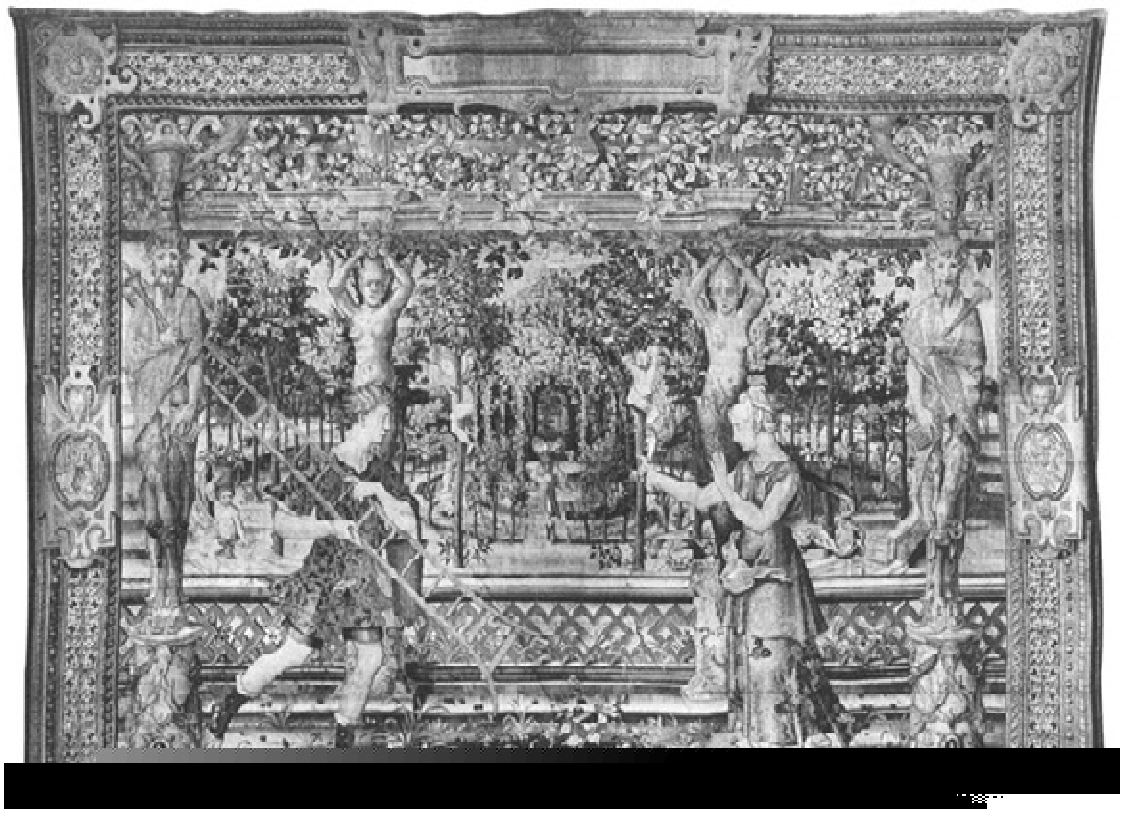
Fig. 181. *The March to Rada.* Detail of the cartoon for the tapestry from the *Conquest of Tunis* by Jan Vermeyen, ca. 1548–54. Charcoal and body color on paper mounted on canvas, 385 x 887 cm (dimensions of whole). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

of the painted or engraved works of the 1540s that he attributes to Vermeyen, which include a broad range of portraits and genre and religious subjects, has the slightest resemblance to this group of tapestry designs.[47] In fact, the assignment of these designs to Vermeyen, first made by Crick-Kuntziger in 1927 and subsequently followed by many other authors, depends solely on the circular argument involving their stylistic similarity to figures in the *Tunis* tapestries.[48] Horn himself was skeptical about Vermeyen's role in the design of these series because their overall appearance is so different from that of his autograph work. Indeed, he sought to explain this divergence in the case of the *Vertumnus and Pomona* group as the mark of artists with whom Vermeyen may have worked. Among these collaborators, Horn suggested Cornelis Bos, who appears to have had a drawing by Vermeyen in his possession when he fled Antwerp in 1544.[49] However, Horn's supposition that this sheet was a cartoon for the *Vertumnus and Pomona* series is wholly unwarranted. Further circumstantial support for the attribution of the *Poesia,* Medici *Creation,* and *Vertumnus and Pomona* series to Coecke is provided by the fact that the cartoons for all three appear to have belonged to Antwerp merchants rather than to the merchant-weavers of Brussels, where Vermeyen worked: the cartoons for the *Creation* and the *Poesia* to the van der Walle family and those for the *Vertumus and Pomona* to Joris Vezeleer.

If Coecke did provide the *modelli* for these three series, he may also have played a part in the conception of another of the great sets of the mid-sixteenth century, that of the lost *Story of Psyche,* a weaving of which was delivered to Henry II in 1550. Although the editio princeps was burned in 1797 and no other sixteenth-century weaving is known, the appearance of the series is recorded in part in early seventeenth-century copies made in Paris.[50] The designs are based in part on a series of thirty-two engravings produced by the Master of the Die from designs that Vasari attributed to Coxcie.[51] However, the figures in the Parisian copies bear a strong familial resemblance to those in the group of designs here attributed to Coecke, raising an issue that clearly requires further investigation.

Although the arguments sketched-in here call for additional research, even in their present form they point the way to the resolution of several problems of attribution that have troubled tapestry historians for more than fifty years. First they indicate that the extant evidence gives us no reason to attribute any design other than that of the *Tunis* series to the hand of Vermeyen;[52] thus, the important role critics have tended to assign to him as a designer of tapestry cartoons during the 1540s must be reexamined with a very critical eye. Second, they demonstrate that several of the most important design series of the day may reasonably be returned to Coecke's oeuvre. We should recognize, however, that Coecke was

Fig. 182. *Vertumnus Disguised as an Apple Picker* from the *Story of Vertumnus and Pomona.* Tapestry design here attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, ca. 1545–50. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 425 x 500 cm. Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Madrid



[redacted]

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probably responsible only for the *modelli,* and that the cartoons and many of the details of the designs (particularly the landscapes and gardens in the *Creation* and *Vertumnus and Pomona* series) were likely executed by unidentified assistants. If this hypothesis is correct, the assignment of these designs to Coecke tells us something about the activity of his Antwerp cartoon workshop during the 1540s. Indeed, it would throw new light on the relationship of Antwerp and Brussels as centers of tapestry design in this period, with Coecke playing a role in Antwerp that equaled that of Michiel Coxcie in Brussels.

ITALIAN DESIGNS IN BRUSSELS, 1540S AND 1550S

Some of the finest cartoon series produced in Brussels during the 1540s and 1550s—the *Story of Moses,* the *Fruits of War* (*Fructus belli*), the *Playing Boys* (*Puttini*), and the *Story of Mercury and Herse*—are characterized by somewhat etiolated figures placed in friezelike compositions; the emphasis here is on profile and line, recalling Giulio Romano's late style, if not his idiosyncratic vision. These figures are presented in settings whose architecture and landscapes are more Italianate than those of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Michiel Coxcie, and the artists in their circles. As several of the designs in question were commissioned by Giulio's patron Ferrante Gonzaga, it seems logical to assume that they were made in Giulio's workshop or by an artist who had been associated with it. That Giulio's workshop may well have produced designs for sets of *Mythological Hunts* (see figs. 155, 156) and a *Story of the Sabine Women* for the Brussels workshops during the 1530s (see pp. 349, 351) supports this hypothesis.

The first securely documented design in this group was for the *Fructus belli* set woven for Ferrante Gonzaga, which survives today in the dispersed locations of West Dean, Ecouen, and Brussels (see fig. 121).[53] According to a letter sent by the merchant-tapissier Jehan Baudouyn to Ferrante on August 31, 1547, eight of the *Fructus belli* tapestries were complete by that date, while a ninth had not yet been started. Delmarcel has suggested, therefore, that the set was probably commissioned during Ferrante's visit to Brussels in 1544. Although one scene presents a recognizable portrait of Ferrante being drawn on a triumphal chariot (in a composition obviously derived from Giulio's *Triumph of Scipio* series), the others depict brutal images of the hardships and sufferings inflicted by war. These latter panels constitute a disenchanted and ironic reflection of the reality of war, commissioned by a military commander who had perhaps experienced too much of that reality in a career of twenty years on the battlefield. The inspiration for this grim meditation, whose portrayals stand in such marked contrast to the triumphalist imagery of the contemporary *Conquest of Tunis*

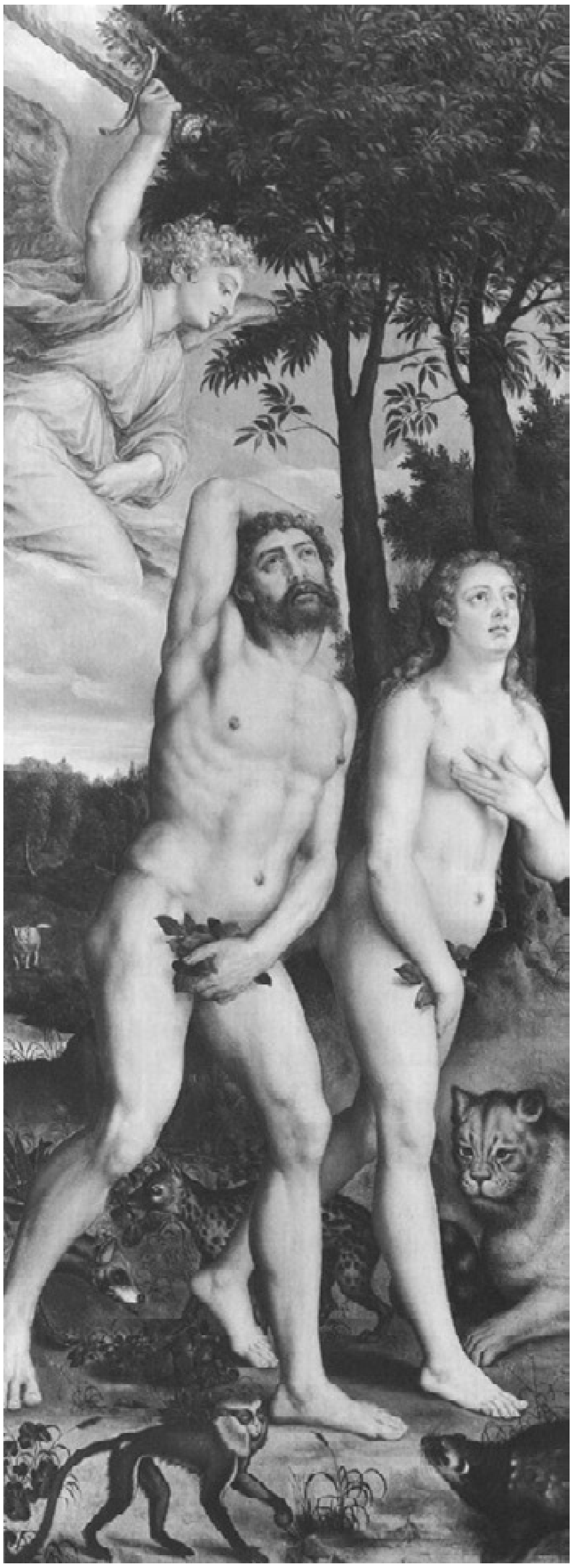


Fig. 191. *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.* Michiel Coxcie, ca. 1540–50. Oil on panel, 237 x 86.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

in Vienna (see fig. 191). Presumably conceived and executed in succession during the second half of the 1540s, these designs represent Coxcie's greatest achievement as a tapestry designer, blending the heroic muscular figures and rhetorical gestures of his Roman models with the detailed landscape tradition that van Orley and Tons, his collaborator, had developed in series like the *Hunts of Maximilian.* Although the designs do, indeed, incorporate many quotations and even certain complete figures from Raphael and Michelangelo, the elements are integrated seamlessly into compositions of physical drama and atmospheric and emotional intensity that were wholly unprecedented in the art of tapestry. In the *First Parents* and *Noah* series in particular, Coxcie and his collaborators achieved a balance between the monumental drama of the principal events, as represented by the expressions and gestures of the main figures, and the need to fill the rest of the tapestry field with a wealth of carefully observed anecdotal and natural detail that was equal to the best of van Orley and Coecke's tapestry designs. Taken as a whole, the *First Parents, Noah,* and *Babel* sequences mark a high point in northern European tapestry design that was to remain unparalleled until the work of Charles Le Brun for Louis XIV at the Gobelins during the 1660s and 1670s.

Another design series that can be attributed to Coxcie is that of a *Triumph of the Seven Virtues,* a group datable to the period of the early to mid-1550s. A complete set survives in Vienna (see fig. 192). Again, the attribution rests on the figures, which are similar to those in the *Romulus and Remus* tapestries and the *Judgment of Solomon* painting, whose characteristic physiognomies and costumes they share.[87]

Despite the stylistic parallels cited in the discussion of attribution, there is considerable variation among the figures and landscapes in the series given to Coxcie. This variation unquestionably can be traced to the individual characteristics of the artists who translated the designs into full-scale cartoons. The extent to which Coxcie himself worked as a cartoonist is difficult to assess. Certainly, the biblical series at Wawel demonstrate a high degree of uniformity in landscape and figures, suggesting that here he may have been closely involved, possibly executing significant sections of the cartoons himself, in conjunction with a leading landscape cartoonist. In other works, for example the Vienna *Seven Virtues,* the schematic rendition of the figures and the somewhat arbitrary relationship between figures and landscape imply that there was little direct participation on the part of Coxcie, who may have simply handed over preparatory sketches to less-skilled cartoonists for elaboration. The nature of such sketches is suggested by a group of six drawings in Budapest for a set of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* (fig. 193), of which one carries Coxcie's monogram.

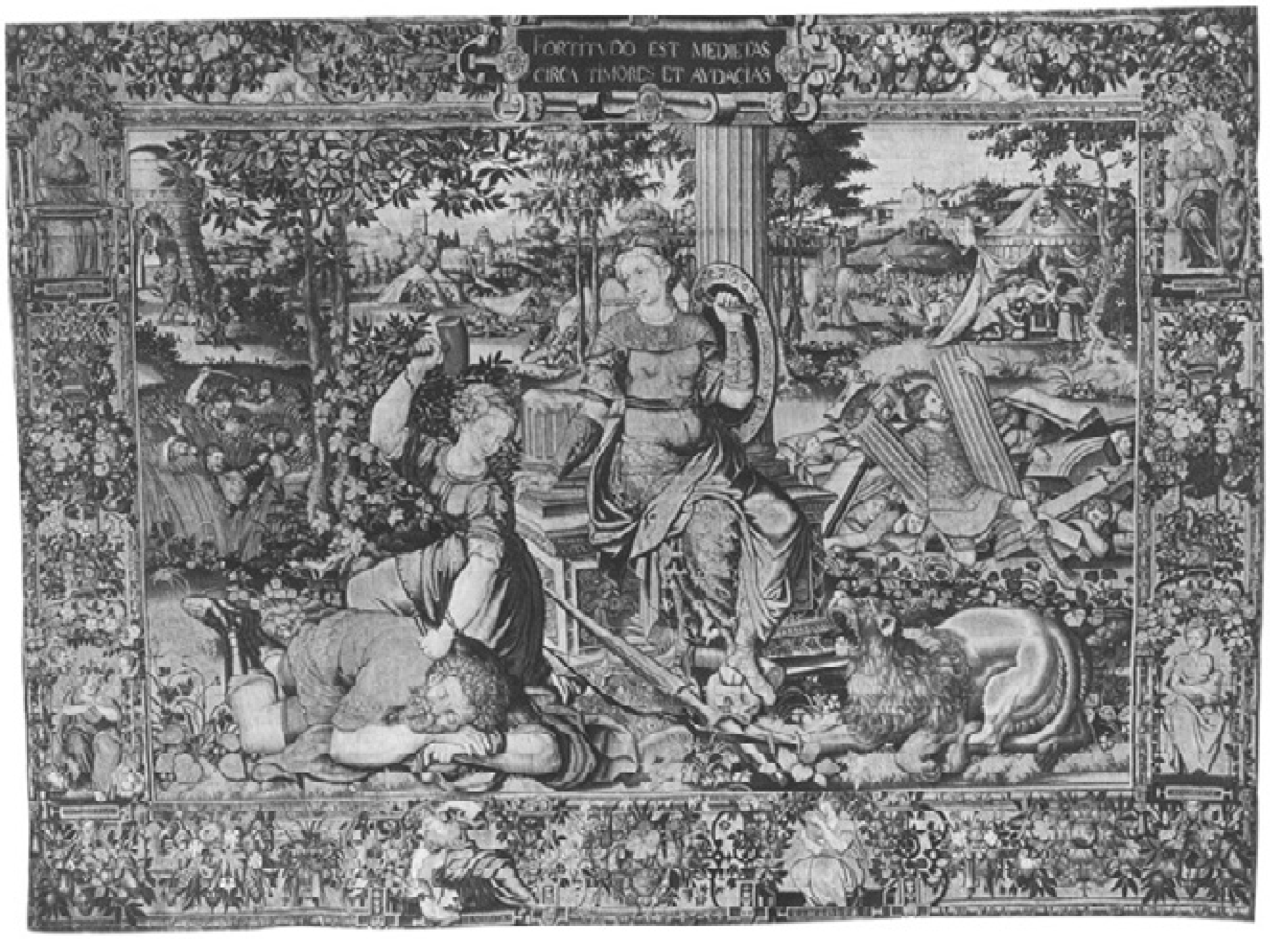


Fig. 192. *Fortitude* from the *Triumph of the Seven Virtues.* Tapestry design attributed to Michiel Coxcie, woven in the workshop of Frans Geubels, Brussels, ca. 1550. Wool and silk, 345 x 470 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

It is clear that Coxcie sometimes merely provided figures to be placed into decorative schemes conceived by other artists. This was evidently the case with a throne baldachin (cat. no. 54) that was acquired by Charles III, duke of Lorraine. Here the central figures, Pluto and Proserpine, can be ascribed to Coxcie with some certainty, but the trompe l'oeil architectural surround was designed by Hans Vredeman de Vries, whose signature appears on the canopy along with the date 1561. A similar collaborative process can be proposed for the so-called *Grotesque Months,* now in Vienna, in which the figures are in Coxcie's style and the grotesque surrounds typify the manner of Cornelis Floris.

It must have been collaborative practices like these that account for the stylistic variations of figures and landscapes from one series to another and even within single series and panels. In addition, such practices make it difficult to distinguish the contributions of Coxcie from those of artists inspired by him. This is an especially acute problem when reviewing Coxcie's work because there is a large group of designs that reflects the master's influence in some respects but whose style differs markedly from that of the designs firmly ascribed to him. One of the most distinctive portions of this group is much more dynamic in composition than the series discussed above. It comprises three series, of which the first is a composite reedition of the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio,* woven for Jacques d'Albon from new cartoons prepared for this purpose. Four of the original cartoons survive in France (fig. 194), while four of the original tapestries and one fragment are extant in American collections (Hearst Castle, San Simeon, and the Cincinnati Art Museum). The design of the complete series is recorded by copies made at the Gobelins Manufactory in the late seventeenth century. The figures are much heavier and more robust in comparison to those of the *Scipio* series sold to Mary of Hungary in 1544. Many share physiognomic traits with the figures in designs attributed to Coxcie, and the cartoons of this second-generation version of the *Scipio* theme have therefore been ascribed to his workshop.

The second series in this group is a ten-piece set of the *Story of Cyrus,* which shares the dynamism and grandiosity of concept seen in the d'Albon *Scipio* panels. The *Cyrus* designs can be ascribed with some confidence to Coxcie, both on the basis of comparison with certain of the Wawel tapestries and their readily identifiable Italian sources. A very fine weaving, possibly the editio princeps, survives in the Spanish royal collection. Some of the panels carry the mark of Jan van Tieghem, one of the weavers responsible for many of the examples in Wawel.[88] A terminus ante quem for the *Cyrus* series is provided by the fact that the Spanish set is recorded

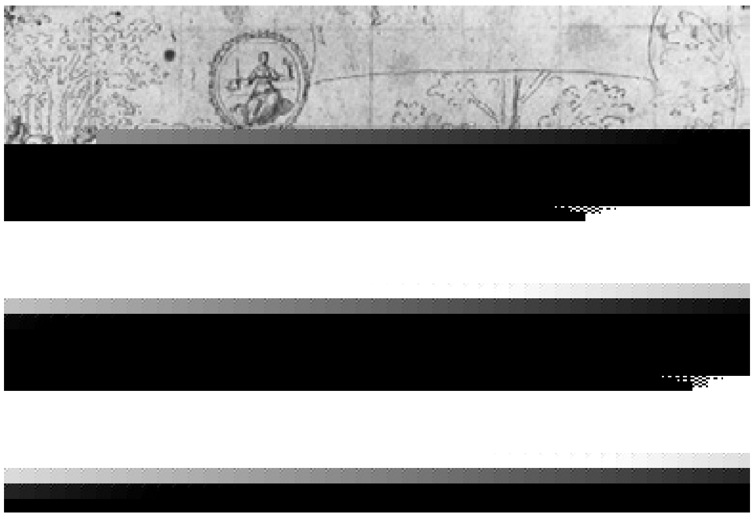


Fig. 193. *The Triumph of Fame.* Preparatory drawing for a tapestry in a set of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* by Michiel Coxcie. Pen, ink, and wash, squared in red chalk, on paper, 25.5 x 38.3 cm. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (2841)

at Toledo in 1560, suggesting a date of conception and design in 1557–58 at the latest. Closely related to the *Cyrus* design, is the *Story of Alexander,* the third series in the group under consideration. The *Alexander* sequence is known only from an incomplete high-quality weaving in the Spanish royal collection, along with a coarser and later version, which was probably woven in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

Another group of designs that shows close affinities with Coxcie's oeuvre yet reflects a different artistic personality is centered around a series of the *Story of Samson.* These designs were prepared for Henry II but abandoned in 1559 because of his death. The partly completed cartoons appear to have remained unused in Brussels until the early seventeenth century, when they were rediscovered by Guido Bentivoglio, who was commissioning new tapestries in Brussels for Cardinal Scipio Borghese. According to a letter of January 9, 1610, from Bentivoglio to the cardinal the cartoons for this series were painted by an artist from Mechelen who had lived in Italy for a long time—a description that obviously coincides with what we know of Coxcie—but had been abandoned. The question is complicated, however, by a note from the Brussels merchant Jan Raes that Bentivoglio included in his letter to the cardinal. Providing details of the dimensions of the cartoons, this note also supplied the additional information that the design was "made by a famous painter called master Gillio Mechelaon, who had spent many years in Italy, and was a Fleming from Mechelen."[89] No other evidence of a cartoonist called Giles of Mechelen has yet emerged, and it is quite possible that this was a mistake on Raes's part and that, as Delmarcel has assumed, this was a garbled reference to Coxcie.[90] It was, after all, sixty years since the cartoons had been painted. Equally, the citation places a

Fig. 194. *The Combat of Tessin.* Cartoon for the tapestry from the *Story of Scipio* attributed to the workshop of Michiel Coxcie after Giulio Romano, ca. 1550. Body color on paper mounted on canvas, 385 x 685 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris

question mark over this identification and provides a reminder of how little we know about the community of tapestry cartoonists active in the Netherlands during the 1550s.

The *Story of Samson* has close stylistic parallels with other important design series of the day. One is a *Story of Tobias* sequence of which parts of two early sets are extant: one panel from a set purchased by Henry VIII before 1547 and eight pieces from a weaving bought by Mary of Hungary in 1547.[91] The second is a *Story of Hercules,* a set of which Henry VIII acquired before 1547 and a weaving of which survives in the Spanish royal collection.[92] The figures in these series, like those in the *Sampson* tapestries, are characterized by heavy-jowled men with wide, flat noses and walrus mustaches and by very masculine women.

According to a list of tapestries recorded by Isaac Bullart in 1682 and rediscovered by tapestry historians in the late nineteenth century, Coxcie also designed a set treating the *Story of Cadmus,* which was once in the Spanish royal collection. No evidence regarding this series has survived, if it ever existed—Cadmus may well have been a mistranscription of Cyrus, on which subject a design series in Coxcie's style does remain in Madrid, as discussed above.[93] The seventeenth-century list of tapestries in the Spanish royal collection also links Coxcie's name with a design series treating *Ulysses,* which has survived in various later editions that have some stylistic similarities to Coxcie's work, although it is possibly by an able follower.[94]

Much work is obviously still required in order to define and adequately assess Coxcie's contribution as a tapestry designer. Apart from the lack of documentation and the difficulty of reconstructing an oeuvre that was, in many cases, executed by gifted assistants and cartoon specialists, many questions also remain in regard to the context in which his designs were conceived and his relationship to the leading patrons and merchant-weavers of the day. Nonetheless, as the foregoing discussion has demonstrated, it is clear that between 1540 and 1560 Coxcie brought a scale of vision, an awareness of the achievements of the masters of the Italian High Renaissance, and a facility of creation to the task of tapestry design that provided the Brussels workshops with a rich variety of material in the most productive period of its history.

Peter de Kempeneer

As discussed above, Michiel Coxcie relocated to Mechelen sometime between 1559 and 1563. His place was subsequently taken by Peter de Kempeneer (1503–1580). Like Coxcie and Coecke, Kempeneer may have started his career in van Orley's workshop, but he seems to have traveled to Italy at about the same time as, or even in advance, of Coxcie and, according to a seventeenth-century account, was at work in Bologna in 1530.[95] By 1537 he had relocated to Seville in Spain, where he lived and worked until at least August 1561 under the hispanicized name of Pedro (de) Campaña. The leading painter in the town during this period, he received many commissions from the cathedral and local churches for altarpieces and devotional works, which he executed in a style that blended Netherlandish realism with the figural types of Raphael-school pupils, such as Perino del Vaga and Polidoro da Caravaggio, and with what Dacos has characterized as the "impassioned and mystical tradition of Andalusia," as exemplified by works such as the *Deposition* painted in 1547 for Santa Cruz, Seville (now Seville Cathedral), and the altarpiece of the *Purification of the Virgin,* commenced in 1555 (Seville Cathedral).[96] Kempeneer had returned to Brussels by the spring of 1563, when the city authorities contracted with him on May 28, 1563, to design cartoons for the tapestry makers of the town for an annual salary of 50 Rhenish guilders, the same salary that Coxcie had previously received.[97] The explanation for Kempeneer's relocation and appointment at his advanced age is uncertain.

The earliest tapestry commission that can be attributed to Kempeneer (on stylistic grounds) was the preparation of the designs and cartoons for a ten-piece set of the *Story of Saint Peter and Saint Paul* (now Bijlokemuseum, Ghent, and private collection, France; see fig. 195). This was commissioned by Abbé François d'Avroult for the abbey of Saint Peter in Ghent and can be dated between 1563 (Kempeneer's appointment) and 1567 (d'Avroult's death). It was woven in the Brussels workshop of the merchant-weaver with the unidentified FNVG mark (possibly Frans Ghieteels), who was also involved in the production of Ercole Gonzaga's *Acts of the Apostles,* some of Sigismund II Augustus's *First Parents* scenes, and the throne baldachin of Charles III of Lorraine.[98] Although four of the designs represent the same subjects as those in the Raphael series, they differ markedly in character and composition; they also differ in format from that developed by Kempeneer's predecessor Coxcie. Where the earlier artists had represented large muscular figures that dominated the foreground of the picture space in compositions that were balanced around central groups and figures, Kempeneer's figures are characteristically smaller in proportion to the picture space, often massed in tight groups that are placed off-center in the foreground of the picture. As for the visual space of the designs, the scenes are set in cavernous interiors or in landscapes that are seen from a raised viewpoint and that often fall away steeply immediately beyond the foreground, opening up unexpectedly deep vistas, whether of interior rooms or of distant valleys. This mannerist formula also extended to the types of figures. In place of the idealized musculature of Coxcie's

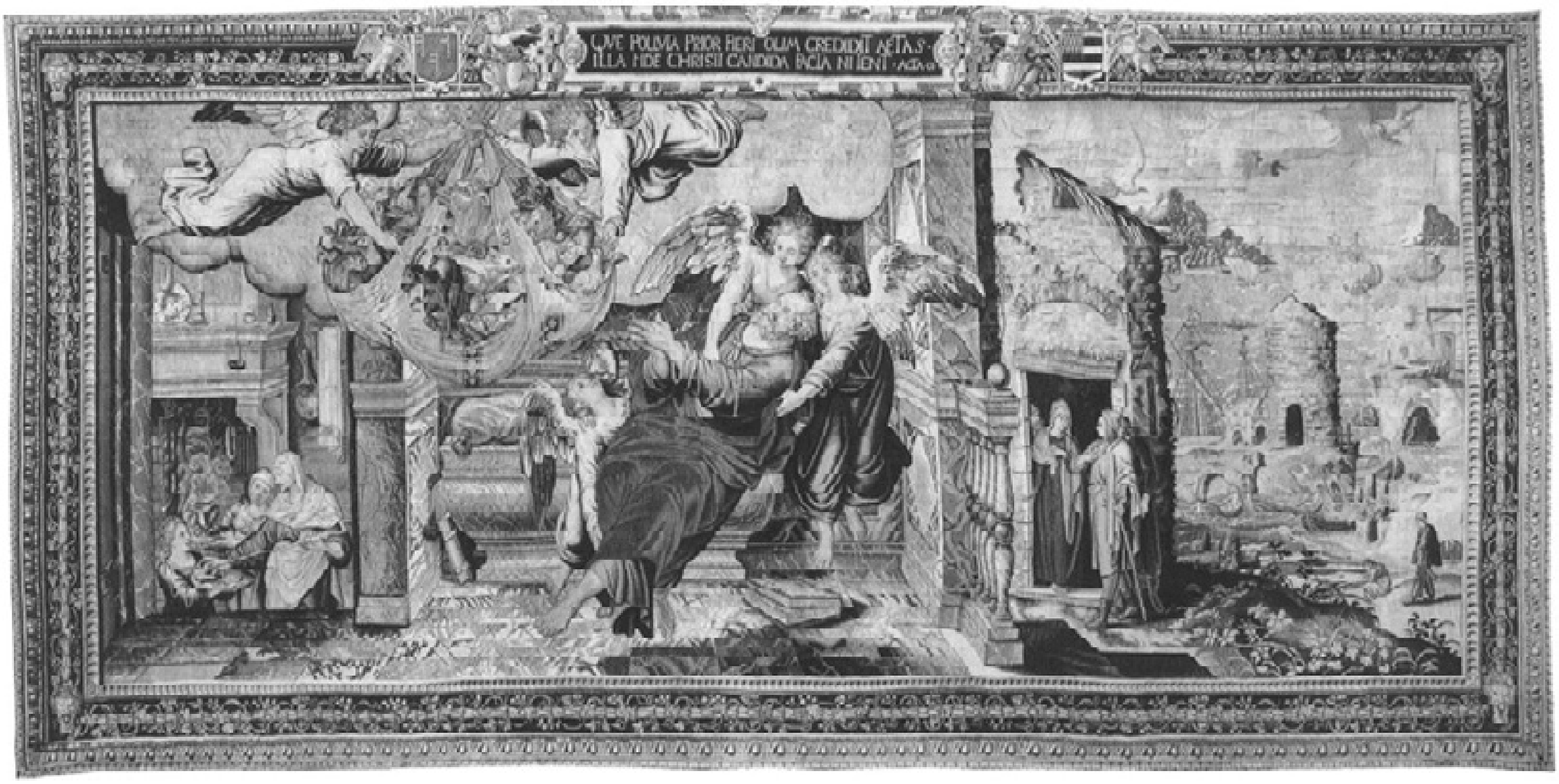


Fig. 195. *The Vision of Saint Peter* from the *Story of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.* Tapestry designed by Peter de Kempeneer, woven in Brussels, between 1563 and 1567. Wool and silk, 270 x 555 cm. Bijlokemuseum, Ghent

figures, Kempeneer's are more elongated and refined in feature and gesture. True to the traditional elements of tapestry design, Kempeneer nonetheless combined these mannerist characteristics with rich costumes and elaborate architectural and landscape details. The result was a multiple narrative formula in which rich colors combine with carefully observed details to yield a jewel-like tableau, like an exquisitely rendered drawing expanded to the scale of a wide-angle movie screen.

The Ghent *Peter and Paul* series is the most ambitious design that Kempeneer is known to have undertaken, but during the succeeding years he evidently provided other designs to the Brussels workshops, including those for a series of the *Wars of Judaea* (Museo de la Chiesa Madre, Marsala), which was woven in the Brussels workshop of Cornelis Tons (fl. 1550–75).[99] These designs demonstrate the same crowded foreground groups, mannered figures, wide landscapes, and rich costumes of the *Peter and Paul* series, albeit with a more decorative emphasis in the details of vegetation and landscape. The contrast suggests that, whereas Kempeneer may have been closely involved in the execution of the cartoons for the *Peter and Paul* series (measuring himself against the great Raphaelesque precedent), the cartoons for the *Wars of Judaea* may have been executed by cartoon specialists from Kempeneer's *modelli.*

While Kempeneer's role in these designs is readily evident on the basis of stylistic analysis, evidence of his involvement in other projects has not yet emerged. This may be due in part to the age at which he was appointed to his post, but it also reflects the collapse of the high-quality Brussels tapestry industry during the 1560s and 1570s under the impact of civil and religious strife.

1. For the basic documentation on Pieter Coecke van Aelst's life, see Marlier 1966, passim; also Halbturn 1981, passim, esp. the essay by Bauer on pp. 15–18.
2. Marlier 1966, p. 309.
3. Ibid., pp. 38–40.
4. Félibien records a tradition whereby Coecke assisted van Orley in the execution of the *Hunts,* for which see Marlier 1966, pp. 31–32, and Bauer in Halbturn 1981, p. 17. More recently, Schneebalg-Perelman (1982, passim, esp. pp. 160, 185–86) sought to attribute to Coecke the principal role in the design and execution of that set, a proposal which has been convincingly refuted by Delmarcel (1984).
5. Both sources quoted in full in Marlier 1966, pp. 24–27.
6. Delmarcel in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 38–41.
7. Marlier 1966, pp. 55–74.
8. For the modern origins of this tradition, see Horn 1989, p. 318, n. 225. For the possibility that a set treating this subject was present in Henry VIII's collection before 1547, see T. Campbell 1998a, p. 172.
9. Marlier 1966, pp. 42–43.
10. Horn 1989, pp. 14–15, 215.
11. Marlier 1966, pp. 93–239.
12. Ibid., pp. 309–52; Halbturn 1981.

13. Bauer in Halbturn 1981, p. 38.
14. Halbturn 1981, pp. 91–99.
15. Marlier 1966, pp. 324–31; Bauer in Halbturn 1981, pp. 19–31.
16. T. Campbell 1994, pp. 22, 25–26; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 180–81, 224.
17. Bauer in Halbturn 1981, p. 26.
18. Ibid., p. 20; Delmarcel 1999a, p. 127. For example, the group of the soldier with a foot on the neck of the king who is lying on the ground in the *Death of the Five Kings* is obviously copied from a similar composition in the *Defeat and Pardon of Mandonius and Indibilis;* see Paris 1978, pp. 64–72.
19. "[I]n onze Nederlanden het licht ghebracht en op den rechten wech geholpen de verdwaelde Const van Metselrije"; van Mander 1604, fol. 218.
20. Marlier 1966, pp. 45–46.
21. T. Campbell 1998b, pp. 28–32; Forti Grazzini 1999b, pp. 159–64.
22. "Men gheeft diversen consteneeren, alhier van buten comende ende nyeuwe neeringe brenghende ende der goeden lieden kinderen leerende, tot behulpe van huerder huyshueren: ierst Peeteren van Aelst, schildere ende patroonmakere. . . . XII ponden X schellingen"; van den Branden 1883, p. 154; Marlier 1966, pp. 44–45.
23. Marlier 1966, p. 45.
24. Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 210.
25. Marlier 1966, pp. 55–87. For the tapestry, see Göbel 1923, fig. 75.
26. Paredes 1999.
27. Meoni 1989.
28. Marlier 1966, pp. 345–47.
29. Horn 1989, pp. 5–7.
30. Ibid., p. 8.
31. Ibid., pp. 13–14.
32. Ibid., pp. 21–23.
33. Ibid., pp. 31, 43–47.
34. Ibid., pp. 31–37.
35. These documents have recently been published with a full critical appraisal by Horn 1989. Although the present study disagrees with certain conclusions Horn drew from this material, these differences should not detract from the extraordinary value of his monumental study.
36. See Horn 1989, pp. 123, 157, n. 106, for bibliography.
37. Marlier 1966, pp. 347–50; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 218–22; Horn 1989, pp. 122–25, 157–58; Buchanan 1992, p. 383.
38. "[P]rendre a ses frais scavans et souffissans conpaignons painctres . . . quoy qu'ils luy coustent, affin que iceulx patrons soiet faicts le mieulx que possible sera"; Horn 1989, pp. 122, 344.
39. "Mais voiant que mestre Jan a bien avancé les siens, et un altre peintre me donnant bon espoir de tellement diligenter les siens que les tapissiers n'atendront après luy, . . . "; ibid., p. 352, doc. 5.
40. Ibid., pp. 115–16 and docs. 29, 30, 33.
41. "Me Pierre van Halsz, poinctre et Guillaume de Pannemackere, tapissier, où se font les pattrons et tapisserie de la conqueste de Thunes faicte par l'Empereur"; Marlier 1966, p. 350; Horn 1989, p. 123 and docs. 29, 30.
42. "[Quant] à le tapise de Tunes je n'en poray estre acompaignée [pour] ce voiage, car oultre toute longuer des ouvriers il a plut à Dieu prendre à soy le peintre mestre Piere"; Horn 1989, p. 123 and doc. 33.
43. Schneebalg-Perelman 1982; Delmarcel 1984.
44. Horn 1989, p. 123.
45. Ibid., pp. 278, 318, n. 223, with bibliography of earlier literature regarding these similarities.
46. Horn 1989, pls. B2b, B5, B6, B31, B32, B47, B48, and associated details. The foreground figure in the *Siege of Goleta* (cartoon right, tapestry left) shares the same traits; ibid., pls. B39, B40.
47. Ibid., pp. 31–35. It is also to be noted that Vermeyen made very few paintings or engravings of mythological subjects. Horn (ibid., p. 6) identifies only one engraving of *Venus and Cupid,* whose protagonists bear no resemblance to any of the figures in the tapestries under discussion.
48. Crick-Kuntziger 1927a. See Horn 1989, pp. 43–44, 102, n. 438, for later adherents of this attribution.
49. Horn 1989, pp. 44–46.
50. Guiffrey 1885–86, vol. 1, p. 294; Coornaert 1950; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 2, p. 531.
51. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 5, pp. 435–36.
52. Horn (1989, pp. 46–47) suggests that Vermeyen may have assisted Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona with the execution of the *Fructus belli* series of which the editio princeps was supplied to Ferrante Gonzaga by 1547, but the evidence he offers is unconvincing.
53. Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 158–73; Delmarcel 1997, pp. 389–90.
54. Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 165–66.
55. Ibid., pp. 158–73.
56. Ibid., pp. 194–205.
57. Ibid., pp. 197, 200–202.
58. Mahl 1967, p. 35 (Vincidor); McCullagh and Giles 1997, pp. 257–58, no. 335 (Tommaso Vincidor? or Michiel Coxcie?).
59. Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 170, 180, 191.
60. Ibid., pp. 96–97 doc. 19, 104–5 doc. 32; Delmarcel in ibid., pp. 184–93.
61. Delmarcel (ibid., p. 171) notes in addition that the Mantuan engraver Giorgio Ghisi lived and worked in Antwerp between 1549 and 1556 and that he might also have played a part in providing models from Giulio's workshop to the Netherlandish cartoonists.
62. Standen 1985, vol. 1, pp. 87–99; Forti Grazzini 1994, vol. 1, pp. 170–82.
63. Friedländer 1924–37; Friedländer 1956; van Puyvelde 1950, p. 96.
64. Dacos 1993b, pp. 56–57.
65. In the absence of a catalogue raisonné, the crucial source on Coxcie's work is the collection of essays resulting from a conference on the artist held in Mechelen in 1992; de Smedt 1993.
66. Dacos 1993a.
67. Ibid., pp. 50–52.
68. Dacos 1987c, p. 619; Dacos 1993b, pp. 65–70. For Coxcie in Rome, see Dacos 1993b and Laurenza 1993.
69. For the drawings, see Popham 1932, pp. 12–14, nos. 1–10; Dacos 1993b, pp. 77–78; Dacos in Brussels and Rome 1995, pp. 170–72. For the frescoes, see Laurenza 1993.
70. Van Mander 1604, fols. 258v–259. For discussion of Coxcie's sources and practice, see Dacos 1993b. Dacos considers Coxcie's work in terms of his sources and the way he used them in his paintings, arriving at a very critical appraisal of his achievement.
71. Van den Boogert 1993, p. 139.
72. E. Duverger 1993, p. 164.
73. Vanden Bemden 1993.
74. E. Duverger 1993, pp. 164–65.
75. For discussion of the date of this appointment, see van den Boogert 1993, pp. 123–26.
76. Ibid., pp. 137–38; E. Duverger 1993, p. 165.
77. Van den Boogert 1993, pp. 134–38.
78. Ibid., pp. 127–33; Laurenza 1993, pp. 112–16; van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, pp. 281, 289–90.
79. Delmarcel 1981a, pp. 161–62; E. Duverger 1993, p. 165.
80. For the later painted work, see Jacobs 1993 and Van de Velde 1993.
81. An echo of their appearance may be recorded by a series of frescoes formerly at the castle of Oriz (now Museo de Navarra, Pamplona); Steppe 1968; E. Duverger 1993, pp. 168–69.
82. Forti Grazzini 1999b, pp. 144–46.
83. T. Campbell 1998c, pp. 45–46, 50, n. 21; Starkey 1998, p. 273, no. 12032.
84. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 140–42 (ser. 20); Mahl 1965, pp. 30–32; Christie's, New York, November 22, 1980, no. 276. Two related tapestries, possibly from the same set, have reappeared in recent

years: the *Rape of Rhea Silvia by Mars* belongs to the Treuhand Verwaltung von Kulturgut, Munich (8.11.1961), and is now in the German Embassy, London; *Romulus and Remus Brought before Amulius* was sold at Sotheby's, London, May 19, 1995, no. 8. Ippolito d'Este purchased a seven-piece set of *Romulus and Remus* in 1543, but the early acquisition date and the number of panels in the set suggest that this was from an unrelated design series.

85. Mahl 1965.
86. Johns 1993.
87. According to a 1582 document, Coxcie was responsible for the designs of seven large hangings embroidered with the Seven Virtues, perhaps made from the same cartoons as the tapestries; Schneebalg-Perelman 1973.
88. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 279–89; E. Duverger 1993, pp. 178–81.
89. "Tout ce dessin fut fait par un peintre fameux appelé maître *Gillio Mechelaon,* lequel passa de longues années en Italie, et était Flamand de Malines"; Baschet 1861, p. 412. This line is omitted from the transcription and discussion of the documents given in Hoogewerff 1921.
90. Delmarcel in Cremona 1987, pp. 51–52. For an alternative interpretation of the evidence, see Bandera 1987, pp. 78, 86.
91. T. Campbell 1994, pp. 28, 31; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 241–47; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 187–88.
92. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 155–62; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 173–75.
93. E. Duverger 1993, pp. 169–71. On the strength of images and descriptions published by Ffoulke 1913, pp. 80–87, Delmarcel (1999a, p. 131) suggests that the appearance of this set may be partly recorded by tapestries formerly in the Ffoulke collection and now at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
94. Göbel 1923, p. 426; Roethlisberger 1972; E. Duverger 1993, p. 171.
95. For bibliography, see Dacos in Grove 1996, vol. 17, pp. 895–97.
96. Ibid., p. 896.
97. "[I]s geraempt ende gesloten dat men meesteren Peeteren De Kempeneer, schildere, van der stadtgoederen jaerlycx sal betalen ende vuytreycken de somme van vyftich Rinsguldenen, gelyck meester Michiel Van Coxcyen gehadt heeft voor zynen salaris van dat hy aenveert heeft tmaken van de patroonen voor de tappissiers deser stadt, ende dat op sulcke condition als men hem geven sal"; text from Delmarcel 1981a, p. 155.
98. Calberg 1962; Delmarcel 1981a; E. Duverger in Ghent 1987, pp. 106–15.
99. Dacos 1988; Delmarcel 1988.

45.

The Conversion of Saul

Modello for the tapestry in the *Story of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30
Pen with brown wash and white heightening on paper
25.8 x 41.5 cm (10⅛ x 16¼ in.)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Dyce 190)

PROVENANCE: Before 1869, Alexander Dyce collection; 1869, bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

REFERENCES: *Dyce Collection* 1874, p. 32, no. 190; Marlier 1966, p. 317; Bauer in Halbturn 1981, pp. 42–43.

46.

Paul before Agrippa

Modello for the tapestry in the *Story of Saint Paul*
Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1529–30
Pen with brown wash and white heightening on paper
25.5 x 49 cm (10 x 19¼ in.)
Inscribed *Peter von Aelst*
Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (7851)

PROVENANCE: Acquired at unknown date by Duke Albert von Sachsen-Teschen (1738–1822; founder of the collection of the Graphische Sammlung Albertina).

REFERENCES: Marlier 1966, pp. 311–12; Bauer in Halbturn 1981, pp. 49–51.

REFERENCES FOR THE STORY OF SAINT PAUL SERIES: Baldass 1920, nos. 17–20; Marlier 1966, pp. 310–23; Cavallo 1967, pp. 98–103; Durian-Ress 1981; Bauer in Halbturn 1981, pp. 37–54; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 206–7; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 230–35; Munich 1989, pp. 23–25.

Depicting the principal events of Paul's life, as described in the Acts of the Apostles (chaps. 7–28), the *Story of Saint Paul* series comprises nine scenes. Attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst on stylistic grounds, the sequence has traditionally been dated about 1534. However, evidence of various kinds indicates that the design may have been conceived some years earlier. Although three scenes have subjects in common with Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles,* the stronger influence on these designs appears to have been the *Deeds of Scipio* by Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni, which perhaps originated, at least in part, during the early 1520s (see pp. 341–49). Coecke may have had access to drawings for the *Scipio* panels or copies of these sheets during a journey to Italy in the mid-1520s or in Brussels in the mid- to late 1520s. With its dynamic figures, unusual viewpoints, and attention to details of setting and costume, the *Story of Saint Paul* design represents an extraordinary tour de force by the young Netherlandish artist. If the earlier dating indicated here is correct, it places the *Saint Paul* series in the same period as Bernaert van Orley's innovative *Battle of Pavia* and *Hunts of Maximilian* series. Such a dating suggests that Coecke played a much more important role than generally recognized in the early development of the narrative and compositional mode that dominated Netherlandish tapestry design during the next thirty years.

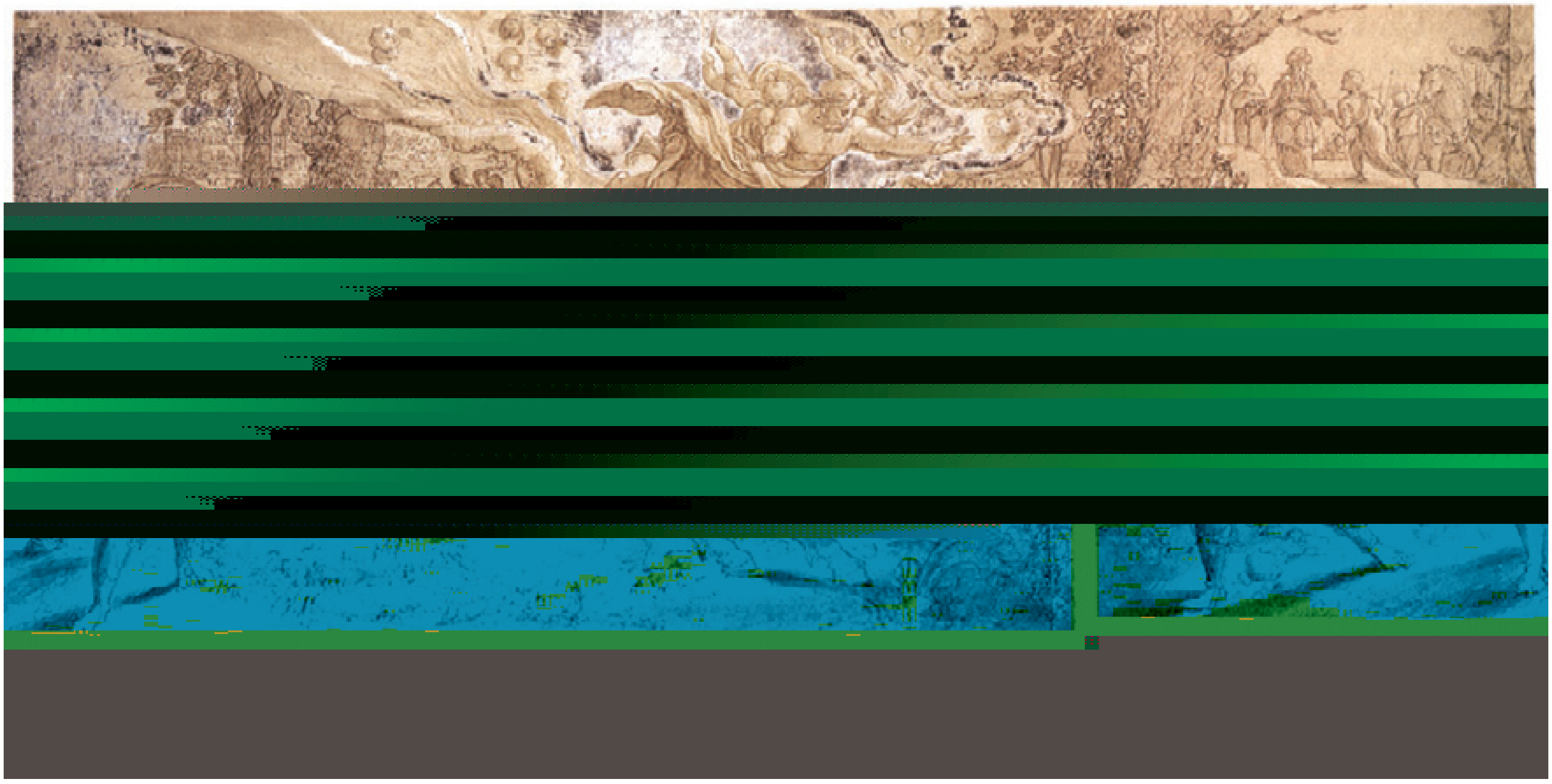
Description of the Conversion of Saul

The drawing, a *modello* for a panel in the *Story of Saint Paul,* depicts the moment of Saul's conversion on the road to Damascas, as described in the Acts of the Apostles (9:3–8). Saul, whose posture is inspired in part by the figure of Diogenes in Raphael's *School of Athens* in the Vatican and in part by that of Heliodoros in the *Explusion of Heliodorus,* also in the Vatican, lies in the center of a circular space defined by the rearing and stampeding horses of the centurions who participate in the drama. While the *Conversion of Saul* is one of the three scenes in the *Saint Paul* series that repeat subjects treated in Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles,* the character of its design is markedly different from that of the Italian master. Although the Christ figure in the sky, Saul's prone position on the ground, and the explosive force with which the centurions' horses move away from the central figure recall elements of the Raphael design (cat. no. 23), Coecke expanded the scene to include many more figures. In addition, he replaced Raphael's strong diagonals and frontal composition with swirling forms and a raised viewpoint. Contributing to the sense of centrifugal movement created by Coecke are the billowing cloaks of the horsemen and the disposition of the strong chiaroscuro that models the foreground figures. Coecke's composition could not have been conceived without the model of the *Apostles* scene, yet his work is more closely tied to the *Deeds of Scipio* than to Raphael's design. In particular, the rearing horses in the foreground of Coecke's drawing are derived from counterparts in the *Battle of Zama* panels of the *Scipio* series, while the costumes of the centurions also appear to be based on the model provided by the *Scipio* designs. The soldier in the left foreground may reflect knowledge of an analogous figure in the Raphael-school fresco of *David and Goliath* in the Vatican Loggia.

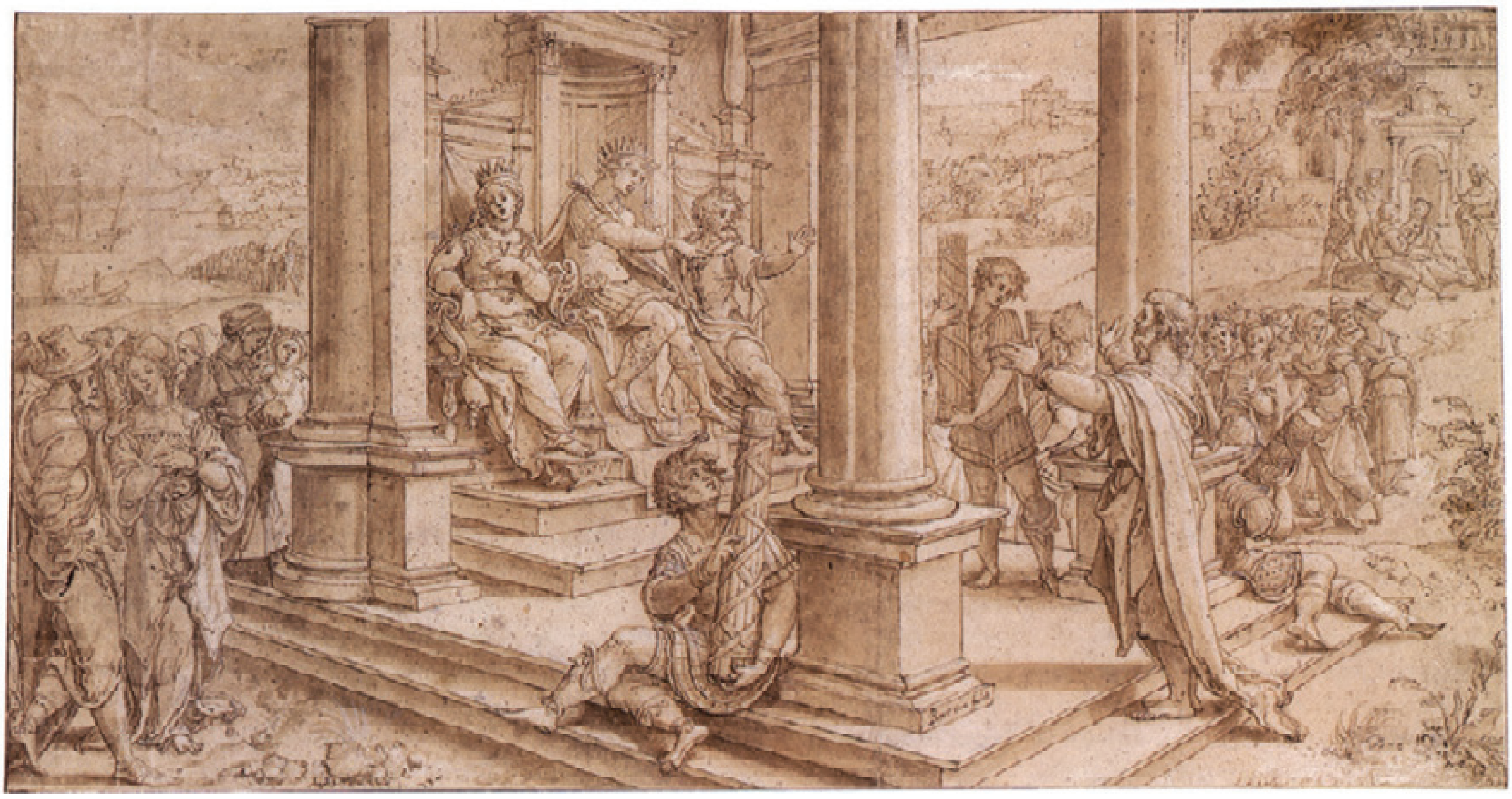
A close rendition of this drawing, executed in a sketchier style, survives in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin. Marlier suggested that it is a preparatory sketch, although the absence of pentimenti or alterations to the design may indicate that it is a workshop copy of the *modello*.[1] Two cartoon fragments from this design survive in the British Museum.[2] The earliest surviving woven version is in the set now in Munich, which dates from the mid-sixteenth century.[3]

Description of Paul before Agrippa

The drawing portrays Paul in the tribunal before Agrippa, defending himself against the charge of spreading heresy to the Gentiles in Jerusalem (Acts 25:23–27, 26:1–29). The viewer is placed at an oblique and slightly raised angle to the side of the tribunal, which is depicted as a pavilion supported by elaborately carved classical columns and open on three sides. Agrippa, his wife, Queen Berenice, and the prefect Pontius Festus are seated on a raised plinth at the back of the structure. Their varied expressions and gestures express their responses to the testimony of the apostle who stands before them, his arms raised in exclamation. Two lictors are seated in contorted postures at the front corners of the pavilion, and two others stand on its far side. A crowd of onlookers gathers around both sides of the building. Two subsidiary narratives appear to the left and right of the main scene. At the right Paul is arguing with the prefect Felix, Festus's



45



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predecessor. To the left the saint embarks for Rome with a group of prisoners. As Krönig first noted, the composition is loosely inspired by Raphael's *Conversion of the Proconsul* from the *Acts of the Apostles* series, while the figure of Paul in the central drama is reminiscent of that in the *Paul Preaching at Athens* from the same set.[4] However, the oblique viewpoint and the contorted poses of Berenice, Festus, and the two seated lictors have no precedent in Raphael's art and convey the restless energy characteristic of Coecke's work of the early 1530s. The drawing carries an old inscription, *Peter von Aelst*, at the base of the foremost column.

A version of this drawing, without the inscription, belongs to the Sankt-Annen-Museum, Lübeck. According to Marlier, the Lübeck drawing is lighter and more schematic than the present sheet.[5]

Artist, Date, and Patron

The circumstances in which the *Saint Paul* series was conceived, designed, and first woven are unknown, but a considerable amount of information about them can be deduced from the extant preparatory drawings, tapestries, and documents. The two preparatory drawings included in the exhibition belong to a group of ten that relate to six distinct scenes from the life of Saint Paul as narrated in the Acts of the Apostles.[6] These designs in turn correspond to a number of fragmentary tapestry sets. Two early and incomplete sets, both dating from the 1530s or early 1540s, with borders that appear to be original to the design, are in Madrid and Vienna.[7] The former, which carries the weaver's mark of Willem de Pannemaker, derives from a seven-piece set first documented in the collection of Mary of Hungary in 1558. The provenance of the latter is unknown before it appeared in the 1765 will of Holy Roman Emperor Francis I. Individual panels from a third high-quality set of wool and silk with an unidentified weaver's mark survive in Copenhagen, Boston, and Detroit.[8] Finally, a complete nine-piece set, dating from the mid-sixteenth century, is extant in Munich. Although the panels of this last set are surrounded by borders that clearly postdate the initial design, their main fields appear to be woven from the original cartoons.[9] On the basis of these various tapestries and the ten extant preparatory drawings, we can identify nine stylistically homogenous scenes, from the *Story of Saint Paul*: the Stoning of Stephen, the Conversion of Saul, the Sacrifice at Lystra, Paul Preaching at Philippi, the Burning of the Books at Ephesus, the Arrest of Paul, Paul before Agrippa, Paul Bitten by the Snake at Malta, and the Beheading of Paul (the last not mentioned in the Acts).[10]

The *von* in the inscription *Peter von Aelst* on the *Paul before Agrippa* drawing suggests a German hand (which may have written over an earlier inscription). Nevertheless, Friedländer, Marlier, and subsequent critics have agreed in attributing this sheet and the group of designs to which it belongs to Coecke.[11] The style of the compositions, the prominent classical architecture, and the manner in which they are drawn are entirely consistent with his other work of the late 1520s and early 1530s.

As noted above, three of the *Saint Paul* compositions repeat subjects that were included in the Raphael *Acts of the Apostles*, and the debt to Raphael is readily evident throughout the series, in the classical robes in which the figures are dressed, the rhetorical gestures with which the principal protagonists express themselves, the architectural settings for some of the scenes, and certain compositional motifs. However, the debt to Italian sources is not limited to the *Acts*. As noted in the description of the *Conversion of Saul*, echoes of frescoes in the Vatican Stanze combine with apparent knowledge of both the Loggia frescoes and the Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni designs for the *Deeds of Scipio*. Yet the landscapes and some of the figures in other scenes such as the *Stoning of Stephen* and the *Martyrdom of Paul* also demonstrate the pronounced influence of van Orley's *Passion* designs (cat. nos. 30–33).

The date at which the *Story of Saint Paul* was conceived has been the subject of much debate. Traditionally, most critics have placed the series in 1534 or shortly thereafter, largely on the basis of its pseudo-Eastern costume elements, which, they assumed, indicate that the designs were created after Coecke returned to the Netherlands from Constantinople in 1534.[12] Such a date would have allowed Coecke plenty of time to assimilate the various Italian influences apparent in the designs. However, other evidence suggests that the designs may have originated four or five years earlier. Durian-Ress proposed a dating before 1528 as the set in Vienna does not carry the Brussels mark in the borders, but this is irrelevant because the lower guards are replacements.[13]

A more serious challenge to the traditional dating is provided by documents that show that on January 20, 1533 (new style) Francis I paid the Antwerp merchant Joris Vezeleer for a seven-piece set of tapestries with subjects corresponding to seven of the scenes in Coecke's nine-panel *Story of Saint Paul*.[14] Francis's group cannot be precisely identified because it was destroyed in 1797 along with most of his other precious tapestries.[15] Nonetheless, Schneebalg-Perelman assumed that it was woven after the Coecke designs and therefore posited a date of about 1528–29 for the conception of the series.[16] Bauer, however, defended the traditional dating of about 1534, theorizing that Francis I's set was woven from a different group of cartoons by another artist. In support of this argument she noted that Lancelot Blondeel is known to have designed a set of *Saint Paul* tapestries, and she reiterated that Coecke's series likely was conceived after he returned from Constantinople in 1534 because it includes pseudo-Eastern costumes.[17] In fact, both of Bauer's points are misleading. First, Blondeel's *Saint Paul* designs were for three pieces, not seven, and were made in 1534 at the behest of Louis de la Vallée (also known as Passay), commander of the Knights Templar in Flanders, for production in a Bruges manufactory.[18] Second, models for all of the Eastern details in Coecke's designs—actually little more than the turbans worn by a small number of figures—would have been readily available to him in contemporary engravings, such as Jan Swart's 1527 *Süleyman and His Cortege*. Indeed, the background landscapes and costumes in Coecke's series display none of the realistic Eastern elements that make the 1553 *Customs and Fashions of the Turks*—the posthumously published volume of engravings after his designs—such a fascinating document. The absence of such details confirms that the designs were conceived before the artist's trip to Constantinople. Insofar as the landscape is concerned, Coecke's debt to van Orley's *Passion* scenes, particularly *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. no. 32), is much more pronounced than any supposed influence of eastern Mediterranean models.

Another objection to the early dating of Coecke's designs is predicated on the familiarity they show with the *Deeds of Scipio*, which are traditionally assigned to about 1528. However, the *Scipio* set was in all probability conceived some years earlier. Thus Coecke could have seen the drawings for them during his visit to Rome in the mid-1520s or shortly after his return to the Netherlands from this trip.

While it is true that Francis's set could have been woven from drawings by another, unidentified, artist, there is circumstantial evidence that they were made after Coecke's designs. First, the set was supplied to Francis by Vezeleer, the wealthy Antwerp merchant who was closely involved with the tapestry trade and who would therefore no doubt have known Coecke. Second, and even more important, is an unpublished seventeenth-century inventory of the French royal tapestries that lists the subjects of Francis's *Saint Paul* set and shows that these coincide with seven of the nine subjects in Coecke's tapestries. Consequently, there seems little question that the French set was woven after Coecke's series.[19] If this is the case, it indicates that Coecke's designs must have been conceived no later than 1529–30, as Schneebalg-Perelman suggested.

This line of argument leads to the conclusion that Francis I purchased the first weaving of Coecke's series. Whether it was commissioned by Francis is unknown. Saint Paul was an especially attractive figure for adherents of the Protestant movement because of his evangelical activity and his emphasis on direct communication with God. Francis would surely have been interested in tapestries devoted to Paul's life as there was considerable interest in the saint's epistles among Protestant sympathizers at both the French and English courts.[20] While Francis may have commissioned the designs, the character of his other purchases at this date and the evidence of Vezeleer's entrepreneurial role in other tapestry series suggest that it is more probable that Vezeleer, finely tuned to the likely interests of his courtly patrons, ordered the cartoons from Coecke as a speculative venture.

Why Francis I's set included only seven pieces is unclear. Comparison between the subjects in the seven-piece sets belonging to Francis I and Mary of Hungary (as listed in the 1558 inventory of her goods) and the known extant designs (as represented by drawings and the later nine-piece set in Munich) reveals that the smaller sets lacked the *Stoning of Stephen* and the *Burning of the Books at Ephesus*.[21] The first known set of nine pieces is that listed in the inventory of Henry VIII's tapestries, taken after his death in 1547. It is possible that the eighth and ninth scenes of this set were added to the original seven by Coecke specifically for Henry.

The date at which Henry acquired his set is undocumented, but it was probably sometime during the late 1530s, when analogies between the king and Saint Paul were especially apposite.[22] With the repudiation of the papacy and the institution in 1534 of the Act of Supremacy, Saint Paul became an especially resonant figure for English Reformers because he provided an alternative to Petrine authority. Similarly, Paul's teaching that we must render to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's was a crucial dictum in Henry's efforts to reject papal jurisdiction.[23] For the more ardent Reformers the saint also provided a prototype for the role in which they wished to cast Henry, that is, as an evangelical disseminator of God's word. As such, the saint featured prominently on the title page of the Coverdale Bible, published in 1537. Here, below a succession of Old Testament patriarchs and New Testament apostles, Henry is shown, flanked by King David and Saint Paul, receiving a copy of the Bible from his clergy. The Coverdale Bible was not authorized and the title page cannot be taken as an officially sanctioned image; however, the fact that it was executed by Hans Holbein, with the probable knowledge of Henry's chancellor, Thomas Cromwell, himself a staunch Reformer, suggests that whoever conceived the design must have been aware that it would appeal to the king's taste.[24] With Cromwell's injunction of 1538 that a vernacular Bible should be placed in every parish church and the publication in 1539 of the Great Bible, the first English-language Bible authorized for general use, Henry effectively fulfilled the hopes of the radical Protestant faction. Circumstantial evidence that Henry's *Saint Paul* set was commissioned in exactly the same period the vernacular Bibles were gaining currency is provided by a Royal Wardrobe account that cites payment made between the end of September 1538 and the end of September 1539 to the royal tailors for lining a set of new "arras" (the term used in the English wardrobe records to describe gold-woven tapestry) called the *Acts of the Apostles*.[25] This could not refer to Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* because Henry's set of that design was not delivered and lined until 1542. Instead, it probably relates to the nine-piece, gold-woven set of the *Story of Saint Paul* included in the Hampton Court inventory of 1547.[26]

The fact that the wardrobe account cites eleven pieces rather than nine is perhaps to be explained as a scribal error: the listing is clearly a copy of a working account, and as the eleven is written in roman numerals it seems likely that the scribe put the "i" after the "x" instead of before it. Although Henry's *Saint Paul* set disappeared in the eighteenth century, we can deduce from documentary evidence that it was an exceptionally fine weaving. At the Commonwealth sale following Charles I's execution it was valued at 3,065 pounds, making it one of the ten costliest sets in the collection.[27]

The Cartoons

Fragments from the cartoons for the *Conversion of Saul* and the *Sacrifice at Lystra* survive in the British Museum, while a large fragment from one for the *Martyrdom of Paul* is in Brussels (fig. 171).[28] Remarkable for its size and state of preservation, this last provides fascinating evidence of Coecke's direct participation in the creation of the cartoons and counters claims, often made, that he, van Orley, and other contemporary masters limited their participation in tapestry production to the drawing of the preparatory designs. The Brussels cartoon is executed in charcoal and thin washes of body color on paper and bears a number of written instructions regarding colors, identified by Marlier as the words *gout* (gold), *blaeuw* (blue) and *grys* (gray). For these reasons Marlier assumed that the cartoon was carried out in semi-grisaille and that the indications of color were instructions to the weavers (thus fueling the assumption that the weavers played a decisive part in the choice of colors and the appearance of the end product).[29] Recent conservation of the cartoon and further study of it suggest that Marlier's conclusions were wrong. Careful inspection indicates that the sheet was originally fully colored with thin washes of body color and that it today seems to be predominantly blue and green in large part because the other tones have faded. As the design is highly idiosyncratic, it seems likely that the written instructions were meant for the guidance of the painters who colored the cartoon, which had been drawn at least in part by Coecke himself with the rest executed by skilled assistants working from his designs. The extremely personalized character of the faces represented also suggests that the master may well have been responsible for these elements at the very least. That the drawing of the design commonly preceded and was a distinct process from the coloring of the cartoon in Netherlandish practice is provided by evidence relating to a set of cartoons for the *Story of Samson,* commissioned by Henry II of France. According to early seventeenth-century descriptions, these were only half-colored, work having stopped at the death of Henry in 1559 (see above, p. 401).[30]

1. Marlier 1966, pp. 316–17; F. Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, pp. 116–17; Bauer in Halbturn 1981, pp. 42–43.
2. Marlier 1966, pp. 45, 320.
3. Durian-Ress 1981; Bauer in Halbturn 1981, pp. 42–43.
4. Krönig 1936, p. 88.
5. Marlier 1966, p. 312.
6. In addition to the drawings listed in Munich 1989, p. 24, there exists a *modello* for the *Sacrifice at Lystra,* which was purchased by the Getty Museum at Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 1999, no. 16.
7. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 230–35 (Madrid); Halbturn 1981 (Vienna).
8. Cavallo 1967, pp. 98–103.
9. Durian-Ress 1981.
10. Cavallo 1967, pp. 102–3; Durian-Ress 1981, p. 233.
11. Marlier 1966, p. 312 (with bibliog.); Bauer in Halbturn 1981, pp. 37–54.
12. Marlier 1966, p. 323 (with bibliog.); Delmarcel 1999a, p. 127, dates it ca. 1535–40.
13. Bauer in Halbturn 1981, p. 38.
14. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS fr. 15,628, no. 427; *Catalogue des actes* 1887–1908, vol. 2, p. 298, no. 5291; Cox-Rearick 1996, pp. 367, 468, n. 25.
15. Guiffrey 1888.
16. Schneebalg-Perelman 1971a, p. 260; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 206.
17. Bauer in Halbturn 1981, p. 38.
18. Göbel 1923, pp. 497–98; E. Duverger in Bruges 1987, p. 83.
19. In this inventory, in the Archives de l'Oise, the seven pieces were described as follows: "La conversion de St Paul," "Le sacrifice que l'on veut faire à St Paul et à St Barnabé qui deschire leur vestements," "St Paul qui presche l'Evangile à Lidie et sa famille," "St Paul mis en prison," "St Paul plaide sa cause devant Festus, Agripa et Bérénice," "Naufrage de St. Paul à Malta," and "La décolation de St Paul." I thank Isabelle Denis for providing me with a partial transcription of this document. She plans to publish a full annotated transcription in the future.
20. M. Dowling in Greenwich 1991, pp. 107–10.
21. Beer 1891, p. CLXII. The inventory lists the first two or three words in the cartouches of Mary of Hungary's set, which can be used to identify the subjects by comparing them with extant tapestries.
22. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 217, 220, 222–24.
23. String 1996, pp. 35–41, 105.
24. Ibid., pp. 101–6; Walker 1996, pp. 85–88.
25. Public Record Office, MS E 101/423/10, fol. 74.
26. Starkey 1998, p. 268.
27. Millar 1972, p. 158.
28. Marlier 1966, pp. 44–45, 319–20.
29. Ibid., p. 318.
30. Delmarcel in Cremona 1987, p. 51.

47.

The Triumph of Lust

From a seven-piece set of the *Seven Deadly Sins*
Design by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532–33
Woven in Brussels, ca. 1542–44
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
459 x 832 cm (15 ft. ¾ in. x 27 ft. 3½ in.)
8 warps per cm
Brussels mark (left end of bottom selvage); unidentified weaver's mark (bottom of right side of selvage)
Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Madrid (TA-22/2, 10004089)

PROVENANCE: 1544, purchased by Mary of Hungary from Pieter van der Walle; 1549, exhibited at castle of Binche on the occasion of visit of Charles V and his son, Philip; 1558, listed in a posthumous inventory of collection of Mary of Hungary; 1598, recorded in a posthumous inventory of Philip II; by descent in the Spanish royal tapestry collection and listed in the inventories of Philip III (1621), Philip IV (1666), Charles II (1701–3), Philip V (1717), Ferdinand VI (1751), Charles III (1789), Ferdinand VII (1815).

REFERENCES: Valencia de Don Juan 1903, pp. 29–31, 97–106; Tormo Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 65–67, 71–73; d'Hulst 1960, pp. 203–12; Marlier 1966, pp. 331–42; Steppe 1969b; Bauer and Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 55–99; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 207, 210–11; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 150–54 (with bibliog.); van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, pp. 291, 292, 295.

The *Triumph of Lust* is one of a seven-piece set of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (of which four tapestries survive), purchased by Mary of Hungary in 1544. Reinterpreting a long-standing medieval fascination with the conflict between the Vices and Virtues, the series places an eclectic selection of exemplary figures in a Renaissance setting, a sequence of triumphal cars. The series is unique among sixteenth-century tapestries in having a manuscript description of its complex iconography survive, in Madrid.[1] Although this is a midcentury text, not the original libretto for the design of the series, it provides important information. According to its title, the manuscript was made for the master weaver Willem de Pannemaker, whose cipher appears on two of the four extant sixteenth-century sets of this series—including the three other pieces in Mary of Hungary's set. The text also specifies that "maistre pierre van aelst paintre d'anvers" made the designs and the overall plan ("patrons et ordonnances"). This attribution is supported by the close resemblance between the style of the tapestry designs (especially the contorted and frenetic figures, the fiery atmospheric effects, and the wide landscapes with distant city views) and Pieter Coecke van Aelst's contemporary work in both tapestry and other figurative media. A tour de force of imaginative design, the ensemble has long been recognized as one of Coecke's masterpieces in the tapestry medium.

Description and Iconography

Each of the seven tapestries in the series depicts the triumph of one of the Seven Deadly Sins (the other six show Gluttony, Wrath, Envy, Covetousness, Sloth, and Pride). In each, the sin is represented as a winged female sitting on a triumphal car processing from left to right, accompanied by appropriate biblical, mythological and historical figures, in a deep landscape with views of distant cities. Although the figures are not accompanied by inscriptions and their identity is not always immediately apparent from internal evidence, most can now be identified by referring to the Madrid description.[2]

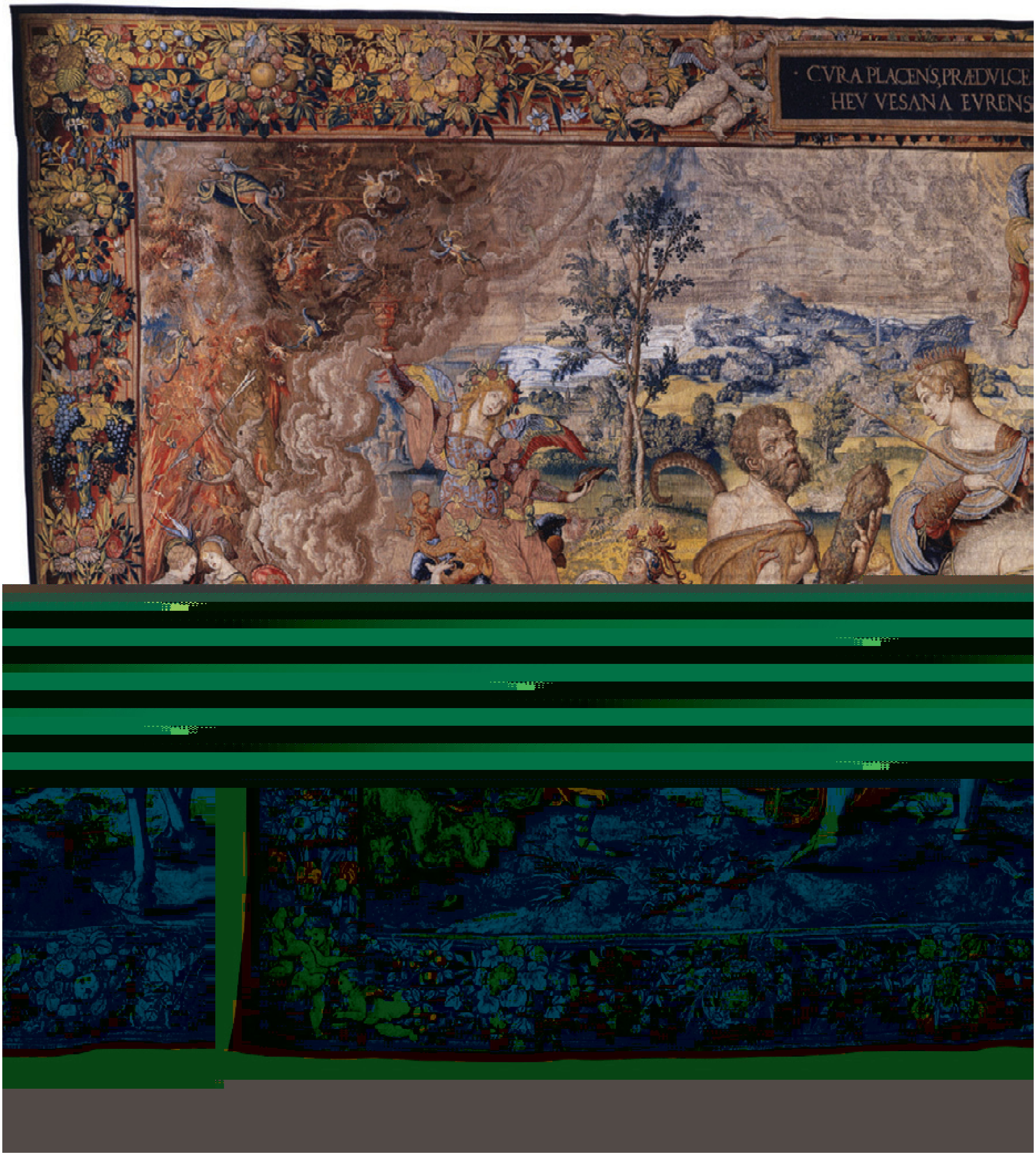
Lust, represented with wings and a crown of roses (the flower of love), is seated on a triumphal car strewn with blossoms and musical instruments. She admires herself in a mirror (the symbol of vanity and seduction) held in one hand while lifting a golden chalice in the other, an allusion to the "cup of abominations" of the Whore of Babylon in the Apocalypse of Saint John (17:4). The chariot is drawn by a monstrous seven-headed animal that corresponds to the description of the beast in the Apocalypse (13:1–2). Lust's chariot trails the flames of hell in its wake as well as, according to the Madrid description, Voluptuousness and Carnal Pleasure, who ensnare "many in kisses and vicious embraces, attracted by transitory desire and mortal delectation."[3] Within the flames are a variety of monsters inspired by the visionary work of Hieronymus Bosch. Two couples dally in the heart of the fire, blind to the inferno about to engulf them. A woman, possibly a personification of Inconstancy, runs alongside the chariot gesticulating as the wheels crush those who have fallen prey to the effects of Lust.[4]

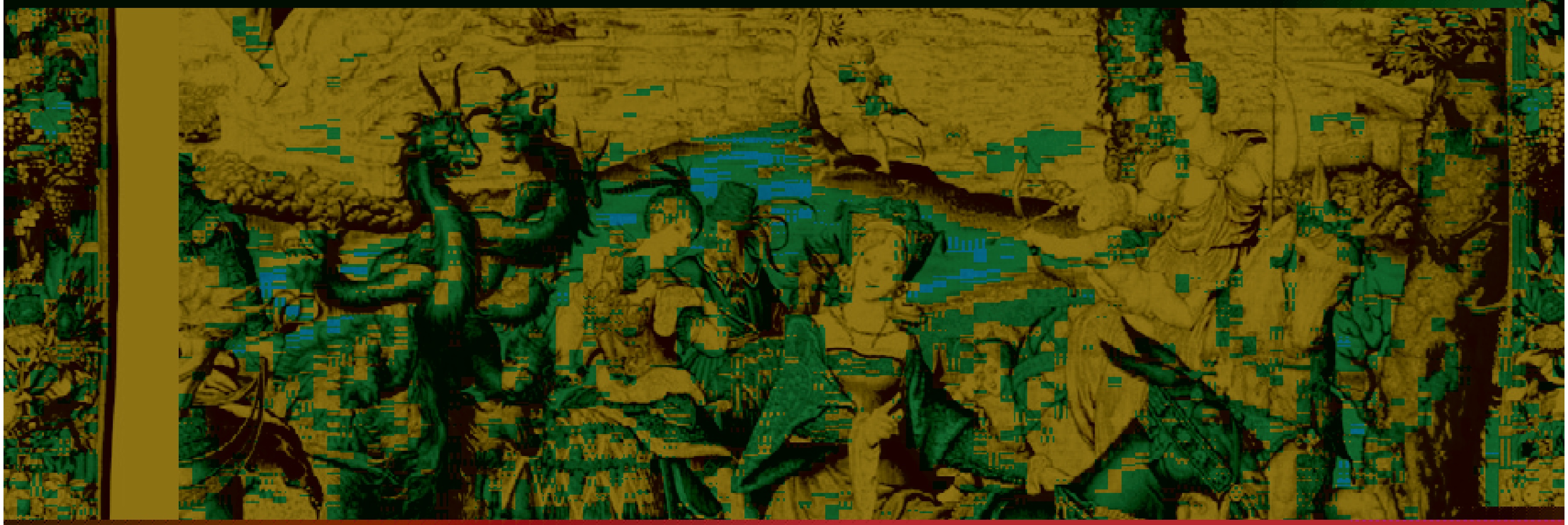
The Madrid description identifies the woman throwing herself upon her sword as Thisbe, who, according to Ovid, committed suicide when she discovered that her lover, Pyramus, had killed himself in the mistaken belief that she had been eaten by a lion (*Metamorphoses* 4:55–166). Another of the figures run over by the chariot is Semele, one of Zeus's lovers, who was killed when he appeared to her as a thunderbolt. The embryonic fruit of her union with Zeus is visible on the ground between Hercules' legs; according to the legend, Zeus sewed the embryo into his leg until it reached full term, when it emerged as Dionysus. The chariot is preceded by Venus, mounted on a white horse. She holds a banner depicting a ram (signifying lust) and three magpies (symbols of Vanity, Dissipation, and Robbery).[5] With her right hand she supports a blindfolded Cupid, who is aiming an arrow at the figures who follow. The Madrid description names three of these as Aeneas, Paris, and Achilles. Venus is accompanied by a second mounted woman, identified in the Madrid text as Medea, another victim of deranged love; abandoned by Jason for Glauce, Medea killed her rival and her own sons by Jason (*Metamorphoses* 7:22–158). In the scene's immediate foreground are two male figures, one of whom is readily identifiable as Hercules. He qualifies for inclusion in the scene, being the father of fifty-two children born to the fifty daughters of King Thestius.[6] Clad in a lion skin, Hercules looks out at the viewer with an expression of anguish as he cradles his club, positioned to suggest a phallus, in both hands. His features are close enough to those in an engraved portrait of the artist Pieter Coecke (published by Lampsonius in 1572) to suggest that this may be an ironic self-portrait.[7] The equestrian figure to the right of Hercules is identified by the Madrid description as King Solomon, another figure deranged by Lust; in his old age he kept seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, who drew his heart from the path of faith (Kings 3:3–4). A winged figure hovering above the cortege, according to the description, represents Chastity awaiting her victory.

Beyond the cortege, Apollo can be seen reaching out for Daphne as she is transformed into a laurel tree to evade his clutches (*Metamorphoses* 1:452ff.). The Madrid description also mentions Lucretia, who killed herself after being raped by Tarquin, but she is not represented in the tapestry. A large city spreads out in the distance, identifiable from the Colosseum and an aqueduct as Rome—the modern Babylon, in the view of many Protestant sympathizers in Coecke's milieu and in Antwerp. The border is composed of rich garlands of fruit and flowers. A cartouche in the center carries an explanatory inscription: CVRA PLACENS, PRAEDVLCE MALVM, TRISTISQ: VOLVPTAS, HEV VESANA FVRENS PECTORA COECAT AMOR (The pursuit of pleasure leads to misery and sorrow, for unbridled love blinds and deranges the heart).

When Coecke designed the *Seven Deadly Sins*, the conflict between the Vices and the Virtues was already an ancient subject in literature and art. First explored in detail in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (fl. 348–405), the theme had been elaborated in numerous literary and visual works during the late classical and medieval periods, as is discussed above in the context of the *Honors* tapestries.[8] During the early sixteenth century the recurring fascination of the struggle between base instincts and self-control manifested itself in many memorable series of allegorical tapestries. A *Redemption of Man* series was designed about 1500, and versions were woven at least twenty times during the following twenty years; a *Seven Deadly Sins* was also designed about 1510 and reproduced many times during the succeeding decade.[9] In reworking this age-old theme, Coecke blended into it the Renaissance concept of the triumph, which had been popularized in Northern figurative art—above all in tapestry representations of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* for which the most important precedent was the 1507–10 design series (see cat. no. 13). Another important forerunner must have been a series of the *Triumphs of the Seven Virtues* that apparently was designed in the late 1510s and that enjoyed considerable success during the next decade, as the survival of at least ten fragmentary sets attests.[10] Like the earlier Petrarchan series, it represented a sequence of triumphal cars, each standing for one Virtue and surrounded by exemplary figures who had embodied or failed to embody that Virtue. These tapestry series provided a model for the general structure of Coecke's series. As for the vivid characterization of the exemplary figures, a more immediate source may have been the large canvases, the *Triumph of Wealth* and the *Triumph of Poverty*, that Holbein painted for the Merchants' Hall of the Hanseatic Steelyard in London in 1532–33.[11] Since there were close links between the London merchant community and that in Antwerp, it is reasonable to suppose that Coecke had some familiarity with this contemporaneous work.

Although the Madrid text states that Coecke originated both the designs for this *Seven Deadly Sins* series and the program on which they are based, several authors have suggested that he


· CVRA PLACENS, PRÆDVLCE
HEV VESANA EVRENS



was aided in this enterprise by one of the humanist intellectuals resident in Antwerp, who was probably also responsible for the Latin couplets.[12] As Steppe has commented, the large cast of characters probably drew on manuscript lists of exemplary figures known to have circulated among Northern rhetoricians in this period.[13]

The text mentions a number of figures that do not appear in the final design. Nor do many of the figures in the *modelli* have identifying attributes. Therefore it seems likely that the Madrid description, with its numerous highly specific identifications, was following an earlier written description—perhaps the original libretto—from which Coecke may have deviated in a number of ways both in composing the *modelli* and in elaborating the final cartoons.

Artist and Date

The design of this series was first attributed to Pieter Coecke by Friedländer, whose idea found universal acceptance among subsequent critics.[14] The attribution was confirmed by the discovery of the Madrid manuscript, which specifically mentions the name of the designer, "Maistre pierre van aelst, paintre d'Anvers."[15]

Four preparatory drawings for the series are known; of them only one, that for the *Triumph of Sloth* (École des Beaux-Arts, Paris), is generally considered to be in Coecke's hand. A duplicate of it (Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick), a drawing for the *Triumph of Lust* (Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven), and a fragmentary drawing for the *Triumph of Pride* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt; fig. 172) are generally thought to be careful workshop copies of Coecke's original *modelli*.[16] Nonetheless, the fact that the Frankfurt drawing carries the date 1537 has encouraged a theory that the series was designed in the mid-1530s. The assumption seemed strengthened by the inclusion of a portrait of Süleyman the Magnificent in the *Triumph of Sloth* drawing, suggesting to previous commentators that the design was produced after Coecke returned from Constantinople in 1534.

However, as with the *Saint Paul* series, an earlier dating may be more correct. The accounts of Henry VIII's Department of the Wardrobe record a payment for the lining of a set of *Seven Deadly Sins* in the year between Michaelmas 1535 and Michaelmas 1536. Only one set of tapestries on this subject is listed in the inventory taken after Henry's death in 1547,[17] and thus it is very likely to be the set referred to in the 1535–36 account, which would provide the date of its entry into the English royal collection. Tapestries were generally lined as soon as they were delivered, partly to strengthen them and partly to provide a support for the hooks by which they were suspended.[18] This very high-quality set (one of the most valuable sets when the royal collection was appraised in the mid-seventeenth century, following Charles I's execution), can in turn be identified without doubt as a set of the Coecke design series, because one piece from it survived in the royal collection until the late nineteenth century (now Morgan Library, New York).[19] The set would probably have taken some eighteen months to make, and the design and preparation of the cartoons for the series may have taken another year. Therefore, if Henry VIII acquired a set of this subject between September 1535 and September 1536, the designs must have been conceived at least two years earlier than previously assumed, that is, before Coecke's trip to Turkey. Circumstantial support for this earlier dating is provided by the similarity of the female figures at the right of the *Sloth modello* to those in a signed allegorical drawing by Coecke (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam) inscribed *1529* on the reverse.[20] It is a mistake to assume that the inclusion of a portrait of Süleyman the Magnificent dates the set to after Coecke's trip to Constantinople; the portrait is formulaic and was probably drawn from contemporary engravings.

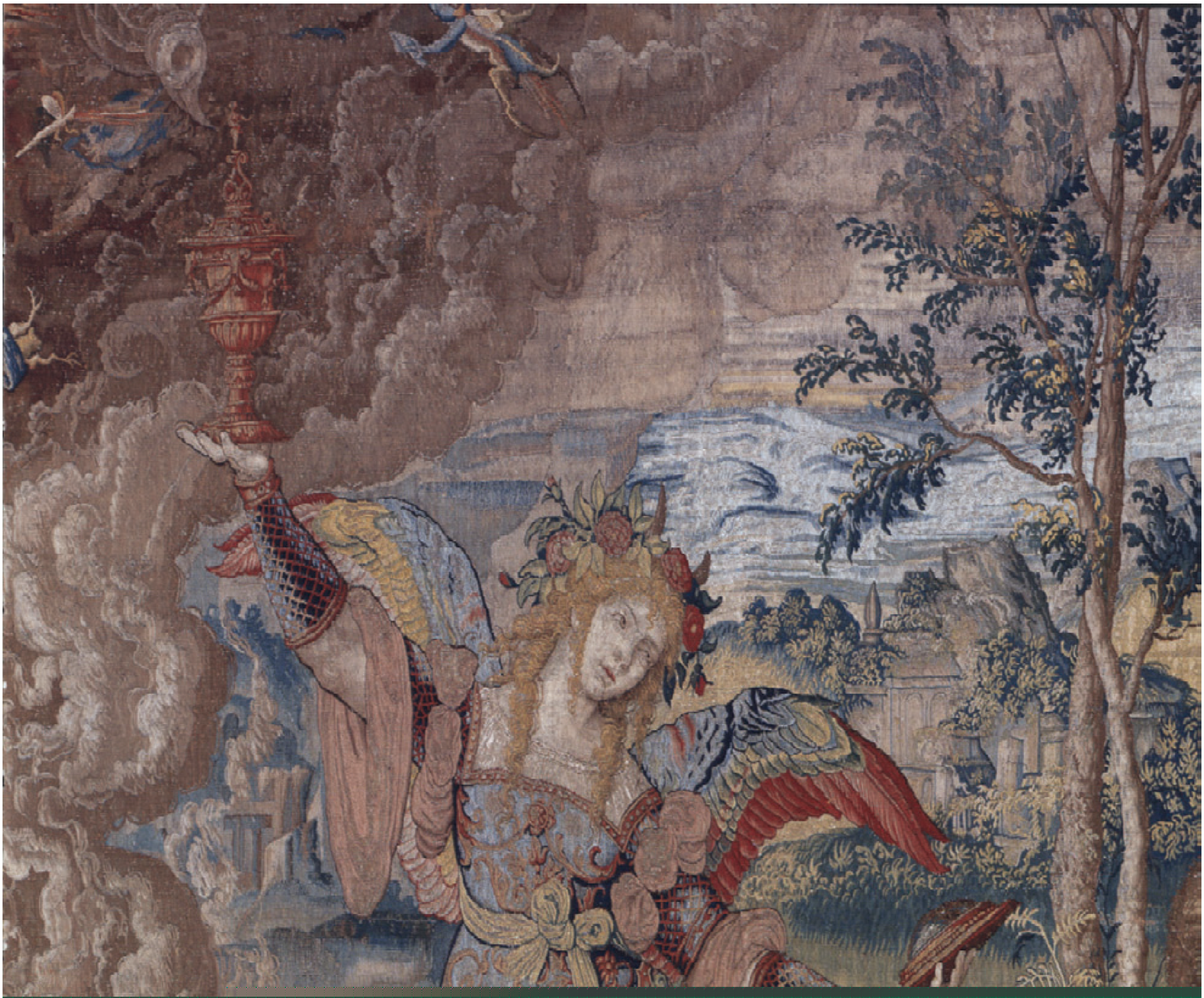
Patron and Weaver

Mary of Hungary purchased the *Seven Deadly Sins* set to which this work belonged from Pieter van der Walle in 1544, for the sum of 2,752 pounds (which suggests that the set was woven ca. 1542–44).[21] In the same year she also acquired a set of the *Story of Scipio* from the Antwerp merchant Erasmus Schets (see cat. no. 43). These were just some of the numerous purchases she made in her own right during the late 1530s and the 1540s. The richness of her collection is spelled out in detailed accounts of the splendor of the castle of Binche made in 1549 during the visit of Charles V and Prince Philip, on which occasion the *Seven Deadly Sins* adorned the great hall.[22]

As discussed above, Pieter van der Walle, the Antwerp merchant who sold the *Seven Deadly Sins* to Mary, played a leading role in the supply of Brussels tapestries to many of the most important courts of the day, including those of Henry VIII, Cosimo de' Medici, and Philip of Spain (later Philip II). It is possible that van der Walle commissioned the cartoons of the *Seven Deadly Sins* from Coecke's workshop as a speculative venture, just as he may have been responsible for commissioning the *Story of the Creation* cartoons from Coecke's workshop sometime in the 1540s (of which the first known weaving was sold by van der Walle's son, Jan, to Cosimo de' Medici in 1551).[23] Mary's set of the *Seven Deadly Sins* was woven in two workshops, that of Willem de Pannemaker (whose mark appears on three of the four extant pieces) and another that is unidentified (its mark appears on cat. no. 47). The relationship between the van der Walle merchants and Pannemaker was evidently close. Pannemaker was also the weaver of the *Romulus and Remus* series that Jan van der Walle sold to Philip of Spain in 1550, and the cartoons of this series, too, appear to have belonged to the van der Walle company, since Pieter van der Walle had sold a set of the same subject to Henry VIII before 1547.[24]

In addition to the sets made for Henry VIII and Mary of Hungary, two other high-quality sixteenth-century sets of the *Seven Deadly Sins* survive, one in the Spanish royal collection (Patrimonio Nacional) and the other in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum).[25] The former, of which only six pieces are extant, belonged to the count of Egmont, but it was appropriated by the duke of Alba following Egmont's execution in 1568 and subsequently presented to Philip II.[26] Instead of the flower-and-palm border of the earlier sets, this one has figurative medallions (in the center of the lower border) and herms (in the lateral borders). The same unidentified weaver's mark that is on catalogue number 47 appears on all pieces in this set. The set in Vienna is complete; its original owner is unknown. Dating from the 1550s, it is distinguished by its borders, which feature elaborate grotesques in the style of Cornelis Floris and Cornelis Bos.[27] All seven pieces of this set carry the mark of Willem de Pannemaker.

Detail of cat. no. 47



1. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 6015; transcribed in Halbturn 1981, pp. 91–99.
2. Bauer and Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 60–75, esp. pp. 72–74, for the iconography of the *Triumph of Lust*.
3. Halbturn 1981, p. 94.
4. Bauer and Steppe in Halbturn 1981, p. 74.
5. Ibid., p. 73.
6. Ibid.
7. For the portrait, see Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 190.
8. For further bibliography, see Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 77–82, and Mechelen 2000, pp. 18–20.
9. For the *Redemption of Man* series, see Cavallo 1993, pp. 421–45; for the earlier *Deadly Sins* series, see Steppe in Brussels 1976, pp. 100–117.
10. Delmarcel 1979; Souchal 1979.
11. Rowlands 1985, pp. 83–84, 223–24.
12. Bauer and Steppe in Halbturn 1981, p. 57.
13. Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 77–82.
14. Friedländer 1917, p. 88.
15. Halbturn 1981, p. 91.
16. D'Hulst 1960, p. 211; Marlier 1966, pp. 335–36, 338; Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, pp. 260–61, no. 491.
17. Starkey 1998, p. 180, no. 8991.
18. T. Campbell 1998a, p. 157.
19. T. Campbell 1994, pp. 26–27, 30, n. 41.
20. Marlier 1966, pp. 88–90.
21. Finot 1892, p. 243.
22. Van den Boogert in Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch 1993, pp. 291–99.
23. Meoni 1989.
24. T. Campbell 1998c, pp. 45–46, 50, n. 21.
25. Bauer and Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 55–75; Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 77–89.
26. Steppe in Halbturn 1981, p. 85.
27. Bauer and Steppe in Halbturn 1981, pp. 57–59.

48.

The Sacrifice of Isaac

From a ten-piece set of the *Story of Abraham*
Conceived by Bernaert van Orley (?), ca. 1540; designed and cartoons executed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst and other, unidentified artists, ca. 1540–41 (?)
Woven Brussels, workshop of Willem de Kempeneer, ca. 1541–43
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
488 x 792 cm (16 x 26 ft.)
8 warps per cm
Brussels town mark (left end of bottom selvage); merchant's mark (right end of bottom selvage)
The Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace, lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (1008)

PROVENANCE: Between September 9, 1543, and September 9, 1544, received and lined by the English Royal Wardrobe; 1547, recorded at Hampton Court in the posthumous inventory of Henry VIII's possessions; stored at Hampton Court but periodically displayed for key receptions and festivities at other sites during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Charles I; 1649, valued at 8,260 pounds by the commissioners responsible for the inventory and sale of Charles I's possessions; 1654, reserved for use of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell; 1685, hung in Westminster Abbey for the coronation of James II; 1699, hung permanently in state apartments built for William III at Hampton Court; 1841, this piece, with five others of the set, transferred to Hampton Court Great Hall (two others hung in the Royal Chapel at Saint James's Palace, London); 1922–27, stored and exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; 1927, with five other pieces, rehung in the Great Hall at Hampton Court, where they have remained (the other four pieces are hung elsewhere in the palace); 1944–46, this piece conserved as part of a campaign for the whole set.

REFERENCES: W. G. Thomson 1906, pp. 218, 223, 267; W. G. Thomson 1914, p. 36; Hunter 1925, pp. 128, 133; Marillier 1962, pp. 7–11; Millar 1972, p. 158; F. P. Thomson 1980, pp. 92, 102, 109; D. King 1989, pp. 312–13; T. Campbell 1994, pp. 22–24, 26; T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 237–49; T. Campbell 1998b, pp. 2, 29–30; Starkey 1998, p. 268; T. Campbell forthcoming.

CONDITION: Although the tones of the tapestry are faded, the original color balance between the wool and the silk is well preserved. Much of the gilt-metal thread has tarnished, so large expanses that would originally have appeared gold are now silvery gray. Four letters at the bottom left of the inscription in the cartouche are painted on, not woven into, the fabric; the reason is not known, but it may reflect a mistake made by the weavers.

Woven with a very high proportion of gilt-metal-wrapped thread, the ten-piece *Story of Abraham* set at Hampton Court Palace is one of the most sumptuous tapestry ensembles to survive from this or any other period. According to a well-informed visitor to Hampton Court in 1598, it was said to be "the finest and most artistic in England,"[1] and during Charles I's reign it was regularly taken to London to be hung in the Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace for important state receptions.[2] At the time of the Commonwealth sale (1649–54) it received a higher valuation than any other work of art in the British royal collection, and despite Cardinal Mazarin's strenuous attempts to acquire the set, it was eventually reserved for Cromwell's use; thus it was still in the royal collection at the time of the Restoration.[3] Between 1699 and 1841 the tapestries adorned the state apartments built for William III at Hampton Court by Christopher Wren; six pieces were transferred to the Tudor Great Hall in 1841, when the palace was opened to the public.[4] This long-term exhibition was in marked contrast to the careful husbandry the set had originally received: during the time of the Commonwealth sale, Mazarin's agent described it as "very well preserved, having only served for ceremonial occasions."[5]

Although modern historians have long recognized the richness of the Hampton Court

Abraham set, it has never been studied in detail. The loss of almost all the rest of Henry VIII's tapestry collection, combined with the lack of documentation on the date and circumstances by which the set entered the collection, has tended to obscure its true significance. New evidence, discussed below, suggests that Henry's set was probably the first weaving of this design and that he commissioned it about 1540–41 at the latest, perhaps as early as 1539. Much of the propaganda and official iconography generated by the Tudor court during the years of the Reformation was concerned to draw parallels between Henry and the Old Testament patriarchs, in order to substantiate his newly defined role as head of the English church and, in effect, patriarch to his own people. It seems likely that this costly set of tapestries was acquired to promote the same image. The story of Abraham and Isaac would have carried additional resonance for Henry at this time, since his long-awaited son and heir, Edward, was born in 1537; the theme of God's covenant with Abraham, continued through his son Isaac, offered a powerful prototype for the continuation of the "sacral" Tudor line.[6]

Description

The *Story of Abraham* set comprises ten scenes depicting the principal events of Abraham's life as narrated in chapters 12 through 24 of Genesis, especially those pertaining to his role as the founder of the Hebrew nation and the continuation of God's covenant with Abraham through his son Isaac. This tapestry, the seventh piece in the set, shows the sacrifice of Isaac as described in Genesis (22:2–18). As a test of Abraham's faith, God commanded him to take his only son, Isaac, into the land of Moriah and sacrifice him there on one of the mountains. After three days of travel, Abraham and Isaac arrived at the designated site. In the left foreground of this tapestry they are shown starting up the mountain, Isaac carrying wood for the sacrificial fire and Abraham the burning coals with which it would be lit. Isaac turns back toward his father, enacting the moment when, innocent of his father's intention, he asks, "Where is the lamb for the burnt offering?" and his father replies, "God himself will provide a lamb for the burnt offering" (Genesis 22:7–8). Above, in the distance, Isaac is seen lying on a sacrificial altar, his hands bound to his side, as Abraham lifts a knife to his throat. This action is arrested by the angel of the Lord, who, in an embellishment of the biblical text, grabs Abraham's forelock to get his attention as he speaks the Lord's words: "Lay not thy hand upon the boy, neither do thou any thing to him: now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not witheld thy son, thine only son, from me" (Genesis 22:12). Behind the scene a ram is visible at the edge of the wood; in the far distance (upper center of tapestry) Abraham offers it as a sacrifice in place of Isaac. The right foreground is occupied by the two servants and the mule that Abraham took with him on the journey. One of the servants turns and points toward the miraculous appearance of the angel, his posture based on that of a soldier in Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina* fresco created for the Palazzo della Signoria, Florence, but never executed. In the wide landscape that is the setting for this episodic narrative, the vegetation and the craggy background mountains are delineated with great attention to detail—from the moss-covered stump surrounded by toadstools and ferns in the foreground to the tree roots hanging over a cliff in the center distance.

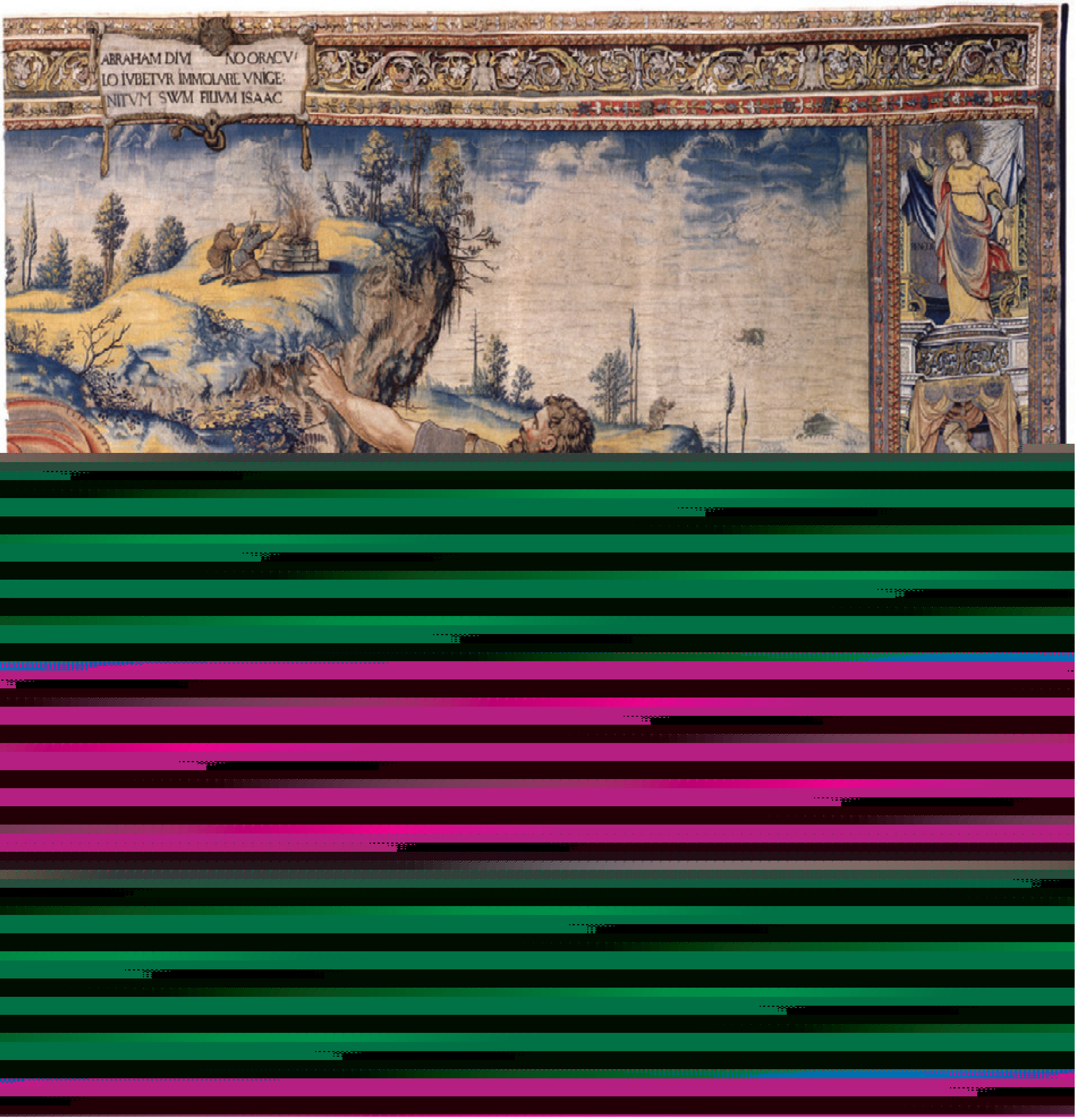
The Borders

Like the other pieces in the set, the tapestry's main scene is surrounded by a wide, elaborate border. At the top it contains a frieze decorated with a scrolling acanthus pattern, in which a central cartouche, depicted as a stretched animal skin, carries the inscription: ABRAHAM DIVINO ORACVLO IVBETVR IMMOLARE VNIGENITVM SVVM FILIVM ISAAC (Abraham, at God's command, sacrifices his only begotten son, Isaac). The other borders are divided by architectural niches and decorative elements into a series of compartments, three on each side and five below, each occupied by a figure identified by a Latin inscription. Counterclockwise from top left, they are: Constantia (Steadfastness), Testatio (Witness), Fides (Faith), Simplicitas (Candor), Obedientia (Obedience), Animi Promptitudo (Willingness of the Spirit), Immolatio (Sacrifice), Promissio (Promise), Spes (Hope), Promissio (Promise), and Benedictio (Blessing).

In all, 84 different personifications are featured in the borders of the complete *Abraham* set, some several times (though never in the same form), making a total of 110 figures. This placement of numerous figures in fanciful architectural and grotesque border settings is, structurally speaking, inspired by the borders of Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* (see pp. 187–203 and cat. no. 18). There, however, the borders relate to the central field only in a general way, while here the connection between the border personifications and the main *Abraham* scenes is more specific. Some border figures symbolize the primary event or theme of the central scene; others personify the virtues that the protagonists demonstrate, the opposing vices, or the consequences of practicing those virtues or vices. In the case of the *Sacrifice of Isaac,* the personifications reinforce the themes of trust and obedience, Abraham to God and Isaac to his father. Taken as an ensemble, the border personifications invite the viewer to consider the narrative as a meditation on Abraham's secular and religious virtues and, in the final scenes, on the qualities that characterize a dutiful son, a faithful servant, and a virtuous wife. More generally, they relate these qualities to the concepts of Fame and Honor (personifications that appear in the border of *Abraham Meeting Melchizedek*), which, according to the teachings of the *speculum principis* (mirror of princes), were the pinnacle of achievement for European rulers. While a long tradition existed of using tapestry as a medium for didactic schemes, the *Abraham* tapestries appear to be the first in which the borders were designed as an integral part of that program.[7]

Date and Patron

The circumstances in which the *Story of Abraham* series was conceived and designed, and Henry VIII acquired his rich weaving, are undocumented; until recently, the earliest known reference to Henry's set was a citation in the posthumous 1547 inventory, where it is described as "new Arras."[8] However, fresh evidence about the date that the set entered the collection has recently been found in an unpublished account book of the keeper of the Great Wardrobe, the department of the Tudor household responsible for the soft furnishings of the royal palaces. The entry for the year ending on Michaelmas (September 29) 1544 notes a payment to the royal tailors to line two sets of tapestry with canvas: one, "Augusto Cesere," of ten pieces, and the other, also of ten pieces, the *Story of Abraham.*[9] As only one ten-piece set on the theme of Abraham was listed in the 1547 inventory,


ABRAHAM DIVI NO ORACV
LO IVBETVR IMMOLARE VNIGE
NITVM SVVM FILIVM ISAAC

modelli. Indeed, the king and his advisers might even have been involved in the choice of subjects in the allegorical border personifications. Although the idea that the designs developed out of some such intercourse is highly speculative, it is certainly supported by the parallels between these subjects and the rhetoric employed by Henry and the Reformation movement.

Designer

Since the origin of the *Abraham* series is undocumented, its attribution is dependent on stylistic analysis. There has been great divergence among scholars on the subject of who was responsible for the design, with much of the discussion focused on the duplicate weavings in Madrid and Vienna. With the exception of Hunter, who ascribed it to Giulio Romano, most early twentieth-century commentators attributed the design to Bernaert van Orley, and many scholars still agree.[24] Indeed, the rich landscapes, elaborate architectural settings, multiple narratives, and rhetorical gestures and facial characteristics of many of the figures all strongly recall his tapestry designs. However, the *Abraham* works are characterized by an elongation of the figures and a monumentality of composition, perhaps reflecting an awareness (at second hand) of Michelangelo's work, and these qualities are absent from design series such as the *Battle of Pavia* and the *Hunts of Maximilian*, classic examples of van Orley's work. Presumably on the basis of this disparity, the influential surveys of van Orley's tapestry designs by Farmer and Ainsworth excluded the *Abraham* series from his canon.[25] Farmer suggested that the design might instead be assigned to van Orley's pupil Michiel Coxcie, as was first proposed by Tormo Monzó and Sánchez Cantón in 1919. The attribution, which has since been accepted by Duverger in a recent summary of Coxcie's work as a tapestry designer,[26] has considerable merit. The figures in Coxcie's *First Parents, Noah,* and *Tower of Babel* series (of which examples survive at Wawel Royal Castel, Kraków) share many poses and facial characteristics with the *Abraham* designs. The three-quarter profile heads of Abraham are especially close to those of God and Noah in the Wawel sets.

Yet two factors encourage caution in attributing the *Abraham* designs to Coxcie. First, the elongation of the figures and slightly mannered disproportion of their feet and hands set them apart from the idealized human forms in the *First Parents* and *Noah* series. Second, the architectural settings, which are florid and rather heavy-handed, differ in character from the architectural detailing in paintings and stained-glass window designs executed by Coxcie in the early 1540s. Perhaps for these reasons, the intervention of a third artist, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, has recently been suggested by Delmarcel,[27] an attribution that has much to recommend it. Many postures and facial features in the *Abraham* designs echo those in earlier Coecke series, particularly the *Story of Joshua,* and the wide landscape settings are similar to ones in Coecke's tapestry designs and paintings.

While this question requires more detailed discussion than is possible here, the basis for future assessment must surely be the project on which van Orley, Coxcie, and Coecke are all known to have participated between 1537 and 1543: the designs for the stained-glass windows in the transept and the chapel of Saint-Sacrement de Miracle in the Cathedral of Saint Gudule, Brussels.[28] Remarkably, these important comparative works have not been considered yet in relation to either the *Caesar* or the *Abraham* designs.[29] Van Orley began the assignment with designs for two windows in the transept, dated 1537 and 1538, depicting Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, and Mary of Hungary and her husband Louis II Jagellon, in elaborate architectural settings. Subsequently Charles V commissioned van Orley to design five windows for the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, with portraits of Habsburg donors below and scenes of the legend of Saint-Sacrement above. In the first of them, completed in 1540, above images of Francis I and Eleanor of Austria is depicted the murder of Jonathas, the Jew who according to local legend had solicited Jean of Louvain to steal the Host from the cathedral. All three windows completed from van Orley designs have close parallels with the *Abraham* and *Caesar* series. In the Charles V window in the transept, the woman holding a crown behind the kneeling figures closely resembles the women depicted in the *Departure of Eliezer* in the *Abraham* series. Similarly, the protagonists in the *Murder of Jonathas* have postures and facial characteristics close to those in the *Assassination of Caesar* tapestry. More generally, the architectural frames utilized in all three windows incorporate a vocabulary very similar to that employed in the *Abraham* and *Caesar* designs (fluted pilasters, decorated plinths, coffered ceilings, and carved medallions), and many other decorative details are close to those in the *Abraham* designs. For instance, the scrolling acanthus filigree that decorates the interior of the arch in the Charles V window reappears on the candelabra in the *Circumcision of Isaac* tapestry, while the Francis I window incorporates two trompe l'oeil niches with allegorical figures very similar in type to those in the borders of the *Abraham* series.

If the stylistic analogies between the Saint Gudule windows and the *Abraham* and *Caesar* designs suggest van Orley's initial involvement in the conception of the designs, they also provide clues about how these designs may have been developed by other artists. Following van Orley's death in January 1541, Coxcie was commissioned to paint a cartoon for the next window, depicting John III and Catherine of Portugal, from van Orley's preliminary design,[30] which was among the drawings that the cathedral authorities had purchased from van Orley's beneficiaries. The window, dated 1542 and executed from Coxcie's cartoon, is consistent in format and character with van Orley's earlier designs. Moreover, notably, it contains a coffered ceiling much like that in the *Circumcision of Isaac*. A preparatory design for this window also appears to have been executed by Coecke, presumably as a competitive bid, but it was not followed, and subsequently Coxcie provided the design for the other windows.[31] Although they follow the iconographic program that van Orley had already established, their architectural details have an austere character that distances them from the more florid, decorative van Orley designs.

Since there are many close links between the *Abraham* and *Caesar* designs and the Saint Gudule windows, the question arises, were the two groups of works produced under similar conditions? Did van Orley in both cases devise the iconographic schemes and some of the preliminary designs before his death, and were these then completed and developed as full-scale cartoons under the supervision of Coecke or Coxcie? While this question cannot yet be answered, there is some indication that such was the case with the *Caesar* series, since the *Assassination of Caesar* (fig. 174) is close stylistically to van Orley's *Murder of Jonathas* window, while a *modello* for another scene of the set, the *Departure of Caesar,* appears to be in Coecke's hand.[32] As Forti Grazzini has noted, other scenes in the *Caesar* set, some only known in later weavings from second- and third-generation cartoons, also reflect Coecke's work.[33]

So far as the *Abraham* series is concerned, reason to think that this project, too, was developed by an artist other than van Orley is provided by a pen-and-ink drawing of the *Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* (Fondation Custodia, Paris).[34] While replicating the posture of Melchizedek and certain other figures and details in the corresponding scene in the *Abraham* tapestry series, it places the episode within a wide landscape rather than the architectural setting of the tapestry design. Another difference is that Abraham wears the costume of a Roman soldier. Attributed by Lugt to Coecke, this drawing was reattributed by Boon to Coxcie on the basis of its stylistic similarity to a group of five drawings of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* (see fig. 193), one of which carries Coxcie's monogram.[35] The penmanship is certainly closer to Coxcie's than to any drawing by Coecke. Although this could have been a preliminary sketch for the scene in the tapestry series that was then reworked into the form in which it was eventually produced, an alternative scenario is that the sketch was made by Coxcie based on a rough design by van Orley, as part of a bid to complete the project (akin to Coecke's sketch for the Saint Gudule windows). Certainly, the design of the *Abraham and Melchizedek* scene in the completed tapestry appears much closer to Coecke's work than to Coxcie's, but the elements common to both the tapestry and the drawing suggest a common source of inspiration.

While the attribution of the *Abraham* (and *Caesar*) designs requires further analysis, it seems likely that the joint involvement of van Orley, Coecke, and Coxcie in the development of the Saint Gudule windows may hold the key to their appearance.

Workshop

Several of the tapestries in the set carry the Brussels mark and that of Willem de Kempeneer (erroneously identified as that of Willem de Pannemaker by Marillier, a mistake that has been perpetuated in much of the literature relating to Hampton Court).[36] As discussed elsewhere, Kempeneer, one of the leading merchant-weaver entrepreneurs of the 1530s and early 1540s, evidently played an important part in producing the tapestries sold to the courts of Francis I and Henry VIII, as evidenced both by documentation and by Jan Mostinck's testimony on his behalf in 1539. Although Kempeneer and the Dermoyen were found guilty of the charges of fraudulence, the high quality of surviving products from their workshops demonstrates that infractions did not plague all their work. Certainly the *Story of Abraham* tapestries are among the most technically proficient creations of the sixteenth century, as passages of weaving in the *Sacrifice of Isaac* panel attest (see, for example, details showing the foreground vegetation and the nap of the servant's fur bag). In their size and consistent quality, Henry VIII's *Abraham* tapestries strikingly demonstrate how many and how skilled were the weavers in Kempeneer's workshops—anonymous artisans responsible for the finest examples of Brussels's golden age of tapestry production.

1. Platter 1937, p. 202.
2. For example, the formalizing of the peace treaty with Spain in December 1630 (Public Records Office [henceforth PRO], MS LC5/132, fol. 216); the celebration of Saint George's Feast in April 1635 (PRO, MS LC5/134, fol. 56); the reception of the Moroccan ambassador in November 1637 (PRO, MS LC5/134, fol. 203); and the reception of the Spanish ambassador in 1640 (PRO, MS LC5/134, fol. 384).
3. Cosnac 1884, pp. 180, 182, 184, 194, 197, 199; Millar 1972, p. 158.
4. T. Campbell 1994, pp. 22–24, 26.
5. "[F]ort bien conservée, n'ayant jamais servi que dans les jours de cérémonies"; Cosnac 1884, p. 186.
6. The following analysis is based in part on T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 237–49. A more detailed publication on Henry VIII's *Abraham* series is in preparation by the present author.
7. My forthcoming article on the *Abraham* tapestries will contain a more detailed discussion of their border iconography; T. Campbell forthcoming.
8. Starkey 1998, p. 268.
9. PRO, MS E101/423/10, fol. 74.
10. For a reconstruction and discussion of Henry's *Caesar* set, see T. Campbell 1998b.
11. For a discussion on the precedence of Henry's *Caesar* set, see ibid.; for the precedence of his *Abraham* set, see T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 245–47, and T. Campbell forthcoming.
12. T. Campbell 1998a, p. 233; Jacquot 1960, pp. 445, 451.
13. T. Campbell 1998b; Forti Grazzini 1999b, pp. 159–64.
14. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 232–37; T. Campbell 1998b, pp. 32–36.
15. Rude 1992, p. 52.
16. Turquet 1983, passim, esp. pp. 322–31.
17. Elton 1972, pp. 171–216; String 1996, pp. 22–45.
18. T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 217–25.
19. String 1996, pp. 77–80; Walker 1996, pp. 89–92.
20. British Library, London, Royal MS 7D XIII. Tudor-Craig 1989, esp. p. 191; J. N. King 1989, pp. 83–85. For a discussion of the context in which Henry purchased a very expensive set of *Story of David* tapestries in 1528, see T. Campbell 1996b.
21. String 1996, pp. 106–18; Walker 1996, pp. 92–93.
22. The 1560 inventory of Cueva's collection lists a ten-piece set, said to have been purchased in Flanders in 1544, which in its subjects corresponds to the Hampton Court set. It is described as "rich," but the inventory makes no mention of silk or gold thread, features noted for other tapestries in the collection. The fate of this set is unknown; Rodríguez Villa 1883, p. 22.
23. Denucé 1936, pp. 18–19.
24. Friedländer 1909, p. 155; Baldass 1920, nos. 21–30; Hunter 1925, pp. 128, 133; Heinz 1963, pp. 186–88; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 206; Forti Grazzini 1991b, pp. 72–73.
25. Farmer 1981, pp. 314–15; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 135 n. 2, 140–41 n. 45.
26. Tormo Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 102–3; E. Duverger 1993, p. 176.
27. Delmarcel 1999a, p. 124.
28. Vanden Bemden 1993; Vanden Bemden 2000, pp. 172–80.
29. For the discission that follows, see Marillier 1962, pls. 1–10, for the *Abraham* tapestries; T. Campbell 1998b, for the *Caesar* tapestries; Vanden Bemden 1993 and Vanden Bemden 2000, for the Saint Gudule windows comparisons.
30. Vanden Bemden 1993, pp. 141–49; Vanden Bemden 2000, pp. 176–79.
31. Marlier 1966, p. 357; Vanden Bemden 2000, pp. 179–80.
32. Marlier 1966, pp. 300–301. T. Campbell 1998b, pp. 28, 30–32, for identification of the subject; in the latter the drawing is tentatively linked to the work of Léonard Thiry. In T. Campbell 1998a, pp. 271–73, I also considered the possible intervention of Nicholas Bellin of Modena. I now am inclined to accept the traditional attribution of the drawing to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.
33. Forti Grazzini 1991b, p. 74.
34. Boon 1992, pp. 103–5, pl. 61.
35. Gerszi 1971, nos. 56–60; H. Mielke in Berlin 1975, pp. 120–21.
36. Marillier 1962, p. 7. For the correct identification of this mark, see Calberg and Pauwels 1961.

49.

Perseus Liberating Andromeda

From a five-piece set of the *Fables of Ovid* (historically called the *Poesia*)
Designs and cartoons here attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst or an artist in his workshop, ca. 1545–50
Woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, before 1556
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
356 x 406 cm (11 ft. 8⅛ in. x 13 ft. 3⅞ in.)
9–9½ warps per cm
Mark of the Pannemaker workshop (bottom of right selvage)
Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso (TA-19/2, 10026391)

Provenance: 1556, purchased on behalf of Philip II in Antwerp; 1559, probably moved to Madrid and used as decoration in the Alcázar after Philip's return to Spain; 1598, listed in the inventory of Philip II; 1659, exhibited in Bidassoa for the meeting of Philip IV and Louis XIV; 1660, displayed on the Isle des Faisans during preparations for the wedding of Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse; 1664, listed in the inventory of the royal tapestry collection; 1701–3, listed in the inventory of the royal collection after the death of Charles II; 1734, most likely transferred to the Buen Retiro, Madrid, principal court residence; after 1746, set hung in the Buen Retiro during reigns of Philip V and Ferdinand VI; 1788, listed in the inventory of the royal collection after the death of Charles III; 1834, listed in the inventory of Ferdinand VII; 1957, displayed at the Bourbon palace of La Granja in Segovia.

References: Wauters 1878, p. 428; Tormo Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 93–94; Göbel 1923, pp. 293–313; Crick-Kuntziger 1927a, pp. 172–73; Crick-Kuntziger 1929, p. 77; d'Hulst 1960, p. 220; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 213; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 134–39 (with bibliog.); Horn 1989, p. 46; Dacos 1996b, p. 34; Buchanan 1999, pp. 137–39, 148; Delmarcel 1999b, pp. 155, 158, 169, 174.

Condition: Good.

This depiction of the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus is the second panel in a five-piece set now known as the *Fables of Ovid* (historically known as the *Poesia*), one of the most graceful tapestry sequences of the sixteenth century. The subjects are drawn from the *Metamorphoses* by the Roman poet Ovid, which tells of the lives of the gods and their amorous, sometimes tragic relationships with mortal men and women. Appearing in several editions from the late fifteenth through the sixteenth century, this classical text inspired artists ranging from Giorgione and Piero di Cosimo to Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga. In 1550 Titian began a group of lyrical paintings, "le poesie," for Prince Philip of Spain that took their subjects from Ovid's poem. In 1556 the *Poesia* tapestries were also acquired for Philip, who, on his accession to the throne that year, began an intense period of collecting both fine art and tapestries. Lavishly executed in wool, silk, silver, and gold, the set was woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker. The designs and cartoons can be attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst or an artist in his workshop and most likely date from about 1545–50. The circumstances of the set's design and production are not known. As the designs seem to predate Philip's purchase by some years, it is likely they were prepared for an earlier editio princeps, now lost.

With its elegant figures, the *Poesia* represent the adaptation of Italian, classicizing style in the North, rendered in the medium of tapestry. Like Titian's paintings, the set celebrates the beauty of the ideal human form.

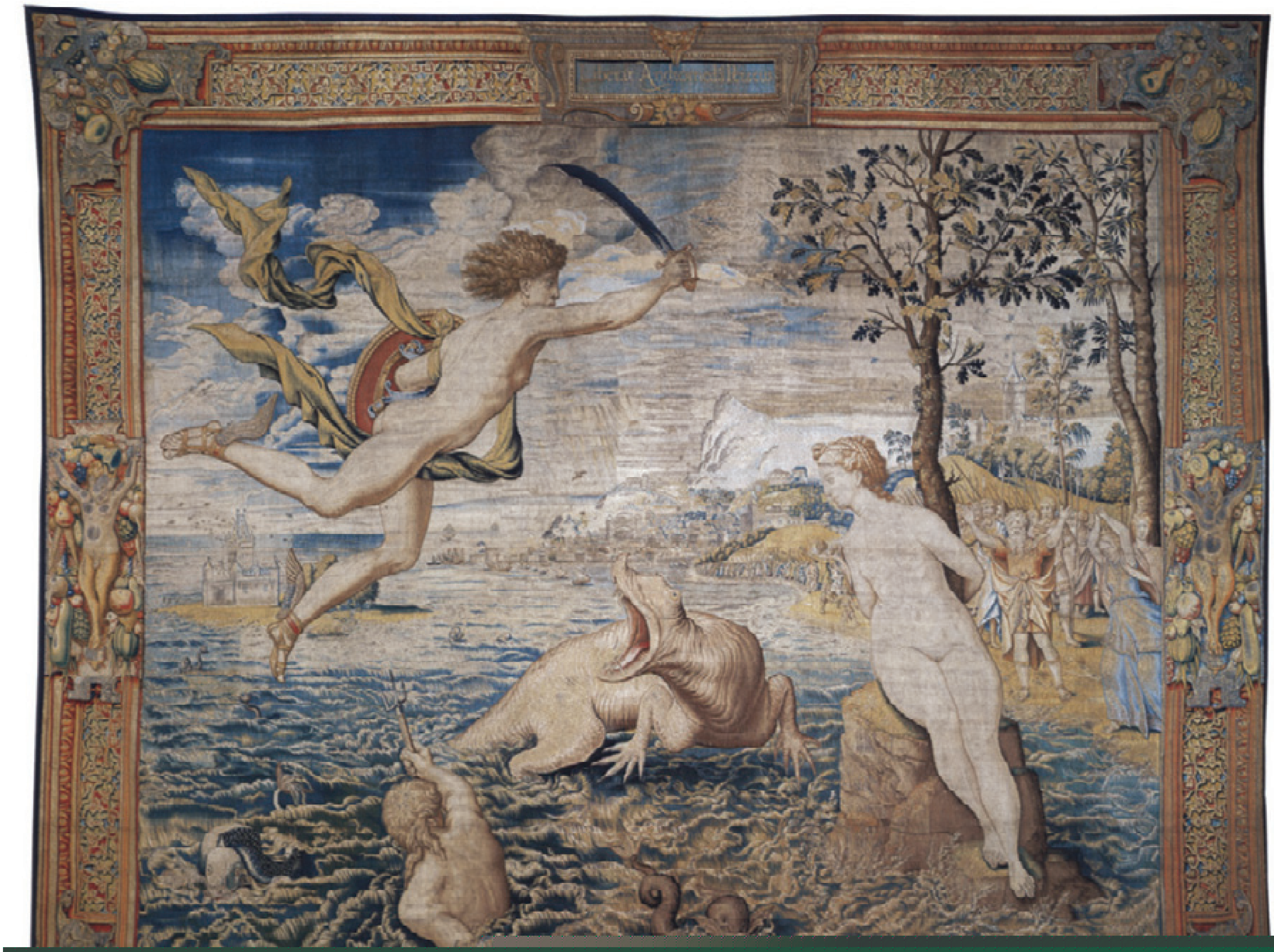
Description and Iconography

The present tapestry shows Perseus's rescue of Andromeda as related in Book 4 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (ll. 663–752) and closely follows the classical text. According to the story, Andromeda, daughter of the Ethiopian king Cepheus, was chained to a rock to be sacrificed to a terrible sea monster. This was a punishment for her mother, Cassiopeia, who had angered Neptune, the god of the sea, by boasting that she and her daughter were more beautiful than the Nereids. However, Andromeda was rescued by Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danae, while he was on his way home after slaying Medusa. As he flew over many lands, wearing his winged sandals, Perseus spied Andromeda: "Bound by the arms to the rough rocks; her hair, / Stirred in a gentle breeze, and her warm tears flowing / Proved her not marble, as he thought, but woman. / She was beautiful, so much so that he almost / Forgot to move his wings. He came down to her."[1]

At the right Andromeda is portrayed as an elegant, ideal nude, seated on a rock, her arms tied to a small oak tree. White-capped waves lap around the rock as, at the center, the sea monster approaches. In the foreground is Neptune, with his trident, emerging from the foamy sea. From the upper left Perseus, also depicted as an ideal nude, swoops in, drapery flying. He brandishes an upraised sword and is about to kill the sea monster, which roars threateningly at him. On the shore behind Andromeda is a crowd of spectators, dressed in classical costume, their arms waving in agitation. In the distance is glimpsed a town, set among rolling hills, that is carefully rendered and perhaps based on knowledge of an actual site. It has been suggested that the landscape may represent the Bay of Jaffa in Palestine.[2] At the left the roiling sea extends to the distant horizon.

The *Poesia* set includes five scenes from the *Metamorphoses*. The other pieces depict the Fall of Icarus, the Rape of Ganymede, Apollo and Marsyas, and the Sacrifice of Polyxena. Ovid's poem had been known throughout the Middle Ages, serving as the basis for several Christian interpretations of the tales. Among these were the anonymous early fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé* and Christine de Pisan's *L'epistre d'Othéa* of about 1400, both of which presented the story of Perseus and Andromeda as an allegory of the rescue of the soul. With the advent of Renaissance interest in classical literature, illustrated editions of Ovid's text appeared in Venice in 1497, 1522, and 1553. The poem influenced artists throughout the sixteenth century and became known as the "painter's bible," for the visual possibilities its imaginative stories of change and transformation allowed. In the 1550s, the *Metamorphoses* inspired Titian to create a series of canvases that he called "le poesie" in a 1553 letter to his patron Prince Philip.[3]

Among these visual poems was a depiction of Perseus and Andromeda (Wallace Collection, London), painted between 1554 and 1556. This lyrical image and Titian's other "poesie" were, according to Vasari, highly prized by Philip for their subtle coloration and the naturalness of the human forms portrayed.[4] The same fascination with the human



Tunis cartoons and tapestries, Crick-Kuntziger attributed the *Poesia* and *Vertumnus and Pomona* designs to Jan Vermeyen, on the assumption that he was responsible for all the figures in the *Tunis* designs. This opinion has been accepted by many subsequent writers.[12] An alternative assignment to Pieter Coecke van Aelst was made by Schneebalg-Perelman, a reattribution that has considerable merit.[13] Stylistic parallels between those series and Coecke's known work of the 1540s and renewed consideration of the role he probably played in the execution of foreground figures in some of the *Conquest of Tunis* cartoons suggest that he, or his workshop, may also have been involved with the design of the *Poesia* tapestries (see above, pp. 391–95). The figures in the *Perseus and Andromeda* tapestry are close to those in Coecke's triptych, of about 1545–50 (fig. 176). Andromeda is reminiscent of the woman in the foreground of the central panel, with her delicate profile and elaborate braided coiffure, while Perseus is comparable to Christ, with his swirling draperies, in the left panel, the *Descent into Limbo*. In addition, the muscled form of Neptune as he rises from the sea recalls the dynamic, modeled characters in Limbo.

The cartoons for the *Poesia* set have not survived, but the *modello* for the fourth tapestry, the *Sacrifice of Polyxena* is extant (Louvre, Paris, 19.073). Although the *modello* has been attributed to Vermeyen, Horn has questioned this assignment on stylistic grounds.[14] The style of this sheet instead closely parallels that of another drawing for a tapestry design in the Louvre, one that depicts the *Triumph of Mordecai* (fig. 177) which Marlier attributed to Coecke, based on its similarities to the *Descent* triptych.[15]

Workshop

Woven with wool, silk, silver, and gold, the *Perseus and Andromeda* tapestry, as well as the other panels in the *Poesia* set, represents the highest quality of Brussels manufacture. The set was produced by Willem de Pannemaker, and all five panels carry the mark of his workshop. The exact circumstances of the design and production of the set are not known. As the designs seem to predate Philip's purchase by some years, it is likely that they were prepared for an earlier editio princeps, now lost.

CECILIA PAREDES

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1. Ovid 1955, p. 103.
2. Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 213.
3. Buchanan 1999, p. 139; see also Wethey 1975, pp. 71–78, 133–35, 169–72, 188–90.
4. "Le quali pitture sono appresso al re Catolico tenute molto care, per la vivacità che ha dato Tiziano alle figure con i colori in farle quasi vive e naturali"; Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 7, p. 452.
5. Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, pp. 89, 94.
6. M.-C. Jordan and F. Constantini-Lachat in A. Gruber 1994, pp. 291–97.
7. Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 73–92; T. Campbell 1998c, pp. 45–46.
8. Buchanan 1999, p. 133.
9. Ibid., pp. 134–40.
10. Ibid., pp. 137–38, 148, doc. VII.
11. Ibid., p. 139.
12. Crick-Kuntziger 1927a, pp. 172–73; d'Hulst 1960, p. 220; Horn 1989, p. 46; Dacos 1996b, p. 34; Buchanan 1999, pp. 137–38.
13. Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, p. 213.
14. Lugt 1968, pp. 61–62, no. 207; Horn 1989, p. 46.
15. Lugt 1968, p. 62, no. 208; Marlier 1966, pp. 86–87.

50.

The Sack of Tunis

From a twelve-piece set of the *Conquest of Tunis*
Design by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, ca. 1545
Woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, Brussels, 1549–54
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
527 x 835 cm (17 ft. 3½ in. x 27 ft. 4¾ in.)
7½–8 warps per cm
Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Madrid
(TA–13/10, 10005906)

PROVENANCE: 1548–54, woven for Charles V; July 25, 1554, displayed at the wedding of Philip of Spain and Mary Tudor, Winchester Cathedral; January 1555, displayed at the church of Notre-Dame in Antwerp for a meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece; 1556, exhibited in Brussels in the grande salle of the royal palace for Ferdinand Gonzaga, governor of Milan; by 1558, in Spain, probably at the Real Alcázar, Madrid; 1612, seen in the Madrid Alcázar at the reception of the duke of Mayenne; 1626, described as part of the decoration of the Alcázar by Cassiano del Pozzo; 1644, displayed for the obsequies of Isabella of Bourbon; 1644, at obsequies of Philip IV; November 1668, seen in the Madrid Alcázar by Cosimo III de' Medici and his friend Filipo Corsini; 1834, listed in the inventory of Ferdinand VII.

REFERENCES: Houdoy 1873; Valencia de Don Juan 1903; Calvert 1914; Tormo Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919; Calvert 1921; Göbel 1923, pp. 311–12, 392–93; Junquera de Vega 1968; Steppe 1968; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 208–9; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 73–92 (with bibliog.); Horn 1989; Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, pp. 75–81; Buchanan 1992, pp. 382–84; Buchanan 1999, 132–33; Vienna 2000, pp. 93–99.

CONDITION: Good.

In the spring of 1535 Charles V set out to recapture the city of Tunis from the Turks. It was held by Kheir-ed-Din (Barbarossa), a notorious pirate and newly appointed admiral for the Turkish sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, who used North Africa as a base from which to menace ships in the Mediterranean. Charles's crusade, supported by his European allies, had both political and religious ends: to challenge

Turkish expansion (and to further his own) by restoring his vassal, the Tunisian ruler Mulay Hasan, to the throne and to rescue captured Christians. Eleven years later, to commemorate this event, he commissioned the *Conquest of Tunis* a set of twelve enormous tapestries, which was one of the most ambitious and costly ensembles ever produced.

The set is extremely well documented. The designer was Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen who contracted for the cartoons with Mary of Hungary, Charles's sister, in 1546. Though this seems to have been Vermeyen's first tapestry project, he had accompanied Charles on the campaign and recorded it in numerous drawings that, though lost, are evidenced in the many freshly observed compositional details. Vermeyen included his own portrait in the present work: he is the bearded figure at right center sketching in a large album. He produced the cartoons in collaboration with Pieter Coecke van Aelst, an experienced tapestry designer, whose intervention is particularly evident in the foreground figures in some scenes (see pp. 387–89) but not in the present work. The tapestries were woven in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, the leading Brussels weaver, with precise requirements set out in a detailed contract of February 20, 1548. When the sumptuous set was finally completed in 1554, it was sent to England and displayed at Winchester Cathedral at the marriage of Prince Philip of Spain, son of Charles V, and Mary Tudor. There it was greatly admired, and one observer wrote that the tapestries were "so richelie wrought with golde, silver and silke, as none in the worlde maye excell them" and "so excellentlye wroughte, and sette out all the Emperoures maiesties procedinges and victories againste the Turkes, as Apelles were not able (if he were alive) to mende any parcell therof with his pensell."[1]

Description and Iconography

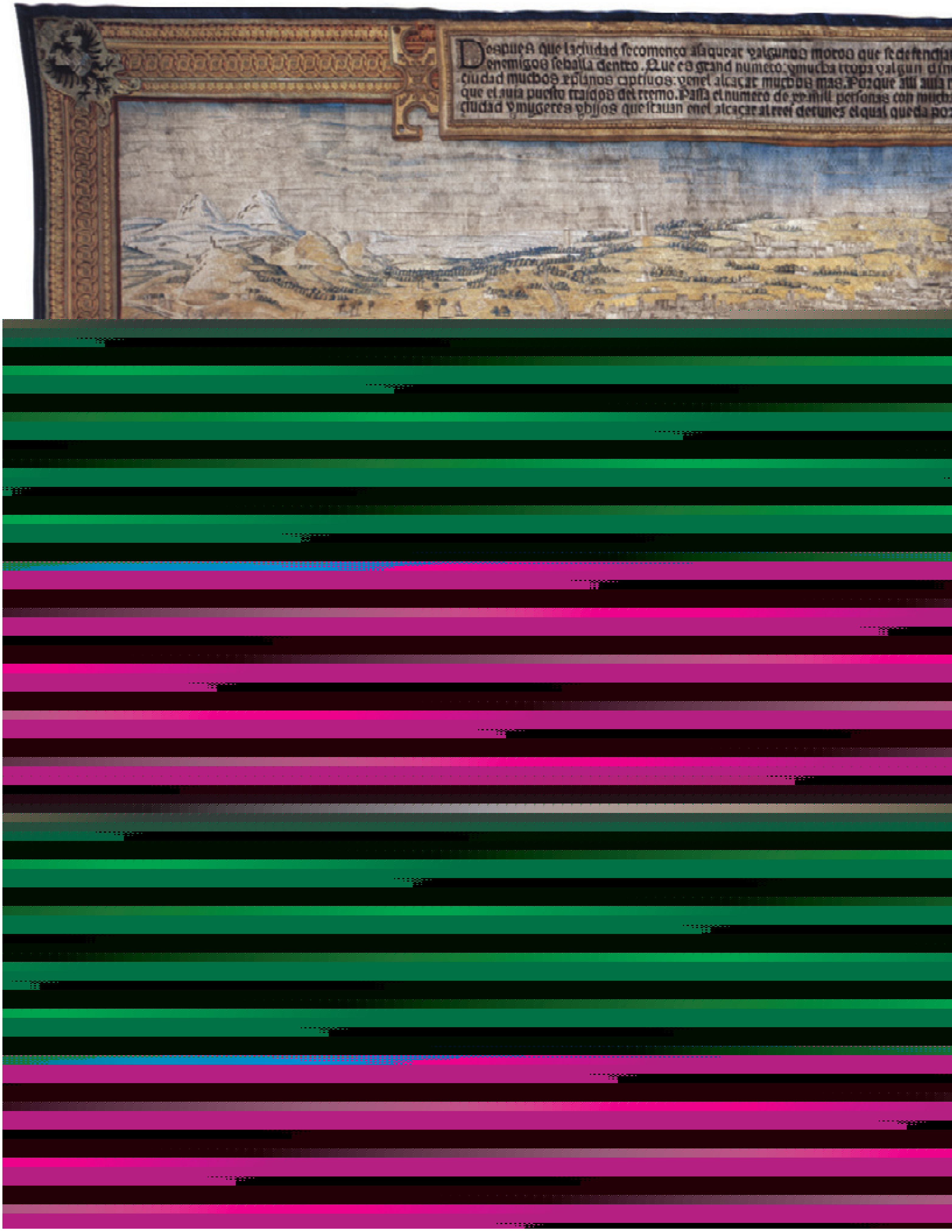
Tenth in the sequence of twelve tapestries, the *Sack of Tunis* depicts the pillage of the city by Charles V's troops on July 21–23, 1535, and is a continuation of the scene presented in the ninth tapestry, the *Fall of Tunis*. The sack continued for three days until Charles put a halt to it on July 23. Two texts—Castilian in the upper border and Latin in the lower—relate the event:

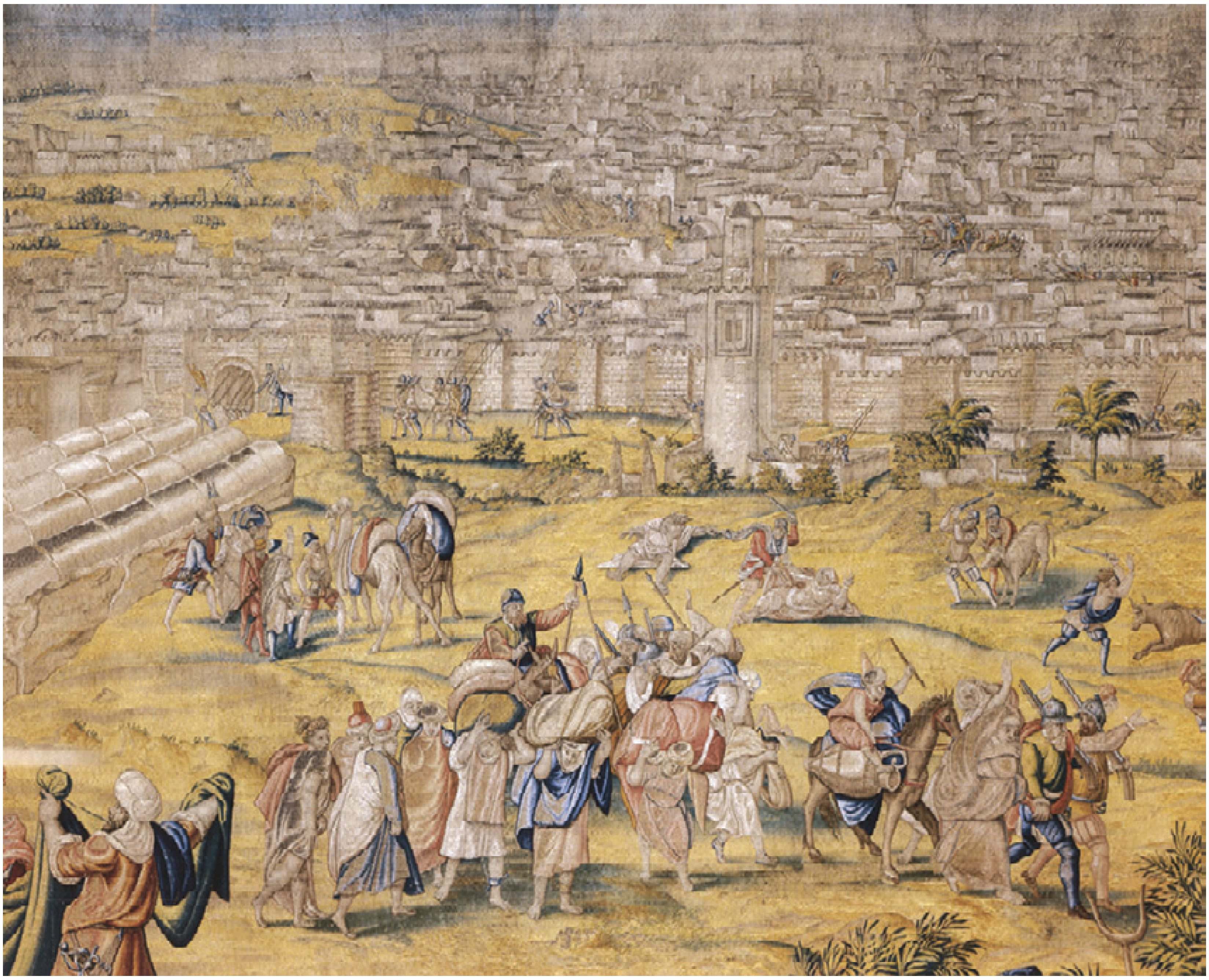
> *Despues que la ciudad se comenco a saquear y algunos moros que se defendian en sus casas fueron muertos: toman los soldados a prision y por esclavos toda la gente que de los/enemigos se halla dentro. Que es grand numero: y mucha rropa y algun dinero: que por la priesa de huir los moros no avian podido llevar consigo: ni bien esconder. Hallanse en la/ciudad muchos xp'ianos captivos: y en el alcacar muchos mas. Porque alli avia mandado barbarroxa que se pusiesen en prision todos los esclavos que pudiesen tomar armas con los/que avia puesto traidos de rreino. Passa el numero de xx. mill. personas con muchachos y mugeres de todos naciones. Los quales esta dia son puestos en libertad. Da el emperador su ciudad y mugeres y hijos que stavan en el alcacar al rrei de tunez el qual queda por tributario del emperador: aceptando de buena gana las condiciones que le quiso poner.*
>
> (After the sack of the city had begun and some Turks who defended themselves in their homes had been killed, the soldiers took prisoner and enslaved all those of the enemy left behind, this being a large number, and captured many goods and some money that, in the haste of fleeing, the Moors had not been able to take with them or conceal well. There were many Christian captives in the city and many more in the fortress. Barbarossa had them sent there so that all those slaves who might take arms with those whom he had declared traitors of the realm would be imprisoned. There were more than twenty thousand, including women and children, of all nations. These were set at liberty this day. The emperor gave the city, and wives and children in the fortress, back to the King of Tunis, who remained a vassal of the emperor, accepting with good grace the conditions posed by the emperor.)[2]

> OBSIDET IMMISSVS VICOS HOSTEMQVE TRVCIDAT / ARMATVM MILES VICTOR TECTISQVE RECEPTIS / VITAE HOMINVM PARCIT IVRE VTENS CAETERA BELLI / MILLIA VIGINTI PLVS LIBERTATE RECEPTA / VICTOREM CAROLVM TER GRATA VOCE SALVTANT. / HASAMVM CAESAR QVAMVIS NIL TALE MERENTEM / OMNIA POLLICITVM CVM RE NEC IVVERIT VLLA, / RESTITVIT MISERVM SOLIOQVE REPONDIT AVITO
>
> (The troops sent against the outskirts of the town lay siege to and take them, slaughter the enemy in armor and, taking the houses, spare the inhabitants. They use the rights of conquest. More than twenty thousand captives recover their liberty and thrice salute Charles the Avenger with cries of gratitude. The conqueror reestablishes the unfortunate Hasan on the throne of his ancestors, though he hardly merited this, as he had promised so much and performed nothing.)[3]

The expansive, panoramic composition derives from the format developed by Bernaert van Orley for the *Battle of Pavia* tapestries (see cat. no. 35). Here, as in van Orley's series, the main action takes place in the foreground of an extensive landscape, with many lesser narrative episodes in the middle and far distance, beneath a wide cityscape that extends across the background. Vignettes depict the aftermath of the conquest as relatively peaceful. Soldiers gather bundles and corral captives and animals. Boats wait to be loaded with booty in the lagoon at the left. At the lower left a soldier forces a reluctant Moorish woman into a boat, which holds other captives including a Turk, while another soldier leans forward to take the large sack she carries. Behind is another boat filled with captives, while in the distance, at the top left, are the infamous galleys captured from Barbarossa.

In the center foreground an elaborately dressed nobleman gives a man money for two women and a child, perhaps compensating a follower of Mulay Hasan, the Tunisian king and Charles's ally, for his Christian slaves. The nobleman has been identified as Charles V himself,[4] but Horn has pointed out that he bears little resemblance to the Spanish king and may instead be Alfonso d'Avalos, marquis of Vasto, who was Charles's principal commander.[5] To the right a man offers a drink to a Moorish woman. Just in front of them, a woman sits huddled on the ground, safe but dejected, her arm around her small child. A curious figure at the far right leads a greyhound and, though in Moorish robes, carries an imperial soldier's harquebus and wears a plumed helmet. He may be a follower of Mulay Hasan paying homage to the troops who had restored the city or perhaps an imperial soldier dressed proudly in plundered robes. While some soldiers watch over their goods and captives, others sell them back to the Moors. This is perhaps the case at the middle left, where a soldier and a Moor hold a large cloth. Behind them is the city's arsenal, with its six vaults, which was taken and held by escaped Christian slaves as Charles's troops approached the city. In the center middle ground soldiers round up animals, goods, and captives. In the center, just in front of the Jamiaz Zaituna al Barram mosque with its tall minaret, a man beats a Moorish woman, one of the few violent incidents depicted. To the left of the arsenal a man is burned at the stake under the supervision of two priests; while the circumstances are unclear, the man may be a religious


Deſpues que laciudad ſecomenço aſaquear yalgunos moros que ſedefendian
denemigos ſe halla dentro. Que es grand numero: ymucha ropa yalgun
ciudad muchos xpianos captiuos: yenel alcaçar muchos mas. Porque alli auia
que el auia puesto traidos del reino. Paſſa el numero de xx mill perſonas con much
ciudad ymugeres yhijos que ſtauan enel alcaçar al rei de tunes el qual queda po



Detail of cat. no. 50

(Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) probably intended for the present tapestry. It depicts a Tunisian man and woman who have been robbed and massacred and a woman being assaulted by soldiers.[12] These violent scenes may have been rejected as inappropriate to the benevolent image Charles wished to project.

Place of Manufacture

The *Conquest of Tunis* tapestries were woven in Brussels in the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker. A detailed contract between Pannemaker and Mary of Hungary was signed on February 20, 1548, binding him to use only specific materials such as Granada silk, fine wool, and worsted thread from Lyon. The emperor himself was to supply the gold and silver.[13] The contract further specified that the tapestries were to be at least as rich in silver and gold threads as the earlier *Vertumnus and Pomona* set (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid), also woven by Pannemaker, and would therefore be work of the very highest quality.[14]

Numerous documents reveal a wealth of information about the production process. For example, silk threads, provided by Mary's agent Simon de Parenty, were delivered in sixty-three different colors. There were seven kinds of gold thread and three of silver. The cost of weaving and materials, plus the cartoons totaled approximately 26,000 pounds, the equivalent today of many millions of dollars.[15]

While no specific date was set for completion of the work, Pannemaker was required to work rapidly and the contract specified he was to have seven weavers working from dawn until dusk on each tapestry as soon as the cartoons were available to him. If any tapestries were delivered to Mary late, Pannemaker would be fined 100 Flemish pounds, and if a tapestry had to be redone, a fine of 800 pounds was set. If he fulfilled the contract satisfactorily, Pannemaker was guaranteed a life pension of 100 pounds per year. Pannemaker's fee was 12 pounds per square ell, for a total of 15,000 pounds for the set, including an advance of 6,637 pounds for silk threads. The weaver's payment was more than four times that of the designer Vermeyen, who received about 1,900 pounds.[16]

Weaving did not begin on the set until May 1549, when Pannemaker finally received his materials and the first of the cartoons. As each tapestry was completed, it was passed to the master judges of the Brussels guild of tapestry weaving for approval. The *Sack of Tunis* was identified in a document of January 24, 1553, as "le sacq," along with the ninth tapestry which continued the panoramic scene and depicts the fall of Tunis.[17] A certificate from the Brussels guild documents that Pannemaker had completed the series by April 21, 1554. Charles and Mary were so pleased with the final result that Pannemaker's annual pension was doubled to 200 pounds.

Despite contractual restrictions and obligations, the freedom allowed the weaver in interpreting the design may be gleaned by comparing the cartoons with the tapestries. Horn notes that the colors of the tapestries, in fact, are often brighter than those of the cartoons and some elements in the tapestry composition are more detailed and occasionally completely different from the cartoon. It seems therefore that the master weavers in Pannemaker's workshop were given some latitude to select colors that would best articulate the design.[18]

Subsequently Pannemaker wove two more sets of the *Conquest of Tunis*, one for Mary of Hungary, completed by 1558, and one for the duke of Alba, completed by 1560.[19]

LORRAINE KARAFEL

1. Buchanan 1999, p. 133.
2. Transcription and translation from Horn 1989, pp. 213, 247, n. 266.
3. Transcription and translation from ibid., pp. 212, 247, n. 264.
4. Junquera de Vega 1968, p. 53; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, p. 90.
5. Horn 1989, p. 214.
6. Ibid.
7. Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, p. 75.
8. Horn 1989, p. 214.
9. Ibid., p. 128.
10. Ibid., p. 119.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 120.
13. Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, p. 75.
14. Horn 1989, p. 125.
15. Ibid., p. 126.
16. Ibid., pp. 125–26.
17. Ibid., pp. 266, 402, doc. 54.
18. Ibid., p. 125.
19. Ibid., p. 136.

51.

Saint Michael Overcoming Satan

From an eight-piece set of the *Apocalypse*
Woven in the workshop of Willem Dermoyen,
Brussels, ca. 1553–56
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
525 x 850 cm (17 ft. 2¾ in. x 27 ft. 10½ in.)
7–8 warp threads per cm
Brussels mark (bottom of left side selvage); Dermoyen workshop mark (bottom of right side selvage)
Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso (TA–II/5, 10026366)

PROVENANCE: August 1556, the eight tapestries purchased from Willem de Pannemaker; 1559, six of the eight tapestries lost in a storm at Laredo; 1560, the two saved pieces returned to Brussels, and six replacements woven by Willem de Pannemaker; 1561, the tapestries taken to Madrid by Pannemaker; 1571–98, two tapestries from the set transferred to the Escorial palace; 1576, four pieces displayed in the refectory of the Monastery of Guadalupe for the meeting of Philip II with Sebastian, king of Portugal; 1621, the set recorded in the inventory of Philip III; 1666, recorded in the inventory of Philip IV; 1701–3, recorded in the inventory of Charles II; 1788, recorded in the inventory of Charles III; 1834, recorded in inventory of Ferdinand VII.

REFERENCES: Wauters 1878, pp. 58–60, 83–85; Pinchart 1878–85, pp. 118, 120; Guiffrey 1886, pp. 180, 192; Beer 1891, p. cv; Valencia de Don Juan 1903, pp. 65–67; Guiffrey 1911, p. 140; Tormo Monzó and Sánchez Cantón 1919, pp. 63–68; Göbel 1923, pp. 156–58, 313, 417, 441; Hunter 1925, p. 135; W. G. Thomson 1930, pp. 197, 201, 203; Crick-Kuntziger 1943, pp. 84–86; Crick-Kuntziger 1956a; d'Hulst 1960, pp. 157–70; Heinz 1963, pp. 199–200; Steppe 1968, pp. 734–48; Steppe 1981c; Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, pp. 54–62 (with bibliog.); Herrero Carretero in New York 1991, pp. 40–53; Buchanan 1999, pp. 134–37, 146; Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 101, 105; Delmarcel 1999b.

Saint Michael Overcoming Satan is the fifth tapestry in an eight-piece set of the *Apocalypse,* one of the most impressive tapestry ensembles acquired by King Philip II of Spain. In size and importance it rivals the *Honors* (see cat. no. 17) that belonged to his father, Emperor Charles V. Philip commissioned the *Apocalypse* set in 1556, when he was in the Netherlands. It takes its subject from the biblical Book of Revelation, also known as the Apocalypse, traditionally thought to have been written by the apostle John while he was on the island of Patmos. The book describes in prophetic terms the great conflict at the end of time between Christ and Antichrist, ending in the defeat of Satan and the establishment of a new earthly Jerusalem, where the righteous will be received after the Last Judgment.

Upon its completion Philip brought the set back to Spain, but the ship sank on September 8, 1559, while it was still anchored off the Spanish coast, and six of the tapestries from the set were lost. Philip ordered replacements from the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker, who seems to have played a part in the initial weaving of the set. In 1561 Pannemaker delivered the new pieces together with the two saved tapestries. *Saint Michael Overcoming the Dragon,* which bears the mark of the Dermoyen workshop, is apparently one of the original two that survived.

Description and Iconography

Saint Michael Overcoming Satan depicts several episodes from chapters 12, 13, and 14 of the Book of Revelation, arranged chronologically from left to right and closely following the biblical text. At left is the war in heaven. The archangel Michael attacks the seven-headed dragon (Satan) and casts him from heaven: "Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought . . . And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him" (12:7–9). Satan's angels are depicted at the lower left as a multitude of gruesome creatures. In the bottom center of the composition, the Apocalyptic Woman is given "two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness . . . from the face of the serpent" (12:14). She was identified by early commentators as the Virgin or Ecclesia. Above and to the left she is pursued by the seven-headed dragon, which vomits forth a river; but the earth swallows it up, saving her (12:15–16).

In the center background, the beast with seven heads (Blasphemia) emerges from the sea and is given power by the dragon, with his scepter: "And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, . . . and upon his heads the name of blasphemy . . . and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority" (13:1–2). The crowd worships the beast and asks, as the inscription above reads, QVIS SIMILIS BESTIE ET QVIS POTERIT PVGNARE CVN EA (Who is like unto the beast and who is able to make war with him?) (13:4). At the lower right, the beast risen from the sea, battles an army whose men retreat in horror. Above them, people kneel before the two-horned monster, which emerges from the earth, bringing fire down from the heavens (13:11–13). Having been ordered by the monster to make an image of the dragon (13:14), the people can be seen adoring the statue they have made, which stands on a column.

Above this group, and in opposition to it, the elect adore the Lamb on Mount Sion: "And I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads" (14:1). Finally, at top center, the enthroned Christ appears with the twenty-four elders and the four beasts of the Evangelists. Thus, the overall composition sets the war in the heavens on the left against the Abominations (the false idols) on the opposite side, with the Apocalyptic Woman and Christ in the heavens dominating the center field.

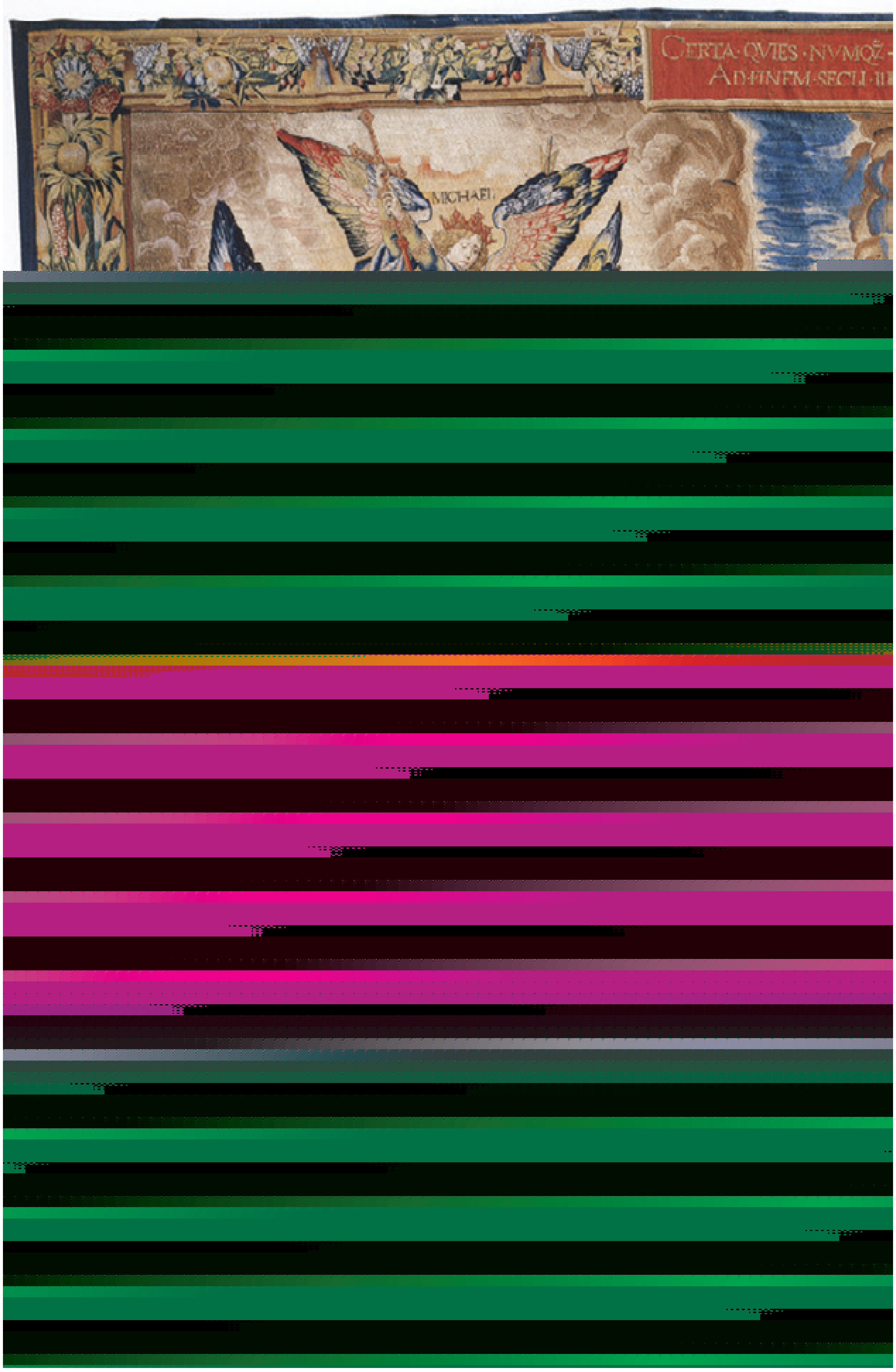
The exact meaning of the book of Revelation, with its complex action and visionary symbolism, is not clear. Scholars now believe that the text dates from the end of the reign of the emperor Domitian about A.D. 96, a period of religious persecution of both Jews and Christians—circumstances that may play a part in its intended meaning. From the early Christian period onward, the Apocalypse was frequently illustrated in painting, sculpture, book illumination, and stained glass, although it was less common in tapestry. King Philip's *Apocalypse* is one of only two surviving tapestry sets on the subject, both of vast dimensions. The other *Apocalypse* tapestries (see figs. 8, 15; pp. 15, 30, 44) are from the Gothic period. Made up of six enormous tapestries each measuring about 6 by 23 meters, the set was woven for Louis I of Anjou between 1373 and 1380 in a commission mediated by the Paris tapestry dealer Nicolas Bataille.

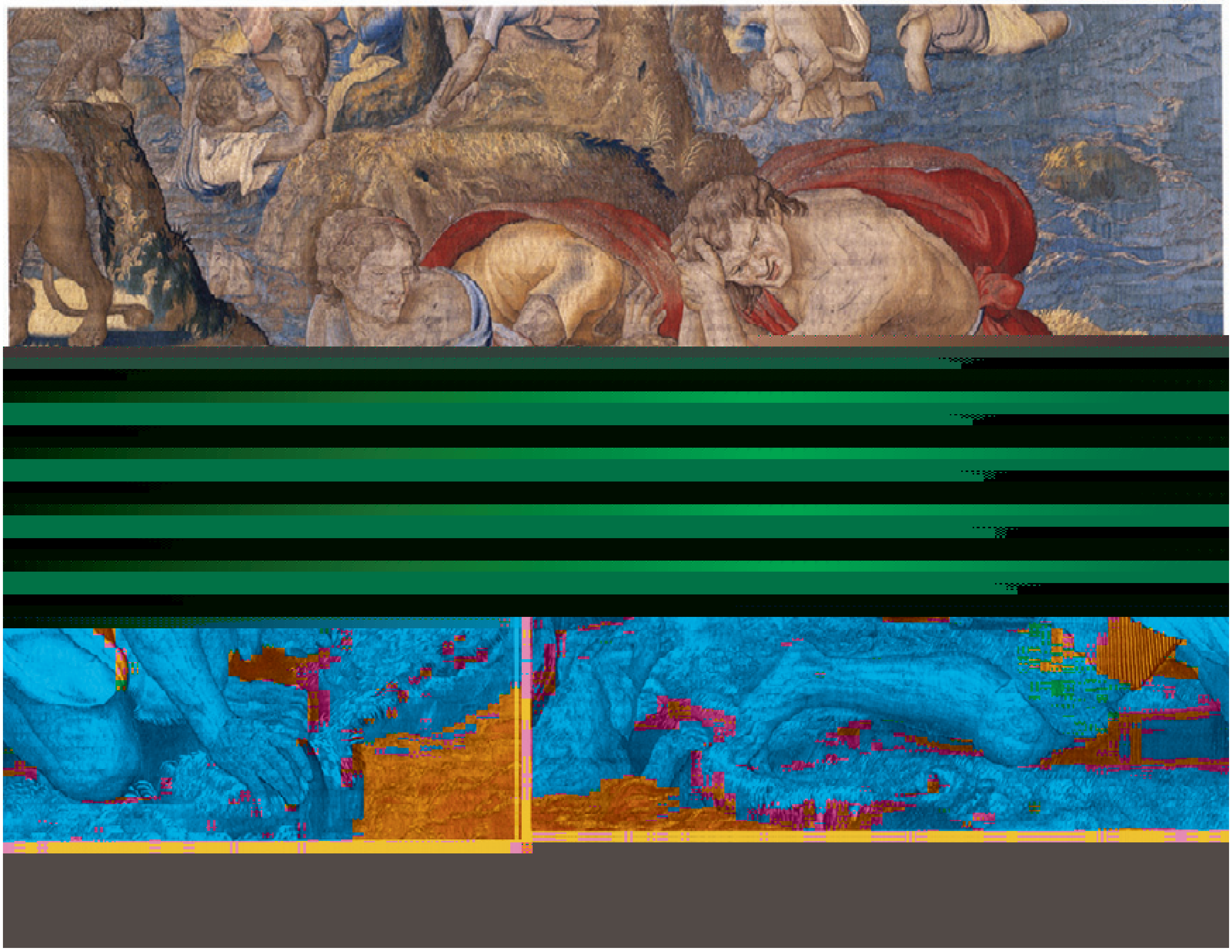
Patron, Date, and Workshop

The Brussels *Apocalypse* was one of several major tapestry sets purchased by Philip of Spain when he was in the Netherlands (August 1555 to 1559).[1] In August 1556, he agreed to pay 7,264 *escudos* to Manuel de Paredes of Antwerp for 796 ells of tapestry in gold and silk. The unnamed tapestries were to be made by the weaver Willem de Pannemaker. Another document of 1556 details the payment to Pannemaker: the tapestries are priced at 9 *escudos,* or 40 *placas,* an ell, and final payment is required by August 1557.[2] Although the subject of the tapestry is not named, its dimension of 796 ells and cost of 7,264 *escudos* correspond exactly to those given for the eight tapestries of the *Apocalypse* in another, undated, account, first published by Beer in 1891.[3] In this document the tapestry maker is not named; the payment of 7,264 *escudos* is made to Diric de Mulenare and Gaspar van Utreque, neither of whom appears in the 1556 document.

The eight *Apocalypse* tapestries were among the valuable items that accompanied Philip II on his return from the Netherlands to Spain in 1559. On September 9, one day after the royal party arrived at the port of Loredo, there was a great storm, and a number of the still-unloaded ships sank in the harbor. The losses included tapestries, as is apparent from a letter written by the king on March 6 to Admiral Juan Martínez de Recaldo, informing him that certain valuable items from the royal bedchamber in the care of his tapissier Juan Diaz had been lost. Two chests were saved; and the king ordered Recaldo to return the unnamed items contained in them from Santander to Laredo so that they could be shipped to the Netherlands via England. An additional note mentioned two chests filled with tapestries, wrapped in white cloth and tied with ropes.[4]

The tapestries were returned to the Netherlands, probably in order to be restored and to serve as aids in the weaving of replacements for the lost works. This is confirmed by correspondence between the king and Cardinal Granvelle, his adviser in the Netherlands, in which the making of the replacement tapestries is mentioned, among other matters. Philip





Detail of cat. no. 52

even a dog cringes dejectedly. One woman holds another already drowned. Behind them, figures climb into trees to save themselves. Here and there, the tips of buildings appear just above the swirling waters, suggesting the heights the flood has already reached. Also visible are numerous animals: at the left are a dog and a heron, and in the center foreground, a small mouse and a tiny lizard—the "creeping things" of the biblical text—cower among plant roots. Some of the animals may also have a symbolic significance. The owl that has just alighted on a tree stump may be a symbol of death, while the lion at the center of the composition may have been included as a prefiguration of man's savior, Jesus Christ, who was called the "lion of Judah."[2]

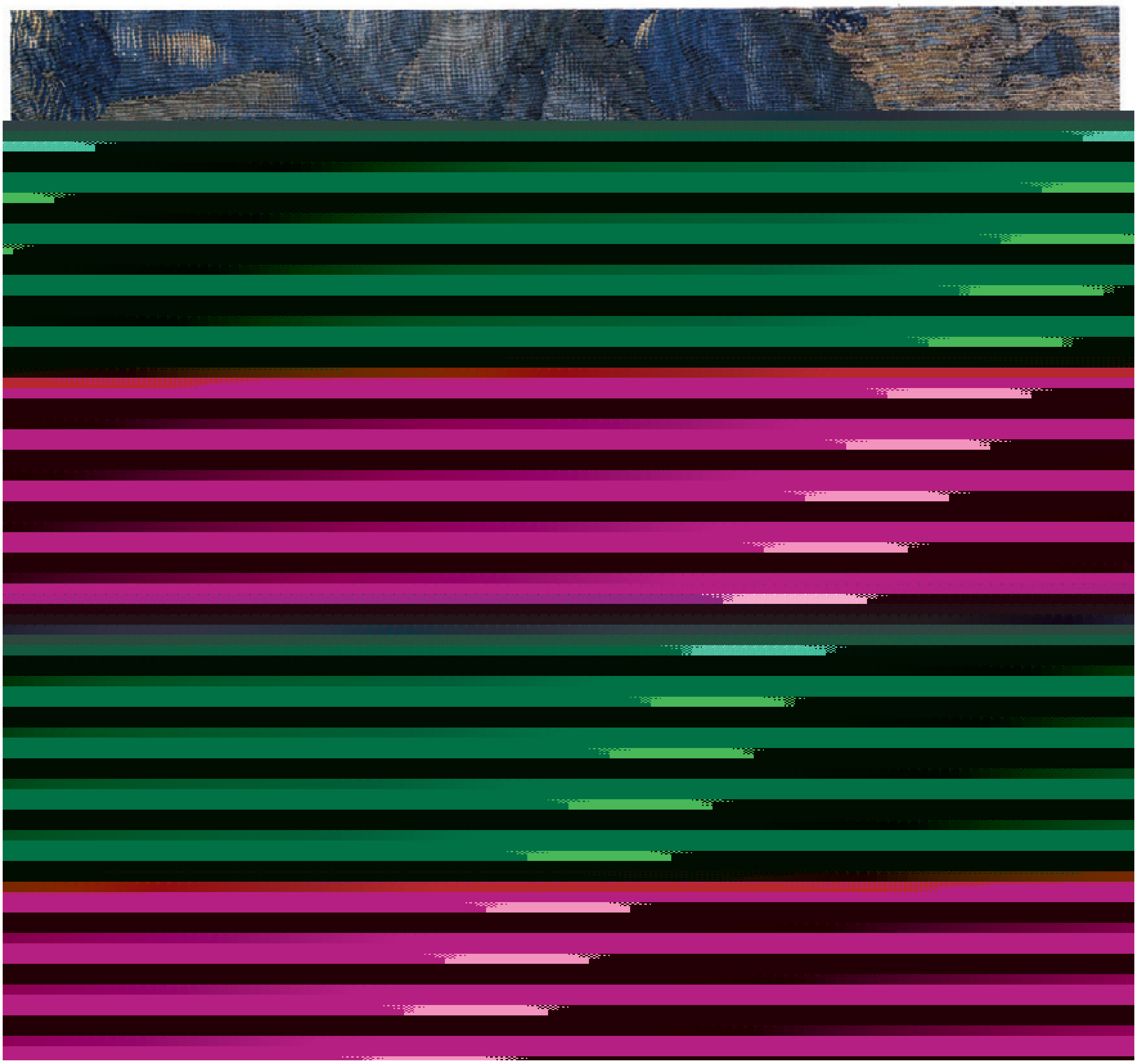
The central image is surrounded by a border of fanciful grotesques featuring a whimsical framework upon which satyrs and putti climb, interspersed with exotic birds and swags of flowers and fruit. At the lower corners, seated in ornate two-wheeled chariots with fantastic harness, are Minerva, at the left, and Neptune, blowing into a conch, at the right.

Artist

The *Story of Noah* is attributed to Michiel Coxcie (ca. 1499–1592) on the basis of its stylistic similarities to his paintings and engravings. The first to make this connection was Morelowski, who noted that the solitary figure at the center of the *Flood* is very close in type to Adam in Coxcie's painting the *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden,* in Vienna (fig. 191).[3] Other designs in the series have similar correspondences to Coxcie's work. For example, the figure of Cain in another tapestry at Wawel, *Abel's Offering,* was subsequently reused by Coxcie for a print series of the *First Parents,* engraved by Jan Sadeler in 1576.[4]

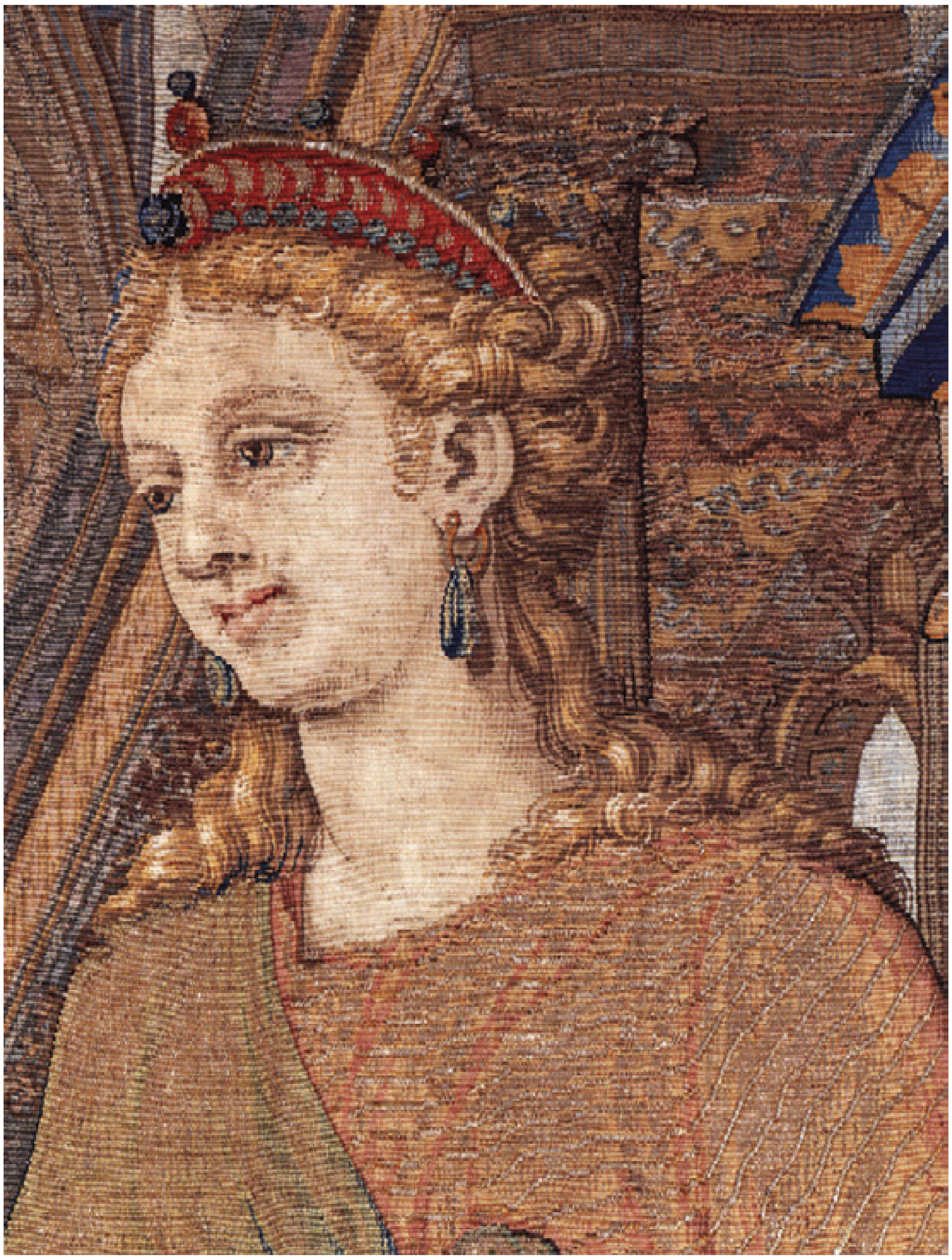
From 1529 to about 1539, Coxcie worked in Rome, where he became a member of the Guild of Saint Luke in 1534. During this period, he evidently studied the work of Roman artists

Detail of cat. no. 52



Detail of cat. no. 52

with close attention. Returning to the Netherlands at the end of the 1530s, he quickly came to the attention of the Habsburg court, and following the death of Bernaert van Orley in 1541, he was of sufficient renown and stature to take over the design of the windows for the chapel of Saint-Sacrement de Miracle in the cathedral of Saint Gudule. He became a citizen of Brussels in 1543 and remained there until 1563. Although his activity as a tapestry designer is poorly documented, he evidently played a major part in providing designs and cartoons to the Brussels workshops during these two decades (see above, pp. 394–402). Of the numerous series that are attributed to him, the Genesis series at Wawel (depicting, respectively, the *Story of the First Parents,* the *Story of Noah,* and the *Tower of Babel*) are the finest, and the quality of the designs probably reflects Coxcie's direct involvement in their execution (as opposed to other series in which the weaker execution of the designs suggests that Coxcie only supplied the *modelli*). Within this group, the *Flood* is perhaps the most dramatic and impressive composition.



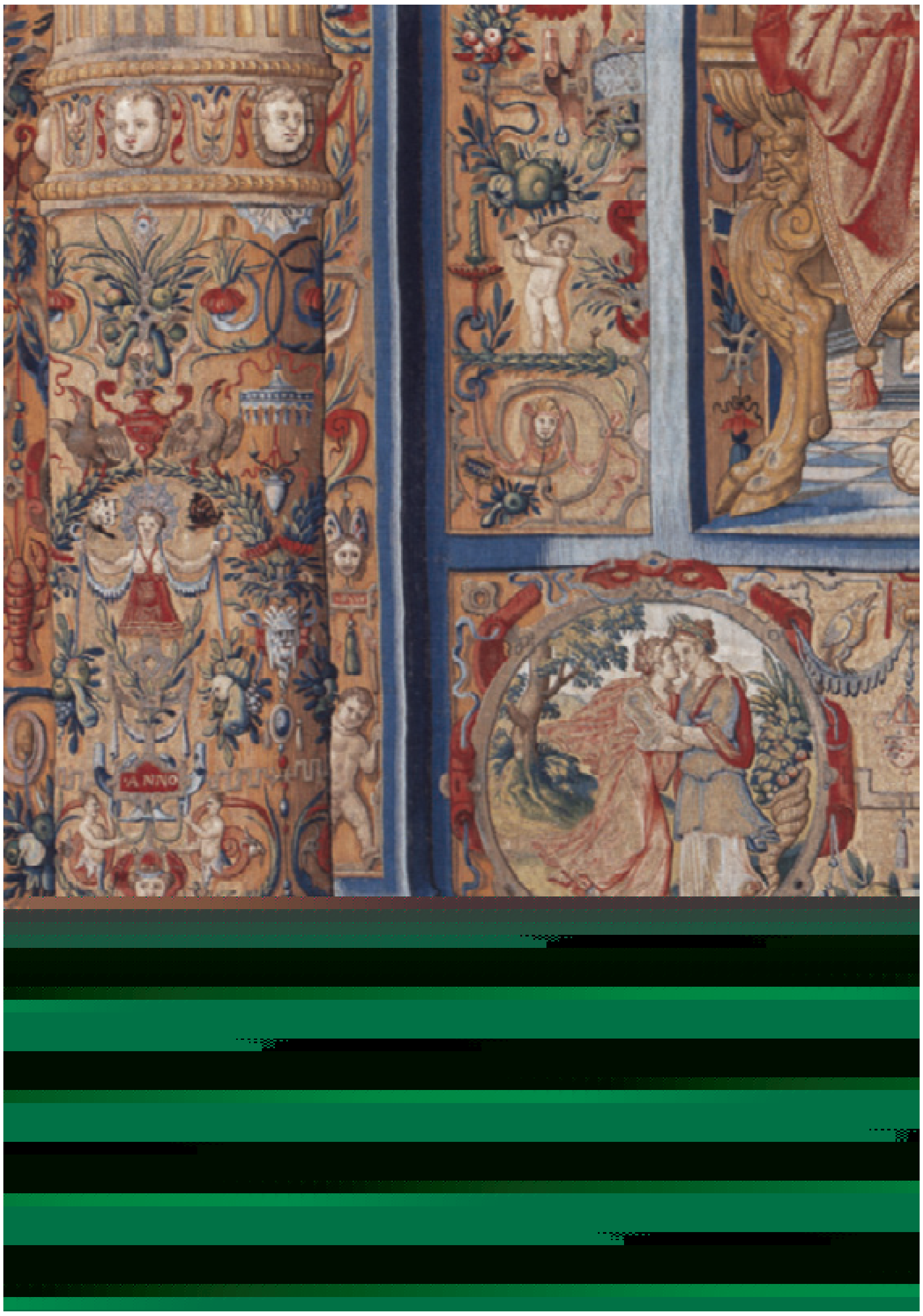
Detail of cat. no. 54

the viewer stand about 2.5 meters in front of the baldachin, with the line of sight at the top of the doorway to the fortress. From this viewpoint, the ensemble provides an extraordinarily effective illusion of spatial recession, in which the steeply receding orthogonals draw the eye to the castle in the distance.

Patron and Iconography

Although Lorraine became an independent duchy under the protection of the Holy Roman Empire during the early Middle Ages, language and culture linked the region to France. Charles III, duke of Lorraine (1543–1608), was only a child when he inherited the title in 1545. Henry II of France took this opportunity to invade the territory, remove the child to his court, raise him there, and marry him to his daughter Claude in 1559. Following the accession of Francis II in 1559, Charles returned to Lorraine, where he devoted himself to the administration of his duchy. Charles was an ardent Catholic and took part in the Wars of Religion in France as a member of the League. His court, based in the capital, Nancy, was noted for its ostentatious festivities and extravagant religious ceremonies, which are impressively conveyed by the series of engravings commemorating Charles's funeral in 1608 where tapestries are much in evidence. Indeed, Charles evidently carried the French appetite for Netherlandish tapestries to Nancy, and he made a number of major purchases during his

Detail of cat. no. 54



Detail of cat. no. 54

reign. The most impressive is a ten-piece set of the *Story of Moses,* acquired between 1559 and 1565 (nine pieces are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). Lavishly woven with gilt-metallic thread, the tapestries have borders identical to those on the *Acts of the Apostles* sets produced for Francis I and Henry VIII and carry the arms of Charles along with those of his father, mother, and wife.[2] Other high-quality sets in the Austrian state collection probably purchased by Charles include a ten-piece set of the *Story of Abraham,* woven with the arms of Cardinal Charles de Lorraine-Vaudémont and a set known as the *Grotesque Months* woven in Brussels about 1560.[3] Other notable acquisitions can be identified in the 1575–1606 inventory of Charles's possessions.[4]

No documentation relating to the purchase of the baldachin by Charles is known, but the year 1561 appears upon it. Whether this was the date the cartoon was painted or that in which the tapestry was woven is uncertain. Either way, production during the period 1559/60–1561 or 1561–1562/63 places the conception of the design shortly after the marriage of Charles to Claude in 1559 and coincidental with the period in which Charles and his young bride traveled between Paris and Nancy while improvements were undertaken at the ducal palace. Beginning in 1561 it was rebuilt along the lines of the Louvre.

Although Charles's personal iconography subsequently included allusions to a variety of mythological figures, there is no evidence of his use of Pluto and Persephone in this way. Considering his youth at the date the tapestry must have been commissioned, the inspiration for the theme may have come from the French court. Henry II and Catherine de' Medici both used mythological associations to reinforce their power: Henry was portrayed as Hercules; Catherine, as Juno and, after Henry's death in 1559, as Artemesia, the archetypal devoted widow. A possible interpretation of the marriage imagery in this baldachin could be that Persephone separated from her mother Ceres represents Claude separated from Catherine de' Medici, while Charles is Pluto, who has taken her from her mother—but who loves her. The story with its connotations of fruitfulness and plenty would have been an appropriate marriage theme for the bride "forced" to leave her loving family.

Date and Designer

Two small cartouches among the grotesques on the lower shafts of the columns bear, respectively, the inscription ANNO and 1561.[5] Two others in the grotesques on the dado contain a Greek inscription, ΦΡΕΕΔΜΑΝ ΦΡΙΕΣΕ (Freedman Friese) in reverse, for Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–ca. 1606), one of the most influential designers of the second half of the sixteenth century. Born in Leeuwarden in Friesland—hence "de Vries"—he studied first in his native town and then in Kampen, before traveling to Mechelen and then Antwerp, where he was one of the artists who worked under Pieter Coecke van

Tapestry Production in France, 1520-60

The French crown and nobility had been among the leading patrons of the main centers of tapestry production in France from the earliest development of the industry in Paris and Arras at the end of the fourteenth century. By the early sixteenth century high-quality production was centralized in Southern Netherlandish towns, to which they now turned for the best tapestries. It is clear, however, that there were also many native workshops that supplied hangings of lower quality to the rich to supplement foreign imports, and to the lesser nobility and bourgeoisie because it was all they could afford. A detailed history of tapestry making in France during the sixteenth century has yet to be written. One of the main problems is that French tapestries were not required to carry a town or workshop mark until well into the seventeenth century, so that, despite the substantial number of tapestries from French manufactories that survive, it is difficult to distinguish them from contemporary Netherlandish production. Nonetheless, the basis for a detailed analytical survey does exist in the abundant documentary sources of the day, many published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, others brought to light by more recent research.[1]

In the Low Countries a constant demand for products, strict guild regulations, and the capitalization of the industry by rich merchants and merchant-weavers evidently allowed many weavers to enjoy a relatively secure livelihood in one center or another. Contemporary documentation reveals that the circumstances of the French counterparts of the Netherlandish artisans were much less stable. The survival of large numbers of millefleurs tapestries featuring genre, courtly, and religious subjects in France led early and mid-twentieth-century tapestry historians to assume that these panels had been manufactured by itinerant weavers working in the Loire valley.[2] While this theory is not substantiated by documentary evidence and has now been discredited,[3] it presents a picture that is probably closer to the reality of much of the production in France than to that of the main centers in the Low Countries. Although documentation demonstrates that there was a considerable, even enormous demand for tapestries from secular and ecclesiastic patrons in France, the cost and quality of most of their commissions were relatively low. Thus, the circumstances were not conducive to the development of large, well-established workshops with highly specialized weavers. And while there were many workshops in Paris and the Marche towns of Aubusson and Felletin, and a few establishments in towns such as Tours, Toulouse, Nevers, and Bordeaux, these were more hand-to-mouth operations compared to the ateliers of the principal Netherlandish centers. Records relating to French tapestry making survive in dramatically increasing numbers from 1530 onward. It is unclear whether this increase reflects an equally dramatic growth in the volume of native production from this date, or whether the level of manufacture was consistent throughout, and more documents were preserved accidentally for the period 1530–60. In all likelihood the truth probably lies somewhere between the two extremes.

TOURS

One of the earliest French towns in which there was significant tapestry making during the early sixteenth century was Tours, which, evidence shows, hosted a small number of weavers from the 1520s.[4] The earliest production traditionally attributed to a workshop of this town is a set of the *Story of Saint Saturnin* that was donated to the church of Saint-Saturnin in 1528, according to the final wishes of Jacques de Beaune de Semblançay, before his execution for embezzlement in 1527. Three pieces survive and one was known until recent times (two are at the Angers château [see fig. 198], and one is at the château of Langeais; the whereabouts of the fourth, stolen in 1926, is unknown).[5] The set depicts scenes from the life of the saint set within a trompe l'oeil architectural border composed of a base with a running inscription, Corinthian columns at the sides, and a frieze at the top. The designs, which display all the characteristics of Italian Renaissance style, have traditionally been attributed to Andrea Polastron, a Florentine painter, who lived in Tours and worked for Semblançay in the 1520s and was in the service of Francis I by 1532.[6] Because it is undocumented, the place of the *Saint Saturnin* group's manufacture must remain in question, despite the traditional attribution to Tours. However, another set of tapestries is known that certainly was made in Tours: a *Story of Saint Peter,* which survives at Saint-Pierre in Saumur, the church for which it was made (see fig. 199).

Fig. 197. Detail of cat. no. 56: *Saint Mamas at the Tribunal of the Governor of Cappadocia* from the *Story of Saint Mamas*

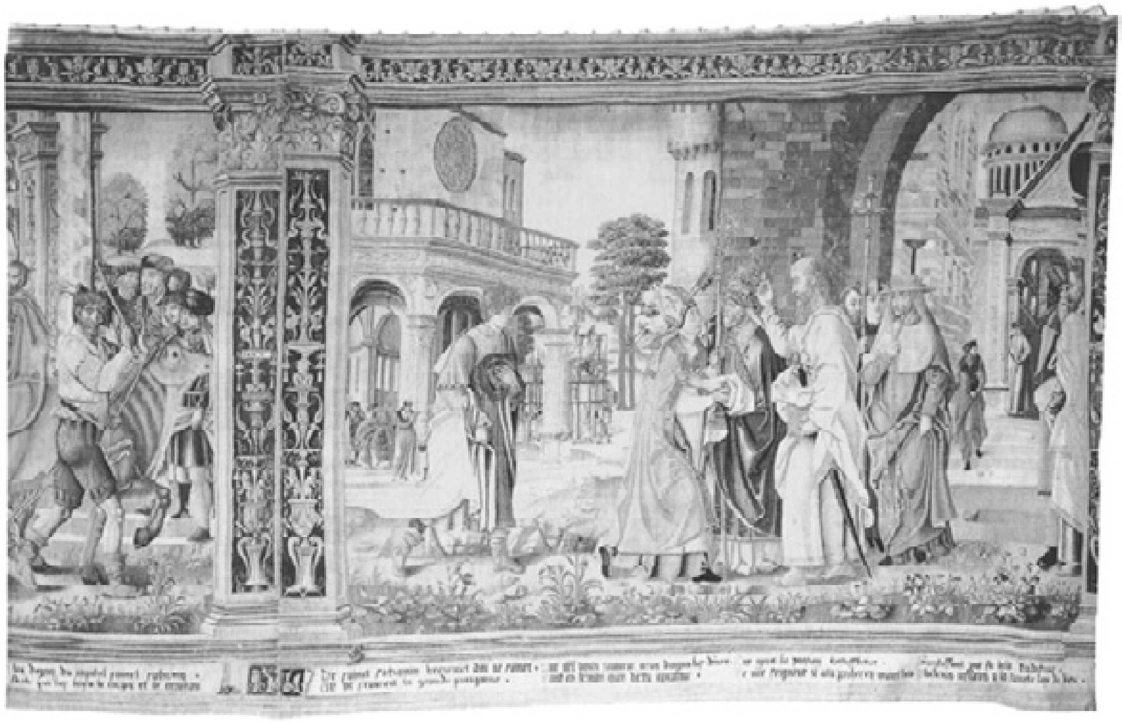


Fig. 198. *Saint Peter Giving the Cross to the New Bishop* (at right) from the *Story of Saint Saturnin.* Tapestry design attributed to Andrea Polastron, woven in Tours, ca. 1527. Wool and silk, 259 x 315 cm. Trésor de la Cathédrale, Angers

This is recorded as having been woven between 1538 and 1542 by the Duval workshop, an establishment active in Tours during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, from designs by the Angevin artists Robert Delisle and Jehan Delastre.[7]

TOULOUSE

Another town in which a considerable volume of tapestry production seems to have been generated during the second third of the sixteenth century is Toulouse. Fifteen or so weavers belonging to the guild of "Painctres verriers et tailleurs d'imaiges" (painters, glassmakers, and embroiderers) are documented to have been in the town in this period.[8] The extent to which all of them were engaged in weaving or merely acting as agents for products from workshops in the Marche area is uncertain, but one man at least was running a regular workshop. He was Hector Péchault, who delivered sets of tapestries for the brotherhood of Saint Anne of the church of Saint Jacques in 1539 and others for the brotherhood of Saint Anne of the church of Notre-Dame du Taur in 1540–41.[9] Hector was probably related to the Jehan Péchault, who wove various tapestries for the brotherhood of Corps-Saints of the church of Saint-Sernin between 1529 and 1534. Documentation relating to Péchault's work for Saint-Sernin provides an intriguing insight into the limitations of local production. In 1526 the brotherhood had commissioned twelve tapestries from a workshop in the Low Countries, each one representing "the image and life of each holy saint reposing in the said church" after designs by Jacques Bataille, "the best master in the present city."[10] For unknown reasons, however, only three pieces were woven in the Low Countries, three more being consigned to Péchault's workshop. In 1530 in the presence of two witnesses, a painter and an embroiderer, the brotherhood examined the first of Péchault's efforts, a tapestry showing the *Martyrdom of Saint Sernin*. The witnesses judged that the faces were rendered much less subtly and the outlines were less good than those in the tapestries recently made in the Netherlands and therefore recommended that Péchault should not be given responsibility for any other pieces. Nonetheless, in 1531, the brotherhood commissioned two more panels, one of *Saint George* and one of *Saint Suzanne,* with dimensions similar to those

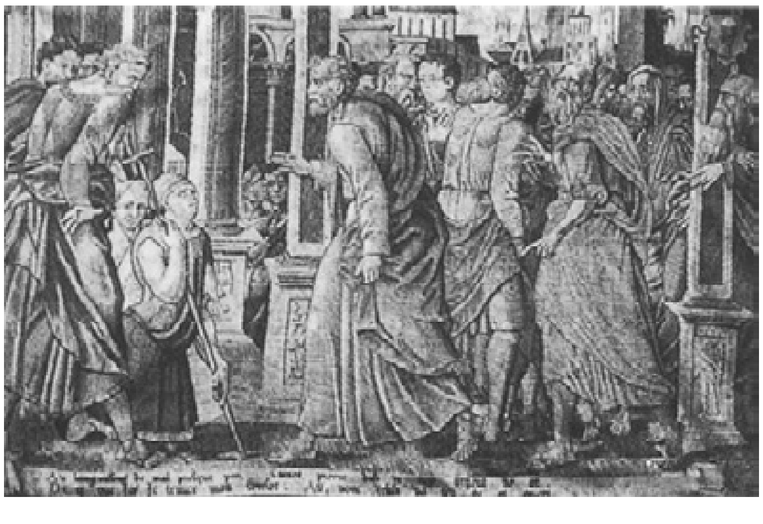


Fig. 199. *Saint Peter Healing the Sick* from the *Story of Saint Peter.* Tapestry woven in the Duval workshop, Tours, 1538–42. Wool and silk, 150 x 225 cm. Church of Saint-Pierre, Saumur

of the examples made in the Netherlands. The execution of the *Saint Suzanne* was also severely criticized.[11]

Although these tapestries have been lost, the character of Péchault's work is probably demonstrated by fragments of another set that can be attributed to him with some certainty. This group, a *Story of Saint Stephen,* was woven for the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne between 1531 and 1535 (see fig. 200). No documentation identifies the weaver, but the initials I.P. appear on two of the tapestries, indicating that the set should be attributed to Péchault's workshop. The character of the original fabric and design is still preserved, despite very considerable reweavings effected in the course of the nineteenth or early twentieth century. While the quality and style of weave reflect the provincial origin of the set and provide an idea of the limitations for which Péchault's tapestries were criticized, the design is remarkably Italian in character. The taste for simplified masses, with strong contrasts of light and shade, and the steep perspective of the interiors recall tapestry designs produced in Italy during the first quarter of the sixteenth century such as the Trivulzio *Months*. The architectural trompe l'oeil frames also speak of the inspiration of a contemporary Italian source. Indeed, the border design appears to be based on the strikingly similar frames in Perino del Vaga's *Furti di Giove* tapestries.

It is difficult to tell whether the weaving recorded in Tours and Toulouse was exceptional. In all likelihood the tapestries made there typify the medium-quality work that was probably being produced in a number of other provincial centers in short-lived and now forgotten ateliers. Such centers apparently included Beauvais, Limoges, Bourges, and Nevers, where weavers seem to have been active during the first half of the sixteenth century, according to archival records. Unfortunately, these documents are partial and ambiguous.[12]

AUBUSSON AND FELLETIN

Production on a large scale was also taking place contemporaneously in workshops located in the towns of Felletin and Aubusson in the Marche region. Weavers are recorded in Felletin from the late fifteenth century and at Aubusson from the early sixteenth century.[13] Located at the intersection of routes between Lyon and Clermont and Limoges and Bordeaux, these centers were well placed to benefit from commissions from a wide catchment area. Local weavers treated figurative subjects, but most of the documented Marche products were verdures and armorials, with motifs typically displayed on bands of colors, like those Catherine de Foix, dame de Duras, ordered from the Felletin weavers Gabriel Sautier and Pierre Moyaran in 1518. The commission comprised three sets of armorial tapestries, each made up of ten pieces, with grounds of alternating stripes of colors (one specified as red and yellow, another as tan, blue, and white), along with six table covers and twelve carpets, also with bands of color.[14] The low valuations placed on such tapestries in contemporary inventories indicate the low material quality that they represented. Although it can be difficult to identify tapestries from the Marche area because they do not carry town or workshop marks, documents and large numbers of fairly coarse verdure, armorials, and figurative hangings that survive in central and southern France provide a suggestive picture of local products. Typical of the figurative tapestries are various sets of the perennially popular *Nine Worthies,* for which several cartoon series seem to have existed in the Felletin and Aubusson region. One example is the set provided to the château of Chauray at Saint-Maixent-l'École in the early 1530s, of which seven pieces survive today in the Langeais château.[15] The circumstances surrounding the manufacture of such sets are indicated by a contract drawn up in Bourges in August 1546 between two Felletin weavers, Léonard Deveu and Joseph Laurent, and Jean Charrier, a bourgeois of the town, to produce a ten-piece set of the *Worthies* on a millefleurs ground. The contract provides precise details regarding the dimensions of each of the tapestries, which were to be delivered by the Feast of Saint Martin the following winter. As Lefébure has noted, the weavers must have relied on other workshops to help them realize the commission so quickly.[16]

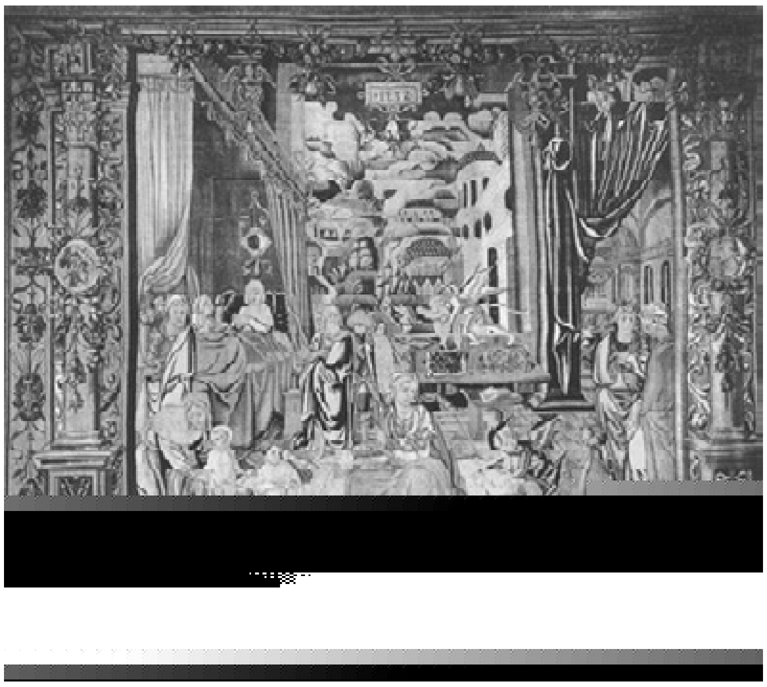


Fig. 200. *The Birth of Saint Stephen* from the *Story of Saint Stephen*. Tapestry woven in the workshop of Jehan Péchault, Toulouse, 1532. Wool, 590 x 668 cm. Cathedral of Toulouse

Fig. 204. View of the Galerie François I in the château of Fontainebleau

mous creative opportunities for the Italian artists Francis had attracted to his court. Most notable among them were Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540) and Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570), who arrived in 1530 and 1532, respectively. Working from designs by these two artists, an army of French, Italian, and Netherlandish painters and craftsmen decorated the interiors of the palace with stuccos, frescoes, and murals executed in the distinctive Mannerist style of the Fontainebleau school. The character of this style is most famously epitomized by the long stucco and plaster gallery, the Galerie François I, that Rosso and Primaticcio devised and executed between 1533 and 1540 to connect the Cour de l'Ovale and the Cour du Cheval Blanc (fig. 204).[37]

It was in the hothouse of creative activity at Fontainebleau that Francis established a tapestry workshop in 1539 under the supervision of Philibert Babou de la Bourdaisière, the Surintendant des Bâtiments Royaux.[38] Considering Francis's love of tapestries by both Netherlandish and Italian designers, this was hardly a surprising venture. It was founded six years after the reorganization of the tapestry workshop at Ferrara and about the same time that the manufactory at Mantua was created. Because close links existed between these centers and the artists who worked for Francis, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Italian initiatives encouraged the king to set up his own shop.[39]

The only product certainly attributable to the Fontainebleau workshop is a six-piece set of tapestries that provides a trompe l'oeil re-creation of Francis's great gallery (see cat. no. 55). The cartoons were prepared by Claude Badouin and other artists, and a payment for materials, including gold, silver, and silk thread, in

where he would teach young boys and girls how to make high-loom tapestries and knotted carpets.[52] Nothing more is known of this workshop.

Knowledge of sixteenth-century French tapestry production remains very sketchy, but the documentary evidence provides the basis for detailed research. Records, many published by Grodecki, offer a wealth of information about the social and economic circumstances of French patrons, artists, and weavers, yielding a picture of the complex world in which tapestries were commissioned and made. Yet, much more work remains to be done on these subjects and in terms of identifying an extant French production from these years. A more rigorous standard of identification must be developed, especially for the many pieces that have appeared at auction over the last fifty years. These all too often are generically classified as Netherlandish, although they bear strong stylistic affinities with objects that probably originated in French manufactories.

1. Especially Guiffrey 1885–86; Guiffrey 1915a; Göbel 1928; Grodecki 1985; and various articles by Bertrand (see bibliography). For recent general discussion with further bibliography, see Joubert and Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995.
2. For example, Göbel 1928, pp. 269–323; Heinz 1963, pp. 87–101; and Weigert 1956, pp. 73, 76–79, 85.
3. Cavallo 1993, pp. 71–73.
4. Göbel 1928, p. 264. For a recent bibliography on Tours, see Bertrand 1996, p. 299, n. 13.
5. Bertrand 1996, pp. 271–74, 298–99.
6. Jarry 1973, pp. 44–45 (with bibliog.). Previous accounts have confused Polastron with another Florentine, Andrea Sguazzella, or Chiazella, a pupil of Andrea del Sarto, who visited France in 1518 at the invitation of Francis I; Bertrand 1996, p. 299, n. 9; Bertrand 1998, p. 144.
7. Bertrand 1996, pp. 274, 299 n. 13.
8. Bertrand 1995, pp. 138–39.
9. Ibid., p. 140.
10. "[L]'ymage et vie d'ung chescun corps sainct repposant en ladite eglise"; "le meilleur maître de la présente cité"; ibid., pp. 133, 135, n. 47.
11. Ibid., pp. 140–41.
12. Göbel 1928, pp. 208, 334, 338, 345.
13. Ibid., pp. 235–37, 244–45.
14. Bertrand 1995, p. 136.
15. Jarry 1973, pp. 50–53.
16. Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, p. 104.
17. Guiffrey 1915a, pp. 243–77; Göbel 1928, pp. 26–33; Grodecki 1985, pp. 30–35, 275–99.
18. Grodecki 1985, p. 31.
19. "[F]aire les visaiges des personnaiges de lad. tappisserie de fine sayette et tout le reste d'icelle tappisserie de bonne laine francoise rehaulsée de troys soyes jaulne, verd et blue et autant de soye au hault des bordures comme au bas, bien et devement faictes et frappées, comme il appartient, au dire des maistres et jurez dud. mestier"; ibid., p. 282, no. 390.
20. Ibid., p. 32.
21. Ibid., for example, pp. 290 no. 409, 299 no. 430.
22. Ibid., p. 32.
23. Ibid., pp. 31–32; Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 100–101.
24. For discussion of contemporary terminology, see Salet 1988, pp. 219–25; Joubert 1993, pp. 24–26; and Joubert 1999.
25. Grodecki 1985, passim.
26. Paris 1965a, p. 14; Paris 1972, p. 345, no. 452; Bertrand 1995, p. 136, n. 50.
27. Paris 1965a, p. 14; Paris 1972, pp. 344–45.
28. Zerner 1996, pp. 222, 225–44, 246–85.
29. Bertrand 1997, pp. 46–47.
30. Standen 1975; Standen 1985, vol. 1, p. 249; Lloyd 1988; Bertrand 1997, pp. 46, 49–65.
31. The subjects of the lost tapestries were *Jupiter Changing the Lycidians into Frogs*, the *Death of Meleager*, the *Death of Orion*, and *Diana Saves Iphigenia*. *Diana Imploring Jupiter for the Gift of Chastity* is at the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, while the *Drowning of Britomartis* and the *Blasphemy of Niobe* are at the Metropolitan Museum. The *Triumph of Diana* is in a New York private collection; Lloyd 1988, p. 4; Bertrand 1997, p. 49.
32. Lloyd 1988, p. 21.
33. Ibid., pp. 13, 18; Bertrand 1997, pp. 59–60.
34. Bertrand 1997, pp. 62–63 (with bibliog.).
35. Béguin 1991, p. 11, figs. 12–14; Béguin 1995, p. 195, n. 9.
36. Bertrand 1997, p. 64.
37. Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 42–52.
38. According to Schneebalg-Perelman 1971a, p. 268, n. 36, the workshop was located in the west wing of the Cour du Cheval Blanc.
39. Göbel 1928, pp. 37–46; Heinz 1963, pp. 251–56, 329; Pressouyre 1972; Grodecki 1978; I. Denis in Grove 1996, vol. 11, p. 262; G. Gruber 1993; G. Gruber 1995; Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 367–68, 384–86.
40. Grodecki 1978, p. 215.
41. Jestaz 1973, p. 54; Schneebalg-Perelman 1982, pp. 146, 185.
42. "Audit Badouyn, paintre, pour avoir vacqué tant à la façon des patrons des tapisseries, que à la façon et painture d'un tableau à frais en façon de tapisserie, contre la muraille, en la salle des poisles, au grand pavillon près l'estang dudit lieu"; Laborde 1877–80, vol. 1, p. 204.
43. I. Denis in Grove 1996, vol. 11, p. 262.
44. Grodecki 1985, pp. 316–17.
45. Fenaille 1923, p. 92.
46. Pressouyre 1969, p. 226, n. 1.
47. Quoted from Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 368, 468, n. 40.
48. For the two fragments at the Mobilier National, see Paris 1965a, p. 14; Culan 1968, p. 23; and Paris 1972, p. 343. For the two in Lyon, which are smaller, see Blazy in Blazy et al. 1996, pp. 32–33.
49. Zerner 1996, p. 255. For comparable design elements, see ibid., pp. 228, 229, 259, 232.
50. Göbel 1928, p. 48; Weigert 1962, p. 95.
51. Fenaille 1923, pp. 105–17.
52. Grodecki 1985, p. 35.

55.

The Unity of the State

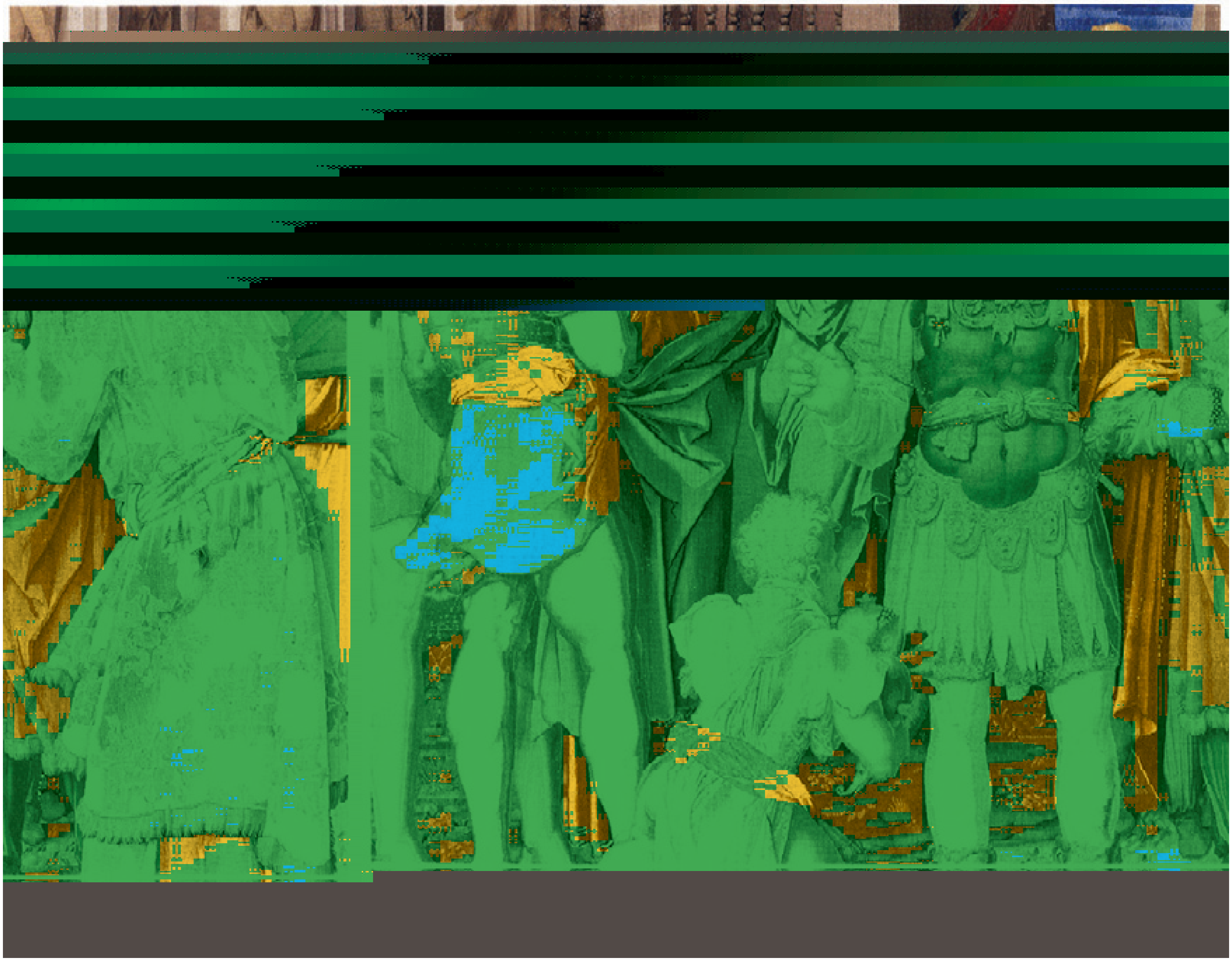
From a six-piece set of the *Gallery of Francis I*
Cartoons executed by Claude Badouin and others, after Rosso Fiorentino and Francesco Primaticcio, ca. 1539
Woven at Fontainebleau, between 1540 and 1547
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
330 x 620 cm (10 ft. 9⅞ in. x 20 ft. 4⅛ in.)
8 warps per cm
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (T CV–6)

Provenance: ca. 1540–47, woven for Francis I at Fontainebleau; 1688, imperial collection, Vienna; 1688–90, restored by Jean Trechet in Vienna; by descent in the imperial collection; 1914, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

References: Baldass 1920, nos. 155–60; Dimier 1927, p. 166; de Tervarent 1952, pp. 28–45; Panofsky and Panofsky 1958; Chastel 1968, pp. 186–88; Pressouyre 1970, pp. 123–37; Coural in Paris 1972, pp. 338–42 (with bibliog.); Jestaz 1973; G. Gruber 1993; Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 384–85; G. Gruber 1995.

Condition: The tapestry is in good condition, having been restored in 1987. Large portions of the grisaille figures have been rewoven, probably by Jean Trechet, who undertook the first documented restoration between 1688 and 1690. He was also probably responsible for alterations to the French symbols.[1]

The *Unity of the State* is part of a six-piece set that is the only certain product of the tapestry workshop that Francis I established at Fontainebleau during the 1540s. The set comprises a trompe l'oeil reproduction of part of the architectural decoration of the grand Galerie François I at Fontainebleau. The gallery, situated between the Cour de l'Ovale and the Cour du Cheval Blanc, was built between 1528 and 1532 after designs by Gilles Le Breton. Francis I then commissioned Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio to decorate the space. The seven bays on each of the gallery's long walls, originally separated by windows, were treated as individual units in the design. Wainscoting carved by Francisco Scibec de Carpi served as a base, above which the designers created an elaborate fusion of painted figural scenes with sculptural frames. In each case a central fresco is surrounded by a rich framing of scrollwork grotesques in stucco, which incorporates on each side smaller fresco panels with subjects relating to the central scene. The salamander, the king's emblem, appears above all of the major panels.



Detail of cat. no. 55

The gallery's imagery glorifies Francis I in his virtue and wisdom, emphasizing his kingship by the grace of God and portraying him as the unifying force of the realm. He is also depicted as an enlightened ruler devoted to the arts and sciences but ready to lead his forces into war. Utilizing emblem, fable, and allegory, the frescoes show the king both as a ruler committed to his people and as an idealized hero.[2] Specific historic events like the tragic death of the dauphin are also included.

Though the six tapestries were probably made for Francis I, their purpose, like the meaning of the gallery's decoration, is not entirely clear. In all likelihood, they were produced as a virtuoso re-creation in sumptuous materials of one of the most important works of art made for Francis I.

Description and Iconography

This tapestry reproduces the decoration of the sixth compartment from the left on the south wall of the gallery. Francis I is depicted in the center of the main panel dressed as a Roman emperor, adorned with a general's sash and a laurel wreath. In his left hand he holds a pomegranate, which appears to be included as a symbol of concord, the meaning subsequently placed on it in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (first published in 1593). A youth kneeling in front of Francis I presents him with another pomegranate. Grouped around the king are representatives of the various social classes, some in classical costume. Soldiers mix peaceably with civil dignitaries, scholars, burghers, and peasants. In the background on the right a man is embracing a small child, an eloquent image of peaceful times. The background also displays splendid palace architecture. The meaning of the central scene has not been disputed. As early as 1642 Dan declared that it was a representation of the good order established by the king in both civil and military affairs. The many-seeded pomegranate in Francis's hand symbolizes the unity of the king with his subjects, the sole guarantee of a flourishing

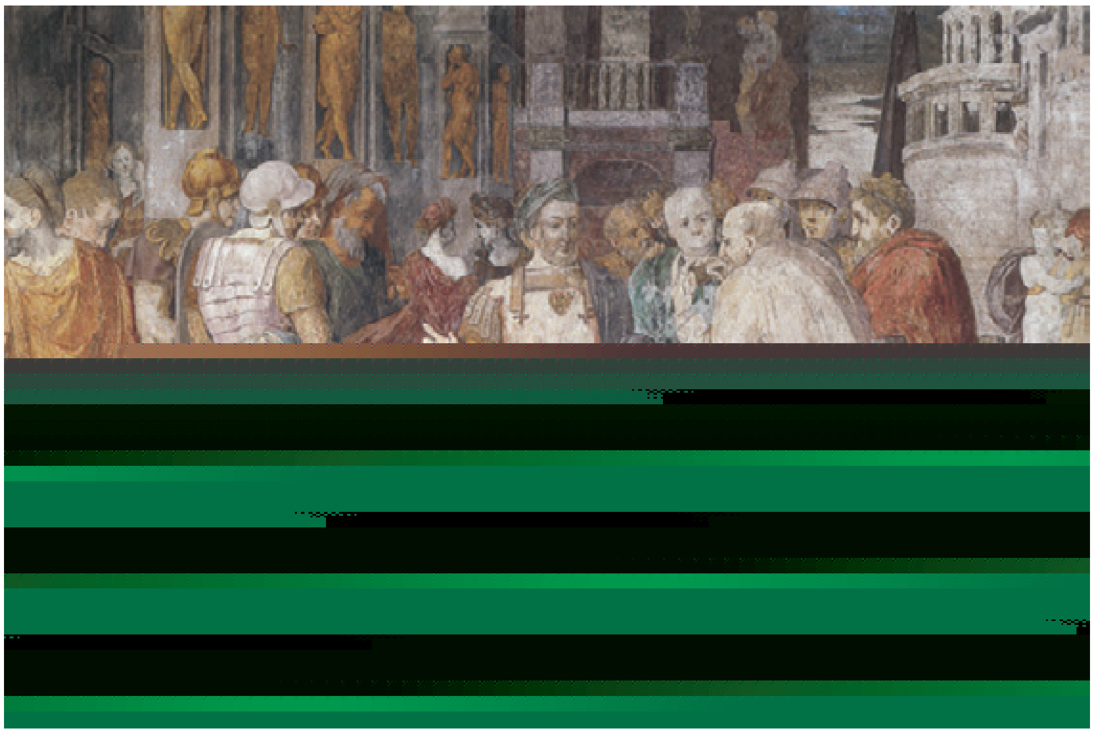


Fig. 206. *The Unity of the State.* Fresco by Rosso Fiorentino, ca. 1540–47. Galerie François I, château of Fontainebleau

realm.[3] The king's emblematic salamander assumes an appropriately dominant pose above the central panel, which is surrounded by a massive wreath of leaves and fruits that echoes the form of that worn by the monarch.

Interpreting the figures in the tall oval panels on either side and in the lower margin is more difficult. On the left two male wrestlers are engaged in an unequal struggle. One has his arms tied behind his back, while the other appears to be throwing his weight into throttling his opponent with both arms. On the right two men stand in a boat, the one behind embracing the one in front. Their heads, turned toward each other in profile, are positioned so that their open mouths appear as one. The two determine the boat's direction with their movement. Göbel linked these figures to the Labors of Hercules: on the right Hercules is crossing Oceanus in a golden boat lent to him by Apollo; and on the left the hero is slaying Cacus.[4] While the deeds of Hercules were frequently employed to suggest a monarch's superhuman qualities, the identification is not convincing in this case because the defeat of a bound opponent would bring little credit to Hercules or, by association, to the king. A more likely reading was proposed by the Panofskys, who saw these scenes as allegorical depictions of discord and concord.[5]

In the bottom cartouche a ruler sits in heroic nudity on a golden throne. Monumental columns serve as symbols of majesty and suggest a spatial context. The monarch bends forward in anticipation as a messenger rushes toward him from the right. The import of the message is reflected in the agitation of the onlookers. For Göbel, the prominent placement of the horses on the right identified the scene as the presentation of the horses of Diomedes before King Eurystheus at Mycenae.[6] An alternative interpretation is suggested by an engraving of Antonio Fantuzzi (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), probably produced after a drawing by Rosso, which incorporates a main figure that resembles that of Francis I in the central panel in type, pose, and attributes of laurel wreath and pomegranate.[7] From the attire and rayed crown, the Panofskys identified this figure as the Gallic chieftain Vercingetorix.[8] As he was the first leader to unite transalpine Gaul, the pomegranate is appropriate to him as well. Julius Caesar, in *De bello gallico* (7.29.7), described him as the man through whose will all Gaul became unified and, because of that unity, impossible to conquer. Vercingetorix accordingly symbolizes the invincibility of a unified France. However, the Panofskys suggested that if the figure of Francis in the central panel is an allusion to Vercingetorix, the scene in the margin might represent the moment when Caesar received word of the Gallic revolt under Vercingetorix's leadership. Caesar admited that this was one of the few moments in his life when he found himself in a very difficult position (7.29.6). Certainly, anyone who gave Caesar pause was a formidable opponent.

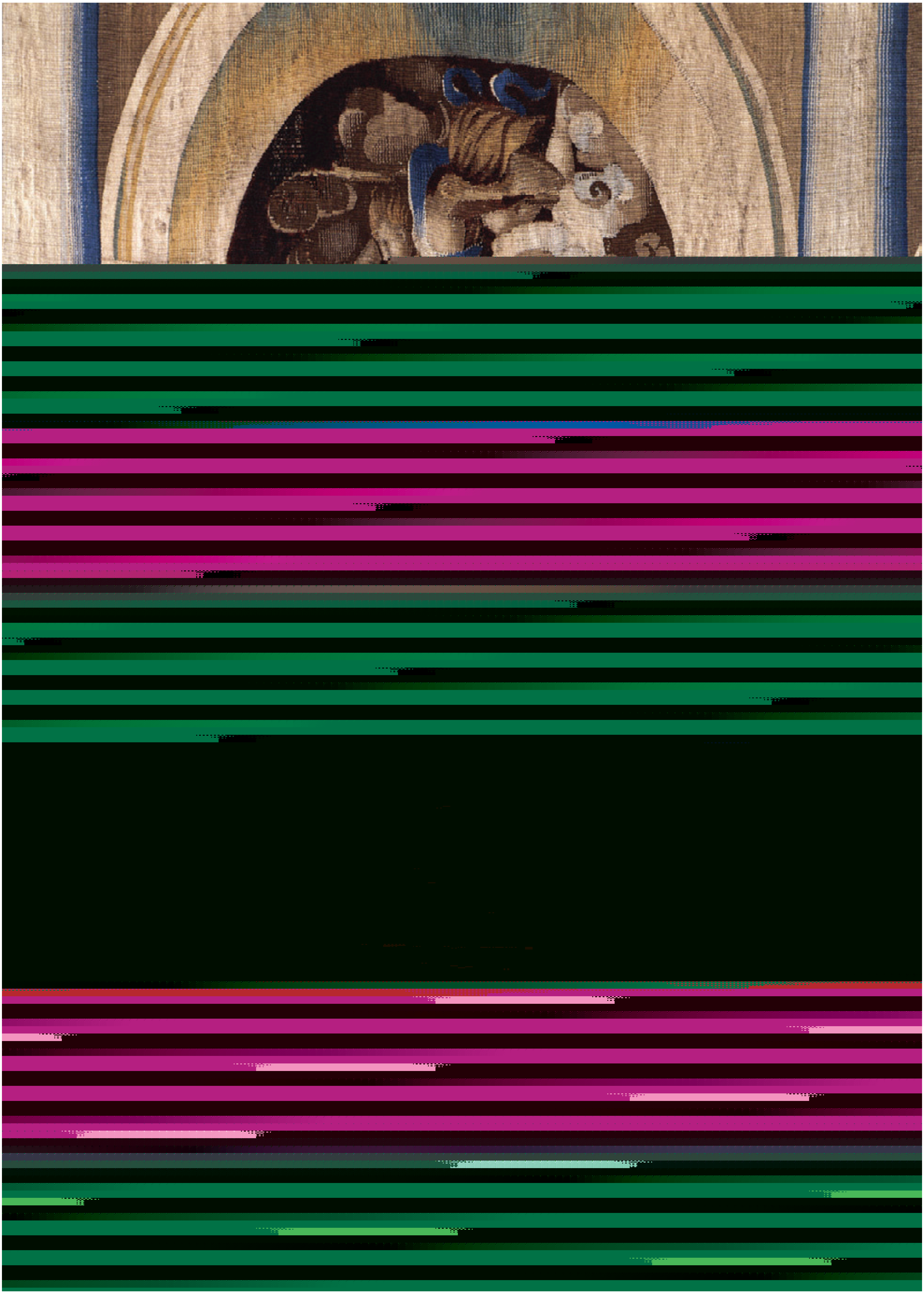
The iconographic relationship between the decoration of the different bays in the Galerie François I is unclear. There is no surviving manuscript source for the program, and the frescoes have suffered from repeated restorations and overpainting. Interpretation has been made even more difficult by Rosso's tendency to be willfully obscure: he made no distinction in his presentation between religious subjects and secular ones, and he mixed iconographic elements from the most diverse contexts. As a consequence, the meaning of the program has been the subject of much discussion and debate.[9]

One can only guess the identity of the author of the program, though it was doubtless influenced in part by Francis I himself. A likely candidate would be the diplomat and humanist Lazare de Baif, who was largely responsible for Rosso's appointment at Fontainebleau, although it is possible that de Baif was too much the strict antiquarian to have come up with such an unorthodox concept.[10] One source for the scheme may have been the *Emblemata* of Andrea Alciati, whose illustrations are reflected in the style and motifs of Fontainebleau's decor.[11]

Conception and Design of the Tapestries

The six tapestries now in Vienna reproduce the six easternmost compartments of the gallery's south wall. The central scenes of the other five pieces represented, respectively, the *Combat of the Centaurs and the Lapiths,* the *Loss of Perpetual Youth,* the *Death of Adonis, Danae,* and *Cleobis and Biton.* It is unclear why these six bays were chosen for reproduction. While it is possible that a tapestry version of the entire program was originally envisioned, the fact that the cartoon painter, Claude Badouin, is documented to have been paid for cartoons of only "certains tableaux" from the gallery argues against this. It is also possible that a larger project may simply have been curtailed by Francis's death in 1547.

The tapestries not only reproduce the central paintings of the bays and their stucco framing but also suggest their architectural



Tapestry Production in Italy, 1520-60

A market for Netherlandish tapestries was already well established in Italy during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and the taste for these works encouraged the development of a number of small Italian manufactories in the same years (see pp. 85–101). Among the foremost patrons of the Netherlandish industry from the 1510s to the 1530s were Popes Leo X and Clement VII, and Andrea I Doria, whose commissions stimulated radical development in the style of tapestry design in the Low Countries during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Yet while demand for products from the Low Countries continued to grow, relatively little weaving seems to have been carried out in Italy in this period. As Forti Grazzini has suggested, this dearth of activity may, in part, have resulted from a decline in the demand for the decorative and moderate-quality tapestries that local manufactories were able to supply.[1] More and more Italian patrons wanted the high-quality, figurative tapestries they could obtain at reasonable cost and with increasing ease from the Low Countries because the industry there had grown and consolidated between 1490 and 1525. If this situation constituted a major disincentive to the foundation of sizable workshops in Italy between 1490 and the 1520s, a renewed spirit of entrepreneurship and experimentation took hold during the second third of the century, when new manufactories were established at Ferrara, Mantua, Genoa, and Florence. A variety of factors appear to have inspired this development: the splendid example being set by such northern European patrons as Charles V, Henry VIII, and Francis I; the success of the commissions placed in Brussels by Leo X and Clement VII; the hope that Italian products might be cheaper than Netherlandish imports; a period of relative stability and harmonious coexistence among the various Italian states; and, at least in the notable instance of Florence, the vision of a native industry that might eventually compete with the workshops of Brussels. Like the provincial French workshops (see pp. 459–69), most Italian ateliers were short-lived. However, their distance from the main Netherlandish centers and their use of designs made by artists who worked in the mainstream of Italian style, rather than in the Netherlandish tradition, guaranteed that their products were among the most innovative of the period. Unfortunately, many Italian tapestries incorporated large areas of wool dyed dark brown and black to re-create the chiaroscuro effects of the Italian designs, dyes which incorporated metallic oxides that, over the passage of time, were especially destructive to the wools and silks to which they were applied, making the tapestries even more prone to deterioration than their Netherlandish counterparts. For this reason it has been possible to include only a small number of Italian examples in the present exhibition. The aim of this section is to provide a short overview of the main centers of Italian tapestry making between 1520 and 1560, the weavers and artists involved, and the character of the products.[2]

FERRARA

Although a number of small tapestry ateliers operated in Ferrara during the fifteenth century, production appears to have languished under Alfonso I d'Este (1476–1534), who reigned as third duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio from 1505. Alfonso's interests as a patron were essentially focused on the brilliant painters of the day—Bellini, Raphael, Titian, Dosso Dossi and Fra Bartolommeo—all of whom provided decorations and paintings for his principal residence in Ferrara. Nonetheless, sumptuous tapestries continued to decorate the Este court on all important festivities, and an inventory of 1531 demonstrates that many of the grandest sets acquired under Alfonso's predecessors Borso and Ercole I were still in the collection at that date.[3] With the accession of Alfonso's son Ercole II (1508–1559), who was fourth duke between 1534 and 1559, a new era of support for tapestry making was inaugurated. In 1536 Ercole reestablished a court manufactory, which flourished for about twenty-five years under his enthusiastic patronage. This workshop executed tapestries of considerable iconographic and artistic interest from designs by local artists, among them the brothers Dosso and Battista Dossi, Girolamo da Carpi, and Leonardo da Brescia as well as artists from farther afield such as Giulio Romano and Giovanni Antonio Pordenone. Only a small part of this production has survived, but the handful of extant pieces, combined with contemporary documentation, provide a glimpse of the quality and achievement of this notable although short-lived enterprise. The principal study of this manufactory has

Fig. 207. Detail of cat. no. 62: *Joseph Is Recognized by His Brothers* from the *Story of Joseph*

been written by Forti Grazzini, and the following text is greatly indebted to his detailed work.[4]

Scion of one of the most remarkable dynasties of Renaissance patrons, Ercole was a sophisticated and cultured connoisseur of literature and the arts whose tastes, following those of his aunt Isabella d'Este, tended to the erudite and allegorical. He was fluent in Latin and, like Federico II Gonzaga, an aficionado of antique and contemporary sculptures and medals. And like many of the leading patrons of the day, he had a keen sense of how crucial the arts, particularly tapestry, were in creating the splendor and magnificence requisite for his station and court. In part his taste may have derived from the example of his forebears. He may have also been influenced by the taste of his wife, Renée, daughter of the French king Louis XII, to whom he was married in 1528. Raised at the French court after her father's death, Renée presumably attended the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold meeting of 1520 between Francis I and Henry VIII, where tapestries played a central role. Moreover, the date of Renée's marriage to Ercole coincided with a period in which Francis was commissioning ambitious sets of tapestries for the French court. Indeed, Francis's wedding gift to Renée was a nine-piece set of tapestries with scenes based on François Dassi's *La prison d'amour* (translated from Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor,* Seville, 1492).[5]

Ercole's workshop was established under the direction of two Netherlandish weavers, Jan (Giovanni, Hans; fl. 1517–62) and Nicolas (Nicola; fl. 1517–62) Karcher, who had been active since at least 1517 at Ferrara, where they were engaged in repairing the collection.[6] Whether they also wove new tapestries during the 1510s and 1520s is unclear, but the facility with which they took up this task under Ercole's patronage suggests that they may well have done so, albeit on an independent basis. Jan remained in Ferrara until his death in 1562, but Nicolas had a much more varied career, playing the central role in establishing and directing workshops in Mantua from 1539 to 1544, in Florence from 1545 to 1554, and in Mantua again between 1554 and 1562.[7] There is no extant documentation regarding the terms under which Ercole established the Ferrara workshop in 1536, but in that year Nicolas appears to have traveled to the Netherlands, recruiting eight weavers there. Among them, it is assumed, was Jan (Giovanni) Rost (fl. 1535–64), a Brussels weaver who must already have been an independent master, as his emblem—a roast on a spit—appears, along with the Brussels mark, on a *Hunt* tapestry (Musée Marmottan, Paris). Rost and his mother had been persecuted for heresy in 1534 in Brussels, and this was presumably a factor in his decision to depart for Ferrara.[8] He remained in Ferrara until August 1545, when he moved to Florence to found a workshop for Cosimo de' Medici, which would compete with Karcher's establishment there.

From 1537 another workshop was also active in Ferrara under the direction of Gerardo Slot, although its products seem to have been confined to modest decorative furnishing tapestries.

According to a report sent to Federico Gonzaga by Gerolamo Sestola in 1536, Ercole's aim in establishing the Karcher-Rost workshop was to provide tapestries for new apartments he was constructing, and the provision of tapestries for his personal aggrandizement was to remain the principal aim of the Ferrarese manufactory throughout the patron's life.[9] Generally speaking, there is a clear distinction to be made in the designs produced during the following twenty-five years between sets whose iconography was overtly celebratory of Ercole, usually by way of metaphor and literary allegory, intended for display in the more public rooms of his palace, and sets that were of a more decorative and fantastical character, intended for use in private rooms.

The first designs carried out in Ercole's manufactory, of unknown subject, were prepared in late 1536 and in 1537 by Dosso (ca. 1486–1542?) and Battista Dossi (ca. 1490/95–1548), aided in the execution of the cartoons by an assistant.[10] The Dossi were the leading painters at Ercole's court, where they were required to turn their hands to a wide spectrum of tasks ranging from painting altar panels to designing tableware and temporary decorations.[11] The following year another set of cartoons was put on the loom, in this instance from designs by the eminent Mantuan artist Giulio Romano.[12] In 1535, Giulio had been in Ferrara advising on the reconstruction of a palace that had burned down, and in April 1535 Ercole wrote to Federico Gonzaga, asking if the artist might return to discuss "certi pensieri" (certain ideas). As Forti Grazzini has noted, this request must have been directly related to the new tapestry manufactory: Giulio's renown and experience in designing the *Scipio* tapestries for Francis I (and perhaps other tapestries for Federico) making him an obvious tool for Ercole's ambitions. In any event, between October 1537 and spring 1538 Giulio provided designs from Mantua that were woven over the course of the next two years. Ercole also corresponded with Ercole Gonzaga (Federico's brother), requesting the services of an artist named Luca Fiammingho or d'Olanda, who had worked under Giulio in the Appartamento di Troia in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua in 1536–37. It seems likely, therefore, that the cartoons for this set were executed in part by Luca.[13]

Although the tapestries are lost, they can be identified as a four-piece set called the *Gigantomachia,* woven in wool, silk, and gold, with a height of 4.69 meters and a combined length of just under 16 meters. Depicting the defeat of the Giants by the Gods, the

Fig. 208. *The Battle between the Gods and the Giants. Modello* for the tapestry from the *Gigantomachia* by Giulio Romano, ca. 1538. Pen and wash with white highlights, 41.8 x 43.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 209. *The Triumph of the Gods. Modello* for the tapestry from the *Gigantomachia* by Giulio Romano, ca. 1538. Pen and wash with white highlights, 42.8 x 43.8 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris

group provided a metaphorical celebration of the patron. Forti Grazzini has determined that two drawings in the Louvre are *modelli* for the set, one representing the *Battle between the Gods and the Giants,* the other the *Triumph of the Gods* (figs. 208, 209). In the latter the young figure of the victor seated in the carriage, logically Jupiter, may have been intended to represent the duke, who was twenty-seven years old when he commissioned the tapestries, exalting him as a strong and wise hero, in the same way he was celebrated in contemporary court panegyric poems and treatises by Lilio Gregorio Giraldi and Giambattista Cinzio Giraldi.[14] According to an eyewitness account written on the occasion of the visit of Pope Paul III to Ferrara in 1543, the tapestries displayed astonishing imagination and verisimilitude.

Following the successful initiation of his commission from Giulio, Ercole took steps to obtain designs from another famous contemporary artist, Giovanni Antonio Pordenone, whose poetic and mannered style of painting was winning him attention in Venice at the time. In response to approaches from the Ferrarese ambassador in Venice, late in 1538 Pordenone traveled to Ferrara, where he was received by the duke with "molte carazze" (much affection). This initiative was less fortunate than the first, for, as Vasari tells us, Pordenone died on January 14, 1539, only a few days after his arrival in Ferrara. But before he died, Pordenone had prepared eight designs and started a ninth for a series on the *Odyssey,* which were seen and described by Carlo Ridolfi in the seventeenth century. The scenes depicted the *Lotus Eaters, Polyphemus, Aeolus and the Bag of Winds,* the *Lestrygonians,* the *Visit to the Underworld, Circe,* the *Sirens,* and *Scylla and Charybdis.* Again, the travails of the hero were probably intended as a metaphorical celebration of the patron.[15]

In the following year Jan Karcher's workshop produced a series of *antiporte* from designs by Battista and Dosso Dossi, while Rost traveled to the Netherlands to purchase the wool required for the project. Dosso died about 1542, but Battista's work with the manufactory continued unabated. During 1542 he provided designs for a five-piece set described in the documents as "Le Deità d'Ercole," which was woven between summer 1542 and 1545. Records of payments to the artist and weavers and later inventory descriptions reveal that the subjects were the *Wedding of Hercules and Hebe,* the *Liberation of Hesione,* the *Bath of Hercules,* the *Sacrifice of Hercules and Hercules and the Hydra,* and *Minerva, Hercules and Apollo Repelling the Vices.*[16] The tapestries have not survived, but the cartoons, which are also lost, were displayed in the Este palace in Modena in the eighteenth century, when they were described by Girolamo Baruffaldi. Here too, the subjects were evidently chosen as metaphorical celebrations of the name and *impresa* of the patron, along

fictive bronzes of the Virtues surrounded by feasts and tournaments in gardens and landscapes. The device of representing a theme via a trompe l'oeil work of art was also employed in a *Hercules* set (now lost) commissioned by Ercole from the Modenese artist Ludovico Settevecchi that was woven in Karcher's workshop in 1560–61, after the duke's death. Measuring just under 5 meters in height, each tapestry represented one of the feats of Hercules as if on a bronze relief, on a grotesque ground—hence the identification of the group in inventories as "Ercole in bronzo."[25]

The works noted represent the principal production of Ercole's Ferrarese atelier between 1536 and 1561, some twelve sets comprising more than fifty tapestries.[26] In addition to the tapestries he made for the duke, Jan Karcher undertook at least one independent commission. This was for an eight-piece set devoted to the *Story of Saint George and Saint Maurelius,* the patron saints of Ferrara, ordered in October 1550 by the cathedral of Ferrara, where it survives.[27] Forti Grazzini has suggested that the commission may have been motivated by a desire on the part of the cathedral authorities to distance themselves from the Lutheran community that was developing in Ferrara under the patronage of Ercole's wife, Renée, who was sympathetic to the Reform movement. The agreement specified that the tapestries were to be woven in two years, although work must have extended into a third because some panels are dated 1553. Karcher guaranteed the use of good-quality materials and at least three ounces of silk per square *braccio.* He was to be paid weekly for completed work at a rate of 2 *scudi d'oro in oro* per square *braccio.* According to the contract, the main scenes of the cartoons were painted by Benvenuto Tisi, called il Garofalo, and Filippi, while the cartoons for the borders were executed by Luca Fiammingho. As Karcher started his work in 1550, the cartoons must have been executed in the course of 1549–50.[28] In contrast to the tapestries produced for Ercole, which are marked by erudite and literary allusions, this set—intended for a popular audience—was a straightforward narrative of the saints' lives, with emphasis on the details of their sufferings. During the nineteenth century the tapestries were hung in the choir between the Feast of Saint George (on April 23) and the Feast of Saint Maurelius (on May 7), a usage that may well have reflected a long-standing tradition. The weave of the set is relatively coarse, with six to seven warps per centimeter, but, as Forti Grazzini has noted, details are skillfully and clearly rendered and the faces are expressive. The appearance of the tapestries has been substantially altered by the fading of the lighter colors and by the loss of the darker tones used for the ground and architectural details, but the reds, blues, and greens are well preserved.

The *Saint George and Saint Maurelius* tapestries were produced at the same time as the set of *Grotesques* mentioned above that was made for Ercole. Even allowing for the fact that the former commission may have been woven in two or even three stages, this suggests that Jan Karcher had five or six looms fully occupied at any one time. However, the death of Ercole II in 1559 and that of Jan Karcher in 1562 marked a turning point in the Ferrarese manufactory. Luigi, Karcher's son, inherited the workshop, which continued to operate in the ducal household but, according to the scarce extant documentation, for the most part was occupied with providing a small number of decorative pieces for the palace. Ercole's successor, his son Alfonso II d'Este, had neither the resources nor the will to maintain the level of production supported by his father, although the inherited tapestry collection continued to contribute significantly to the magnificence of the Este homes.

The last notable tapestries made by the Karcher workshop were three panels depicting the *Life of the Virgin* commissioned by Como Cathedral. These were part of an ensemble with six other panels of *Scenes from the Old Testament* and the *Life of the Virgin,* which were carried out in the Netherlands and in Florence. One of the Como tapestries is lost, but two, the *Transportation of the Virgin,* 1562, and the *Marriage of the Virgin,* 1569, survive in the location for which they were executed. The earlier piece carries the mark of Jan Karcher, and the later one bears that of his son. The Milanese Giuseppe Arcimboldo was commissioned to design the *Transportation of the Virgin,* but the author of the *Marriage* is unknown. This designer may have been Luigi Karcher himself, as he was an artist as well as a weaver. Although the weavers of the Ferrara manufactory under Luigi were still technically proficient—as the *Marriage of the Virgin* demonstrates—by 1582 it appears to have been effectively defunct.[29]

MANTUA

A tapestry workshop was established in Mantua in late 1538 or early 1539 by Federico II Gonzaga, fifth marquis and first duke of Mantua, whose patronage is so defined by the achievements of Giulio Romano in architecture, painting, and design.[30] Although an atelier had operated in Mantua in the late fifteenth century, producing tapestries for the Gonzaga from designs by Andrea Mantegna and other artists, native production evidently languished during the first three decades of the sixteenth century. (The situation paralleled that in contemporary Ferrara.) Little is known of Federico's tapestry patronage before 1539, but it is clear that, by the time of his death in 1540, he had a sizable collection, which may have included sets designed by Giulio and woven in Brussels. The fact that he set up his manufactory in 1538 or 1539, suggests, however, that his initiative was prompted by the example of his cousin Ercole II d'Este, who had founded his own workshop in Ferrara in 1536. Federico's undertaking was facilitated by the willingness of one of Ercole's chief weavers, Nicolas Karcher, to transfer to Mantua. Various documents attest to Karcher's activity in Mantua. In a letter of January 12, 1539, the craftsman stated that he would be pleased to serve Federico "in my art."[31] In October of that year Federico issued a decree regarding the provision of materials and food supplies to Karcher and the eleven assistants he needed to weave tapestries from designs that were to be supplied to him. According to a report of November 1539, Karcher had by then begun work on borders of tapestries, whose subject is not specified. Although weaving cannot have progressed far before Federico's death on June 28, 1540, Karcher delivered a thirteen-piece set of unknown subject by March 1541 to Federico's brother, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, who became regent of Mantua during the minority of the duke's son, Francesco III, who had inherited the title.[32]

Payments made in 1542 for work undertaken in 1541 reveal that by that date Karcher had made four portieres and a "quadro de tappezarai dell'istoria di Moisè" (tapestry panel on the story of Moses). The wool was purchased from the Netherlands, the silk from Verona, and the gilt-metal thread from Milan.[33] The *Moses* panel is recorded as an independent piece in inventories and does not appear to be related to a set showing this subject, which is now thought to have been woven in the 1550s—when Karcher returned to Mantua after eight years in Florence. The portieres may have been part of a series of *Puttini* that was initiated under Federico but completed for Cardinal Ercole.

The genesis and iconographic program of this series have been analyzed by Forti Grazzini and Delmarcel.[34] The key to the reconstruction of the character and development of this project is a tapestry in Rome of *Venus, a Satyr, and Playing Putti,* with the emblems of Federico—Mount Olympus and the salamander—in the borders, which is based on one of a group of designs by Giulio (see cat. no. 57). It was evidently inspired by the same text in Philostratus's *Imagines* as that which inspired Alfonso d'Este's Titian paintings and Leo X's *Giochi di putti* tapestries (see above, pp. 229–33). Two other tapestries depicting putti among vine arbors survive (Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire, England, and Victoria and Albert Museum, London). While their putti motif is stylistically similar to that of the *Venus,* they do not show Federico's arms in their borders (which in any case may represent a later adaptation). Nevertheless, the three examples evidently relate to the same group of Giulio's putti drawings. Here it should be noted that the extended format of some of these drawings has led Forti Grazzini to suggest that their scheme was devised for a now-lost fresco cycle, which was subsequently developed as a tapestry series for Federico, probably as a celebration, in pseudoclassical guise, of the rebirth of a new golden age under his rule.

These *Puttini* weavings are, in turn, closely related in theme and style to a group of seven other tapestries, four almost complete panels and three fragments, dispersed in Lisbon and Milan (see fig. 212 and cat. no. 58) and carrying Ercole's arms (the Gonzaga arms against a cardinal's hat) in the top border.[35] No preparatory drawings for this second group are known; however, its style and the relationship of the iconography of one of its panels to that of the design for an allegorical portiere that is unquestionably by Giulio (cat. no. 59) leave no doubt that the Mantuan master is the author. Whereas the panel with Federico's insignia is relatively coarse, incorporating only silk and wool, the pieces with Ercole's arms are very finely woven with wool, silk, and metallic thread.

The earliest certain description of the extended group of *Puttini* tapestries that is formed by these two series is provided by an inventory of 1563. Here it is described as containing ten large panels, two portieres, and two *soprapporte.* Considering the high quality of the pieces with Ercole's arms and the length of time that their manufacture would have required, it seems unlikely that this group could have been the large series of tapestries delivered in March 1541, in view of the other work Karcher executed during this period.[36] Further support for a date of weaving later than 1541 is provided by a document from July 1541 that states that Ercole had recently ordered tapestries "per suo passatempo" (for his diversion), and one of June 1542 noting that his agent in the Netherlands, Battista Cortese, was paid for obtaining wool for the "tappezzarai per Sua Signoria Reverendissima" (tapestries for the Most Reverend Lord). It may well be that Cortese's purchase was for the Lisbon-Milan *Puttini,* considering their fine quality, which is similar to that of the best Brussels tapestries of the day.[37] At any rate, there can be little question that the panels bearing Ercole's arms were made between June 28, 1540, when Federico died, and October 1545, when Karcher left Mantua for Florence.

Where the imagery of the first three pieces appears to have been fairly close to the spirit of Philostratus's *Imagines,* that of the panels with the cardinal's arms represents a change in terms of intention and imagery. While each of the later group shows putti playing and fighting beneath arbors constructed from various types of fruit- and nut-bearing plants, which support vines richly laden with fruit, many of the specific details have no precedent in Philostratus and appear to have been intended as an allegory of Gonzaga rule in Mantua, with specific references to Federico and Ercole. Thus, one scene depicts putti dancing in a circle while a woman in the foreground

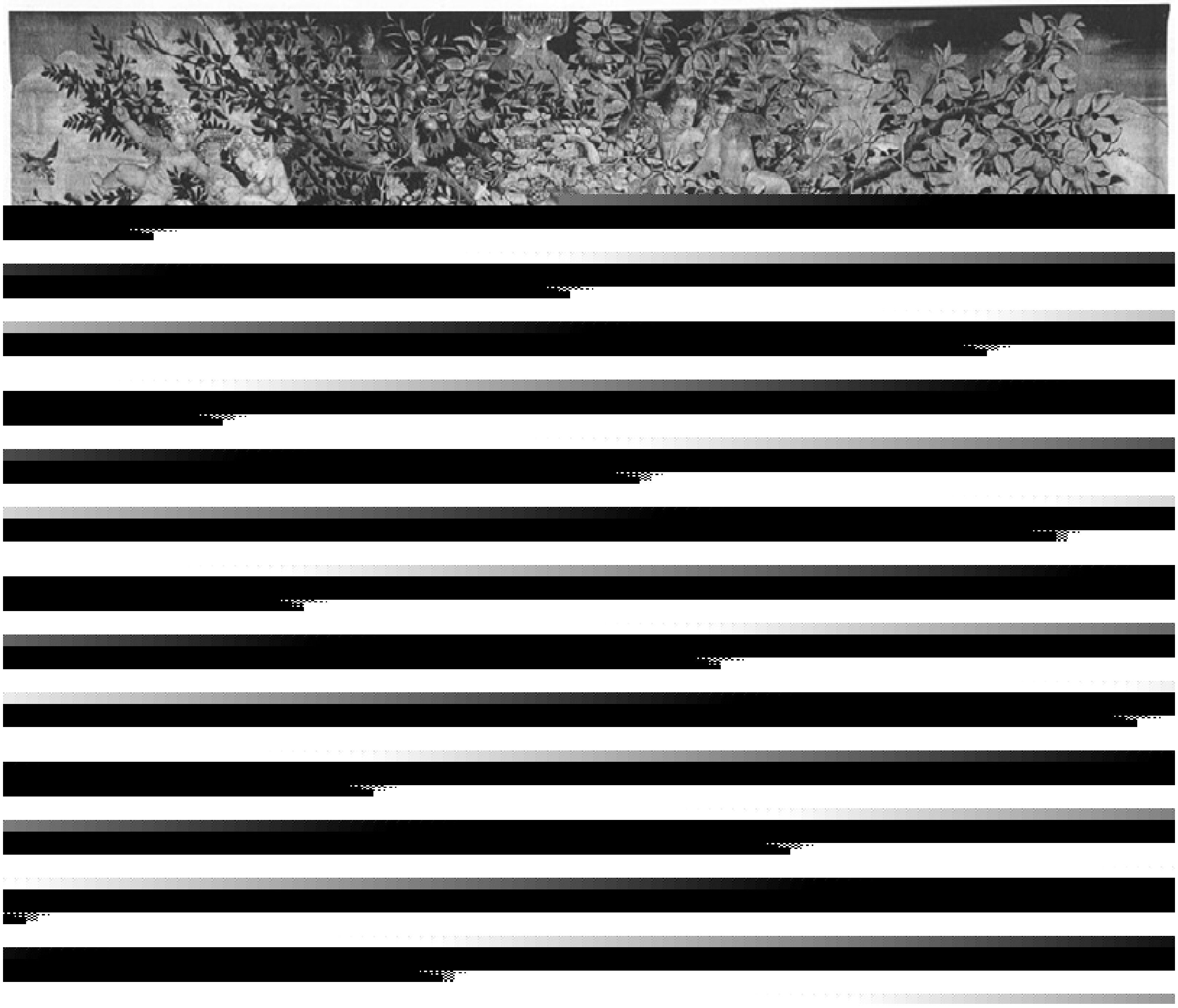
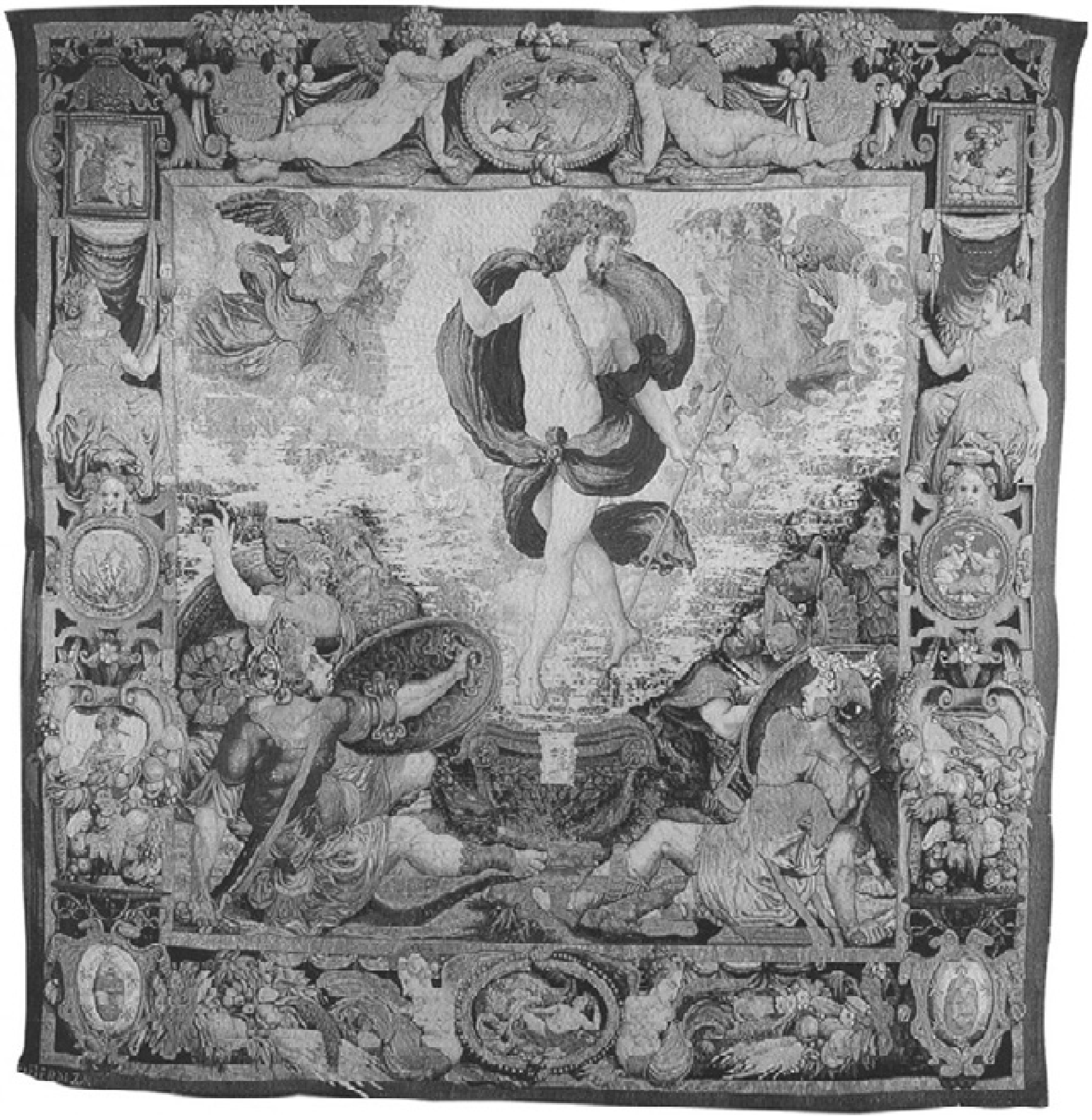


Fig. 212. *The Dance* from the *Puttini*. Tapestry designed by Giulio Romano, woven in the workshop of Nicolas Karcher, Mantua, ca. 1540–45. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 350 x 417 cm. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon

plays a harp, identified by Delmarcel as a paraphrase of Virgil's description of Elysium, in which the souls dance to the sound of Orpheus's lyre (fig. 212). One of the putti here has been struck by an arrow that has fallen from a quiver attached to the pergola upended by another putto, a detail that Forti Grazzini has suggested alludes to Federico's death. Another scene, in the largest of the extant panels, and perhaps the focal point of the later series, shows Fortuna steering a boat as a putto in the foreground inscribes Ercole's name on a cartouche (cat. no. 58). Where the erotes in the *Imagines* were involved in picking apples, the activities of the Gonzaga *Puttini* take place beneath vines, which, considering Ercole's position and his known sense of decorum in regard to tapestry subject matter, must have been symbolic of the Vintage of the Lord. Thus, as Forti Grazzini and Delmarcel have suggested, a set that may have been commissioned by Federico as a secular celebration of a new golden age under the Gonzaga was adapted and developed for Ercole, in part because of the Eucharistic resonance of its symbolism.[38] Although faded and damaged, the surviving tapestries provide a tantalizing glimpse of an ensemble that in its original form and color must have rivaled the finest contemporary Brussels weavings.

Whether Karcher wove other tapestries for Ercole during the early 1540s is unknown, but we might suppose that he did on the

Fig. 218. *The Resurrection*. Tapestry designed by Francesco Salviati, woven in the workshop of Nicolas Karcher, Florence, ca. 1546–49. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 228 x 223 cm. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence



Bronzino had developed in the frescoes for the Cappella di Eleonora and in such panel paintings as the *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time* of the mid-1540s (National Gallery, London), which are marked by dense surface patterns, claustrophobic space, polished surfaces, and vibrant color. The *Justice* and the *Spring* are complementary allegories of the state of Florence under Cosimo's rule, the first representing deliverance from his tyrannical predecessor, Alessandro de' Medici, through Cosimo's succession (symbolized by Justice), and the second depicting the joyous spring that has been inaugurated under the new duke.

Nicolas Karcher, whose arrival in Florence was announced to Cosimo on October 26, 1545, established a workshop in the Via dei Cimatori, which was some distance from Rost's manufactory. Materials were supplied to Karcher in January 1546, and the first tapestries completed in his workshop were a sumpter cover, delivered to Cosimo on June 5 of the same year, and a *Lamentation* (cat. no. 63) after a cartoon by Salviati, delivered the following July 31.[60] The *Lamentation* was the first figural tapestry from Karcher's workshop and also the first of Salviati's cartoons undertaken in Florence for Cosimo, and as such it must have been regarded as a test piece for both the weaver and the artist.[61] It was not, however, the first tapestry cartoon made by Salviati, who designed a set of the *Story of Alexander* in the late 1530s or early 1540s for Pier Luigi Farnese, duke of Castro, which was woven in the Netherlands (see fig. 120).[62] The *Lamentation* composition was well received, and its success led to the granting of two additional commissions to Salviati for religious subjects, the first an *Ecce Homo,* and the second a *Resurrection* (fig. 218). The *Ecce Homo* is cited in a 1553 list of tapestries woven in the Rost and Karcher workshops and intended for use in the chapels in Cosimo's country villas.[63] The first weaving of this design was considered to be badly executed, and Karcher was therefore required to produce a second version. The *Resurrection* was carried out about the same time as the *Ecce Homo*. Made for Benedetto Accolti, cardinal of Ravenna, who had been appointed as the imperial legate to the Florentine court in 1544 or 1545, the tapestry was inherited by Cosimo in 1549. All three of these designs, like Salviati's paintings of the period, combine areas of intense naturalism and detailed observation with passages of strident artificiality, with a focus on surface decoration, in compositions notable for their bright color and elegant line. In its emphasis on sinuous line and surface pattern, Salviati's production reflects the influence of Giulio, whose work he would have seen during his visit to Mantua in 1541, an influence which is also apparent in the frescoes Salviati executed in Cosimo's Sala dell'Udienza.

Cosimo did not establish contracts with Rost and Karcher until October 20, 1546, when three-year agreements were finalized. As Adelson has demonstrated, they did not provide for a single ducal atelier but rather placed Rost and Karcher in charge of separate, rival workshops.[64] The duke agreed to pay each weaver a yearly stipend of 600 scudi; to pay for the materials of the tapestries woven for him and the wages of the weavers engaged in their production; to provide working quarters; to pay for the construction of twenty-four looms—a large number by contemporary Italian standards—for each manufactory; and to pay for the tapestries at a predetermined rate based on the quality of the materials and fineness of the weave. While Cosimo guaranteed to provide commissions to keep between four and six of the looms in each establishment working, in order to encourage a native industry he stipulated that the weavers were to take on freelance commissions to keep twelve looms in operation at any one time and that they were to train local youths who wished to learn their craft. The goal of stimulating a native industry is specifically articulated in Rost's renewal contract, which was drawn up in 1549. (This intention, as well as the notion that the quality of the local artists made Florence an ideal location for such manufacturing, was repeated by Vasari in his life of Salviati and his *Ragionamenti*.) According to both the initial and renewal contracts agreed to by Rost and Karcher, the two master weavers were to adhere to the same statutes as those issued by Charles V for the Netherlandish tapestry industry in May 1544. Although the first tapestries they produced carried their names written out in full, from 1546 their weavings bore a device composed of two F's (for *Factum Florentiae*) on either side of a crowned lily (the symbol of Florence), thus following the Brussels model of utilizing a town mark.

Much of the effort of the two workshops during the period of their first three-year contracts was devoted to the *Story of Joseph*, after cartoons by Bronzino, Jacopo da Pontormo, and Salviati, and the *Grotesque Spalliere*, from cartoons by Francesco Ubertini, il Bachiacca. (Rost's and Karcher's successful completion of the trial pieces they had been assigned must have led Cosimo to entrust them with these more ambitious projects.) It appears that these were two of the commissions discussed in the course of Cosimo's meeting with Rost and Bronzino in August 1545. We can assume this because soon after the meeting Riccio, Cosimo's majordomo, was ordered to take the measurements of two rooms, one of which would subsequently house the *Joseph* panels. Moreover, we know that Bronzino and Pontormo were working on cartoons for the series by November 1545, while Bachiacca negotiated his salary for the cartoons of the *Grotesque Spalliere* in October of that year.

Rost must have started on the first two narrow panels of the *Joseph* group shortly after the meeting of August 1545 because two pieces were nearing completion when he signed his contract with Cosimo in October 1546. Intended as an all-surrounding decoration for the Sala dei Duecento, also called the Sala del Consiglio, this set is one of the most outstanding achievements of sixteenth-century tapestry weaving. All twenty pieces survive (ten with the Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di

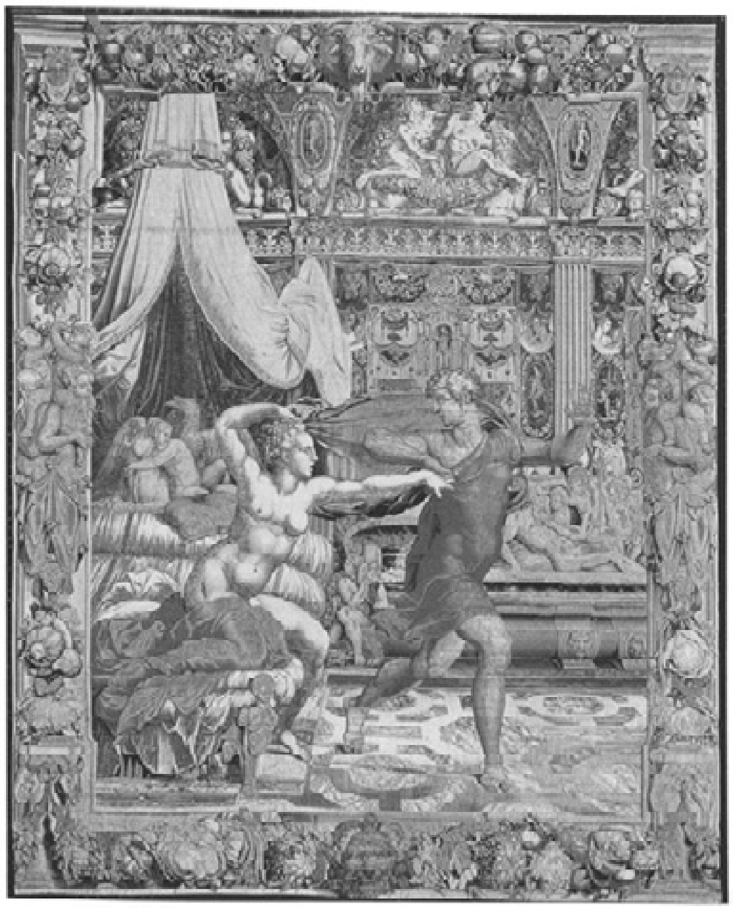


Fig. 219. *Joseph Flees from Potiphar's Wife* from the *Story of Joseph*. Tapestry designed by Bronzino and collaborators, woven in the workshop of Nicolas Karcher, Florence, ca. 1548–49. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 570 x 457 cm. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

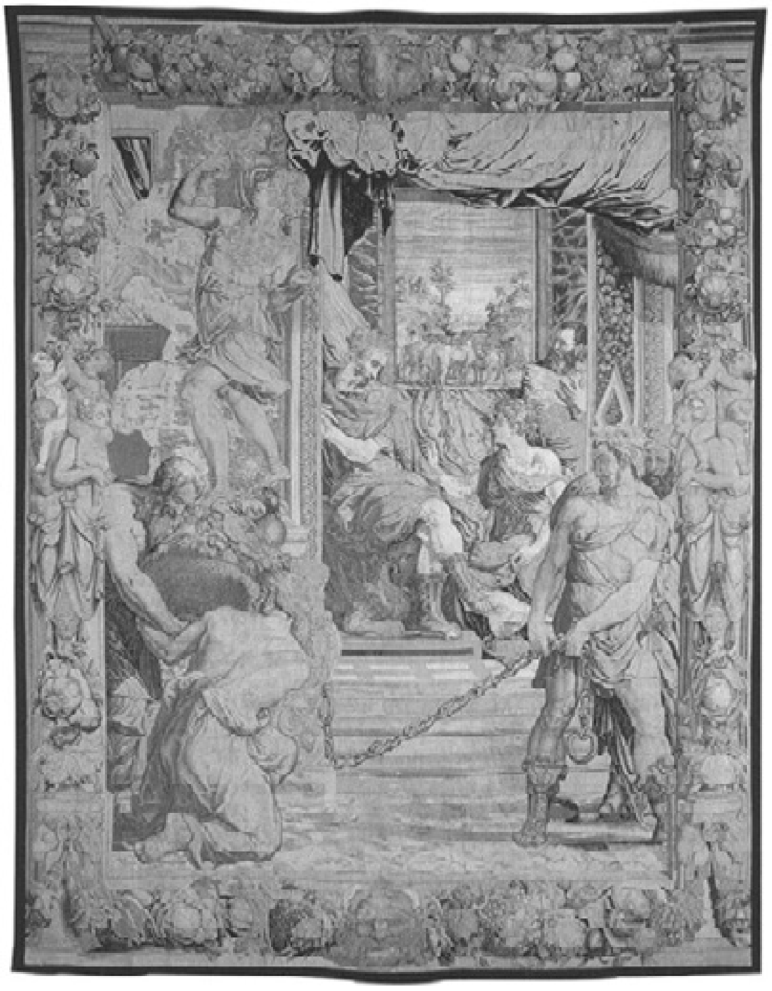


Fig. 220. *Joseph Interprets Pharaoh's Dream* from the *Story of Joseph*. Tapestry designed by Salviati, woven in the workshop of Nicolas Karcher, Florence, ca. 1547–48. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 570 x 446 cm. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

Firenze [see figs. 219, 220] and ten in the Palazzo del Quirinale in Rome).[65] The theme, inspired by Philo Judaeus's first-century A.D. celebration of Joseph as the ideal statesman, was already familiar to Florentines from its treatment in Medici panegyric. It offers a complex allegory of Cosimo's origins, virtues, and intentions in the context of a story that deals with divine providence, reconciliation and renewal. Joseph's sale by his jealous brothers and his subsequent triumphal return to his homeland provided a resonant metaphor for the Medici's expulsion from Florence and their eventual return to the city. Moreover, Joseph was especially meaningful as a symbol for Cosimo in terms of his status as a junior member of his family and as the savior of his people after the excesses of his uncle Alessandro.

As Bronzino was at Poggio a Caiano when the subject and location of this commission were established, it seems likely that he played a major part in determining the form and composition of the series, albeit within the framework of a program devised by court humanists. Three of the cartoons were executed by Pontormo, but according to Vasari these were not well received, which is no doubt the reason he was not entrusted with more designs.[66] Sixteen cartoons were executed by Bronzino, who from the summer of 1548 received assistance in carrying out the main fields from Raffaellino dal Colle (with whom he had worked at the Villa Imperiale in Pesaro in the 1530s) and from Lorenzo di Bastiano Zucchetti and Alessandro Allori in producing the borders. Although Bronzino seems to have enjoyed a virtual monopoly on the design of the series, the cartoon for *Joseph Interprets Pharaoh's Dream* was prepared by Salviati. Vasari relates that Salviati was given this assignment because Cosimo was so impressed by the designs the artist had prepared for a set of *Tarquin and Lucretia* for Cristofano Rinieri.[67] Vasari himself was evidently highly impressed by Salviati's *Joseph* composition, and it was of this that he wrote the flattering description of Salviati's skill as a tapestry designer quoted above (pp. 9–10).[68] Not only the competitive atmosphere in the Florentine workshops but also a debate that was raging at the Accademia del Disegno must have inspired Salviati to conceive a virtuoso design. This debate, the *Paragone,* initiated by Benedetto Varchi in March 1547, concerned the question of whether painting or sculpture was the superior art form. As Adelson has noted, Salviati's inclusion of a dazzling interpretation of the famous Roman Dioscuri in his cartoon was evidently his answer in favor of painting.[69] On the strength of the *Joseph* design, Salviati would presumably have been offered additional ducal tapestry commissions had he stayed in Florence. He departed for Rome in September 1548, however, and his brilliant but brief collaboration with the early Medici workshops came to an end.

Six pieces of the *Joseph* set had been completed by autumn 1548, when they were among the trappings that accompanied Cosimo's son Francesco to Genoa, where he met Prince Philip of Spain, himself a noted tapestry collector.[70]

Whereas the *Story of Joseph* set was intended for the Sala dei Duecento, the *Grotesque Spalliere* (see fig. 221) were destined for the Sala dell'Udienza. Bachiacca negotiated his salary for executing the cartoons for this ten-piece ensemble in October 1545, and the weavings were completed by 1553.[71] The panels (now dispersed between the Italian Embassy, London, and the Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Firenze) were designed to relate specifically to the context in which they were displayed: they fit exactly into the dado space beneath frescoes painted by Salviati. In place, they covered the frescoes that Salviati had executed in the dado, but they were not ordered to replace them. Rather they were alternative decorations for special occasions. Adelson has suggested that the scheme of the ensemble may have been devised by Salviati himself, who, during a sojourn in Rome in the early

1540s, would have seen Leo X's *Giochi di putti* and *Grotesque* sets, similar tapestries similarly combined with frescoes.[72] Whether or not they were influenced by these models, the *Grotesque Spalliere* as a group provide an extraordinary wealth of ornament and detail, a dazzling display of Cosimo's magnificent style and eclectic taste.

Adelson has shown that Karcher's workshop was smaller than Rost's, although the initial contracts with the weavers indicate that they were to be the same size. Rost's renewal contract specifies that in September 1549, when it was signed he had twenty-four looms and that he could expand his establishment as he wished. He was also allowed to build a wardrobe in the garden for the storage of materials and a workshop in which wool and silk could be dyed. The growth and success of his manufactory are indicated by a census taken in 1552, at which time he had eighty-three weavers working under his direction.[73] Karcher's renewal contract, drawn up on November 17, 1550, mentions twelve looms in operation and promises to add six more. The clear distinction that had developed between the workshops in the early years of production is reflected as well in the fact that Rost's contract was renewed for ten years, while Karcher's was renewed for only three, apparently the time required for the completion of the projects that were already under way.[74] Not all the reasons for this distinction are known, but documents reveal that Karcher was less reliable than Rost and that he was beset by financial difficulties.[75]

According to a list of tapestries updated on February 6, 1550, Rost and Karcher had delivered seventy-three tapestries by this time, of which forty-nine pieces (including thirty-five sumpter covers) had been delivered by Rost and twenty-four (seventeen of them covers) by Karcher. Among these were at least seven of the *Joseph* tapestries and six of the Bachiacca *Grotesque Spalliere.* The list also cites an armorial portiere with the Medici-Toledo arms from designs by Benedetto Pagni da Pescia, that had been executed in the workshop of the first independent Florentine weaver, Francesco di Pacino.[76] The chronology of production by the Rost and Karcher workshops during the following three years is difficult to establish. Twenty-three tapestries were delivered in this period, including additions made by Karcher to the Netherlandish *Tobias* set Cosimo had purchased from Margaret in 1539, a second armorial portiere—this one begun by Pacino but completed by Karcher—at least nine *Joseph* tapestries, and another four of the Bachiacca *Grotesque Spalliere.*[77] Rost's and Karcher's workshops wove some of the hangings in a four-piece set of the *Months* from cartoons by Bachiacca during these years (see fig. 222).[78] The variations in the lengths of the *Months* panels clearly indicates that this

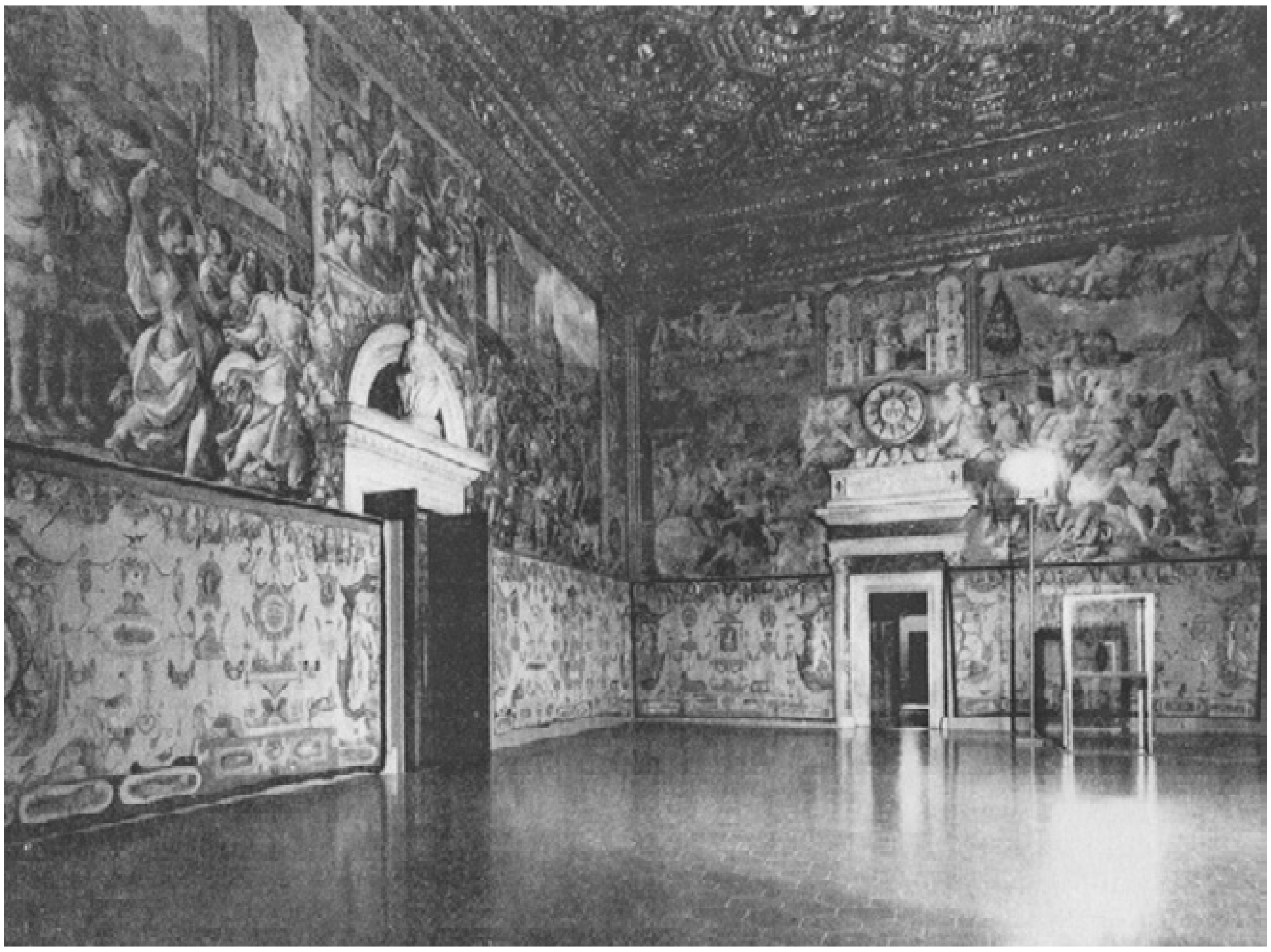


Fig. 221. View of the *Grotesque Spalliere* as hung in 1980 in the Sala dell'Udienza, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

set was envisioned for a specific location, but what the site may have been is not known. The tapestries are extremely finely woven. Indeed, in 1558, when Pope Paul IV was considering the establishment of a workshop in Rome, one of the *Months* was sent to him—along with *Justice Liberating Innocence*—as a sample of Rost's work. Moreover, Vasari singled the set out for special praise in his discussion of Bachiacca.[79] Unfortunately, the *Months* are extraordinarily fragile because they were woven with a silk warp and a silk weft, and large sections of the weft have been lost. Representing genre scenes, many derived from Northern print sources, shown within fictive textile hangings, this was the only set made for Cosimo in the early years of Florentine production that displays no overt references to the Medici. Equally, the peace and harmony evoked by their pastoral themes can be interpreted as a flattering reflection on Cosimo's reign.

During this period Rost also undertook a substantial number of contracts for patrons other than Cosimo. Some of these, such as a seven-piece set of *Grotesques* woven 1549–50 as a gift for Bishop Paolo Giovio,[80] may have been produced at Cosimo's behest, and others seem to have been made as freelance exercises. Among the latter was the set depicting *Tarquin and Lucretia* executed for the Florentine merchant Cristofano Rinieri, whose family provided Rost with financial backing. Other tapestries were produced for the Salviati family, to which Cosimo was related through his mother. These included a *Meeting of Dante and Virgil* (Minneapolis Institute of Arts) from a design carried out by Salviati, possibly with the assistance of the Netherlandish artist Jan van der Straet, known as Stradanus;[81] and a nine-piece set on the *Seasons and Ages of Man*, lost but known from drawings (Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi, Florence; Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Nationalmuseet, Stockholm) and seventeenth-century copies.[82] Rost also received a commission, in 1550, for a four-piece set treating the *Story of Saint Mark* for the choir of San Marco, Venice (Museo Marciano), from designs by Jacopo Sansovino, which was followed by an order for a *paliotto* depicting *Saint Mark, Antonio Grimani, and Three Virtues*.[83] In 1552 he even made a set of tapestries of unknown subject for Cosimo's rival Ercole II d'Este. As this list of works and patrons demonstrates, Rost was clearly fulfilling Cosimo's dream of creating a commercially viable tapestry manufactory in Florence.

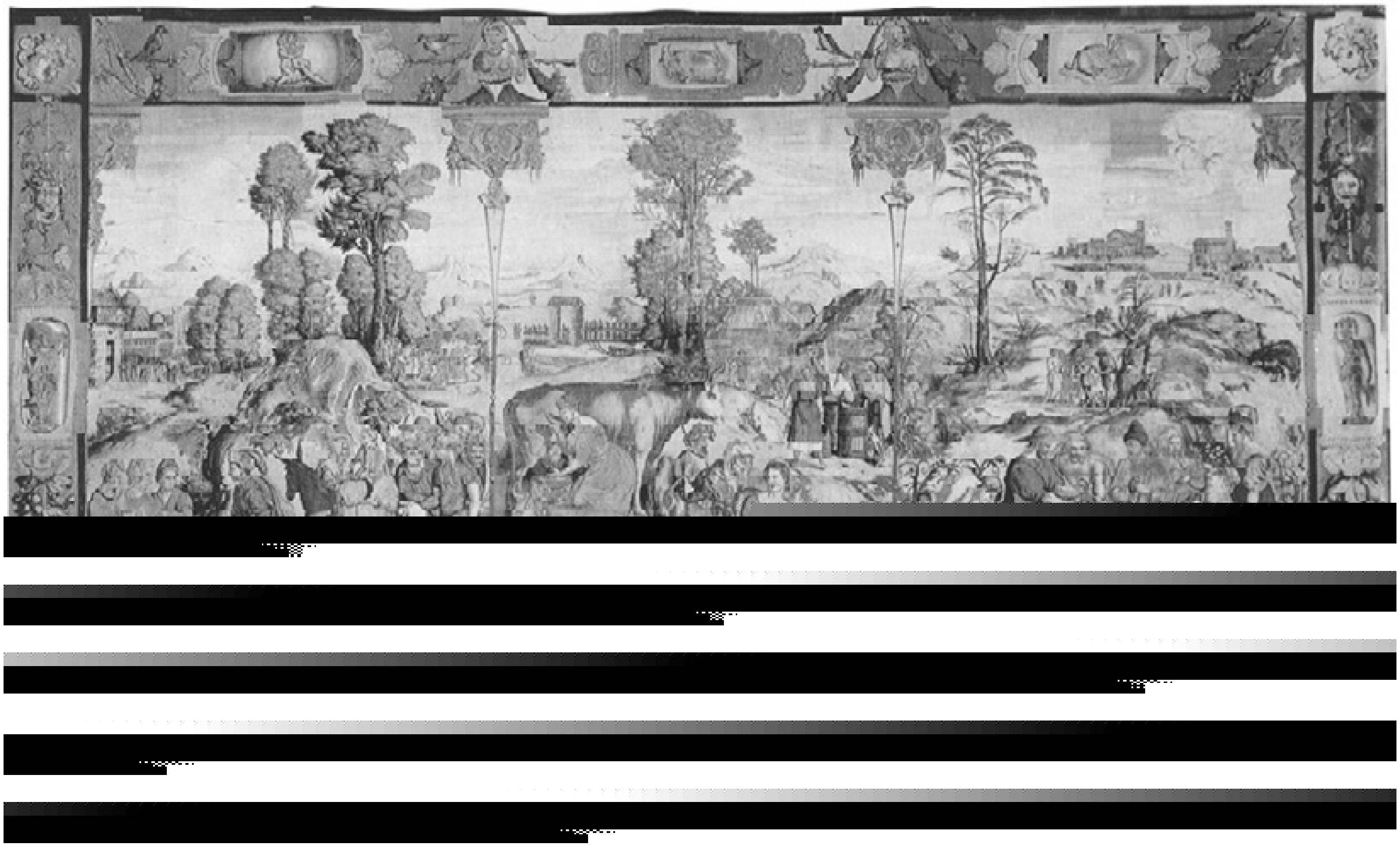


Fig. 222. *March, April, and May* from the *Months*. Tapestry designed by Bachiacca, woven in the workshop of Nicolas Karcher, Florence, ca. 1550–53. Silk and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 261 x 439 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

worked with the master's drawings. Evidently equipped with an understanding of the needs of the weavers from his training in Antwerp, Stradanus rapidly became the principal cartoonist to the ducal workshops, providing them with about twelve sets of cartoons comprising some thirty-four different designs in the following decade or so.[94]

Like the *Moses* and *Furius Camillus* frescoes executed by Bronzino and Salviati during the 1540s, the tapestries and painted decoration of the Quartiere degli Elementi constituted an encomium for Cosimo and the Medici. Much of the iconography is so complex that Vasari felt compelled to provide a written explanation of it. This text, the *Ragionamenti* of 1558, takes the form of a dialogue between the artist and Prince Francesco, Cosimo's son, and treats in detail the resonant parallels between the mythological scenes of the decorations and the achievements and virtues of Cosimo and his ancestors.[95] It should be noted that the *Ragionamenti* does not describe the scheme of the Quartiere degli Elementi as it was realized but rather the ideal cycle envisioned by Vasari, which was never fully accomplished.[96]

Vasari's treatment of tapestries, frescoes, and friezes in the Quartiere degli Elementi as an iconographically and formally unified whole may have been inspired in part by Italian precedents. It is possible that a model was provided by Perino del Vaga's work for Andrea I Doria in Genoa, where the iconography of the tapestries was coordinated with that of the fresco decorations. Another source may have been the decorations in some of the rooms of Ercole d'Este's court at Ferrara, where records reveal that some frescoes and friezes were not painted until certain tapestries were delivered—presumably so they could be brought into harmony.[97] Although we do not know if Vasari looked to these sources, or whether his approach was innovative, we can state with certainty that the scale on which he conceived the coherent, all-surrounding scheme of the Quartiere degli Elementi was entirely unprecedented.

In 1559 Cosimo instructed Vasari to turn his attention to the decorations of the Quartiere di Eleonora. It was probably for a dining room adjacent to this suite that Stradanus carried out cartoons in 1559 for a fourteen-piece set showing the *Life of Man* (completed 1565), of which four panels survive (Deposito del Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa; Victoria and Albert Museum; Mobilier National, Paris; Musée National de la Renaissance, Ecouen). In addition, for the suite itself, Stradanus provided cartoons for a six-piece set of the *Roman Women* (woven in 1562–64), a four-piece set of the *Story of Esther and Ahasuerus* (woven in 1562–64) for the room of this name, and a six-piece set of the *Story of Ulysses* (woven 1563–65) for the Sala di Penelope.[98] The central painting in the ceiling of this last room, executed by Stradanus, depicts Penelope at her loom and presents a detailed, if stylized, vision of a contemporary tapestry atelier, albeit with women workers rather than men.[99] Stradanus was also responsible for the decorations of the Quartiere di Cosimo, reconstructed between 1559 and 1562: for these he provided designs for a six-piece set of the *Story of David* (for the entrance hall; woven 1561–62), of which one piece and a fragment survive (Palazzo Pitti, Florence); a four-piece set of the *Story of Solomon* (woven 1564–65); two sets of the *Story of Cyrus* with a total of thirteen pieces (woven 1565–67); and two more sets of the *Story of David* (woven 1567–68). The iconography of these groups was appropriate for Francesco, who probably occupied the Quartiere di Cosimo from 1564, when he was appointed regent.[100]

The redecoration of the Quartiere di Leone X, begun in spring 1555, at the same time as the refurbishing of the Quartiere degli Elementi was undertaken, did not include tapestries in the original scheme devised by Vasari, the walls being covered instead with frescoes. However, after the suite was assigned to Cardinal Fernando during the 1560s, numerous tapestries were supplied for these rooms: Stradanus provided designs for a sequence of sets on the theme of the history of the House of Medici (woven between 1569 and 1574). These depicted the *Story of Cosimo il Vecchio*, the *Story of Lorenzo de' Medici*, the *Story of Clement VII*, of which various pieces survive (Palazzo Pitti), the *Story of Giovanni delle Bande Nere*, and the *Story of the Sienese Wars*.[101]

Between 1561 and 1577 Stradanus also executed designs for forty-four *Hunting Scenes* tapestries for more than twenty rooms at the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano. Many of the subjects, which were chosen by Vasari and Borghini, were inspired by classical and medieval hunting treatises, such as Gaston Phébus's *Livre de la chasse* and Domenico Boccamazza's *Trattato della caccia*.[102] The designs were published in engraved form by Philips Galle and other Netherlandish artists, along with an additional sixty-one *Hunting Scenes* that Stradanus executed specifically for reproduction as prints.[103] During the same period the Florentine workshops produced numerous carriage covers and, from 1566, commissions for private individuals.[104]

The extremely intense activity of the mid- to late 1550s and 1560s detailed here equipped the Palazzo Vecchio with suite after suite of brightly colored hangings. While the quality of the tapestries made during this period was not as high as that of the sets of the late 1540s and early 1550s, the effect of the late ensembles, in conjunction with the palace's painted ceilings and friezes, must have been overpowering, an extraordinary display of wealth and magnificence. Several of the latter series were transferred to the Palazzo Pitti after the move of Cosimo's private apartments there in the later 1550s.[105]

Following the deaths of Cosimo and Vasari, in 1574, the high production rate of the Florentine workshops waned, but these manufactories continued to carry out tapestries for Francesco, now the grand duke, and for independent patrons, largely from cartoons by Bronzino's pupil, Allori, who took over as chief cartoonist following the departure of Stradanus in 1576. Indeed, the Florentine workshops continued to function until 1745.

1. Forti Grazzini lecture at Mechelen conference, October 12, 2000. See Forti Grazzini 2002, which promises a full bibliography on Italian tapestry production in this era.
2. In writing this text I have depended heavily on studies of the Ferrarese, Florentine, and Mantuan manufactories by Forti Grazzini, Adelson, Meoni, Brown, and Delmarcel. The reader is referred to their excellent publications, cited here and in the bibliography, for more detailed appraisals.
3. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 56.
4. Ibid., pp. 60–80; Forti Grazzini 1990b (with bibliog.). For subsequent bibliography, see Adelson in Grove 1996, vol. 11, p. 5.
5. Orth 1983; Joubert 1987a, pp. 127–33.
6. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 82.
7. Adelson in Grove 1996, vol. 17, p. 812.
8. Meoni 1998, pp. 36, 58, nn. 8–11.
9. C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 89.
10. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 61.
11. Humfrey in Grove 1996, vol. 9, pp. 183–87.
12. Forti Grazzini 1990b.
13. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 89, n. 64; C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 84, doc. 6 (with an apparent confusion between Alfonso d'Este, who had died in 1534, and Ercole d'Este).
14. Forti Grazzini 1990b, p. 13.
15. Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 63–64; Cohen 1996, pp. 439–41, 736–37.
16. Delmarcel 1997.
17. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 64.
18. Forti Grazzini 1990b, pp. 13–19.
19. Having been removed to the Este palace in Modena in the 17th century, these four were sold at auction in Paris in 1875. Two of the four were acquired in 1878 by the Manufacture Nationale des Gobelins, subsequently the Musée des Gobelins, Paris, passing in 1946 to the Louvre. A third, formerly in the Briges collection, is now said to be in a private Ferrarese collection, while fragments of the fourth have appeared recently on the art market; Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 65.
20. Gibbons 1966; Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 65–66.
21. Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 68.
22. Ibid.
23. According to Giambattista Giraldi's *Commentario delle cose di Ferrara, et de' principi da Este* (1597), the fortifications shown in the *Città* represented a monument to Ercole's "prudentia" (wisdom). Forti Grazzini 1982b, p. 69.
24. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
25. Ibid., pp. 71–72.
26. Ibid., p. 72.
27. Ibid., pp. 72–75.
28. Ibid., pp. 73–75.
29. Ibid., pp. 81, 83–84; Como 1986, pp. 43–47, 57–60.
30. Documentation on weaving activity in Mantua was first brought to light by Braghirolli (1881). Much new material, along with detailed analysis, appears in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996.
31. Adelson 1990, p. 487, doc. 4.
32. Ibid., pp. 494–95, docs. 6, 7; C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 86–89, doc. 9.
33. C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 90–94, docs. 12, 13.
34. Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988, p. 111; Forti Grazzini 1989, pp. 474–77; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 175–83; Delmarcel 1997, pp. 387–89.
35. Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 176.
36. C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 87.
37. Delmarcel in ibid., pp. 175–79.
38. Forti Grazzini 1989, pp. 474–75; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 179.
39. C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 95, doc. 17.
40. Adelson 1990, p. 526, doc. 57, believes the trip took place in 1546, as opposed to C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 98, doc. 23, who maintain that it occurred in 1548.
41. Meoni 1998, p. 56.
42. C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 101 doc. 27, 103 doc. 30.
43. Delmarcel in ibid., pp. 206–13, no. 7.
44. Ibid., p. 212.
45. Ibid., p. 211.
46. For detailed analysis of the borders, see ibid., pp. 210–11.
47. Ibid., pp. 206–7.
48. Adelson 1992, pp. 193–94; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 207–8.
49. Numerous documents relating to the production and use of tapestries in Florence survive in the Medici archives. On the basis of these records Adelson established a detailed history of the early years of production in a series of essays (1980, 1983, 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c), and in her Ph.D. dissertation (1990). Her groundbreaking work has recently been supplemented by the first of Meoni's catalogues of the tapestry collections in Florentine museums (1998). For ease of reference I here limit my footnotes to Adelson's thesis and Meoni's catalogue, both of which provide extensive guidance to the previous literature.
50. Adelson 1990, pp. 19–20.
51. Ibid., pp. 501–2, doc. 18, 503 doc. 200.
52. "[T]ale arte sarebe di grandissimo momento per chotesta città perchè vi si dilaterebe in modo che vi sarebe perpetua"; Adelson 1990, pp. 23–24, 498–99, doc. 16; Meoni 1998, p. 36.
53. "[I]o tengo certissimo in breve tempo tale arte habia piu a fiorire chosti che in luogo dove la sia"; "ricordando a sua excellentia che in bersellj [Brussels] sono circha quindicimila hominj che lavorono di questo exercitio che per cotesta citta [Florence] capacissima di begli ingegni potria molto bene che in breve tempo la si dilatasse tanto che roma e tutto il regno di napoli si fornirebono di chosti perche non chosterano piu di quelle di fiandra ma sarano di tanta piu perfezione di disegni che ogni homo le piglera piu volentieri"; Adelson 1990, pp. 24–25, 499–501, doc. 17.
54. "[I]n breve tempo ci si habbi à lavorare di tal sorte che non sarà più necessario alli sudditi di questo stato et alli circumvicini ancora di venir'si a fornisi in Fiandra di Tapezzerie"; ibid., pp. 21–23, 509, doc. 26; Meoni 1998, p. 36.

55. Adelson 1990, p. 83; Meoni 1998, p. 36.
56. Adelson 1990, pp. 41–42; Meoni 1998, pp. 35–36.
57. Meoni 1998, p. 39.
58. "[I]l maestro medesimo non ne resta molto sodisfacto, promettendo di migliorar"; Adelson 1990, pp. 88–102, 517, doc. 40; Meoni 1998, pp. 158–61.
59. Adelson 1990, pp. 45, 349–52; Meoni 1998, pp. 162–67.
60. Adelson 1990, pp. 51–52, 131–37, 355–56; Meoni 1998, pp. 148–51.
61. For discussion of Salviati's tapestry designs in the context of the rest of his work, see Rome and Paris 1998, passim, esp. Adelson's contribution, pp. 284–305.
62. Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, nos. 113–15; Forti Grazzini 2002.
63. Adelson 1990, pp. 131–39, 357–61; Meoni 1998, pp. 152–54, 156–57.
64. Adelson 1990, pp. 56–65; Meoni 1998, pp. 38–39.
65. Adelson 1990, passim, esp. pp. 149–87, 363–90; Forti Grazzini 1994, pp. 16–48; Meoni 1998, pp. 124–41.
66. Adelson 1990, pp. 149–87.
67. Two preliminary sketches for the *Tarquin and Lucretia* series survive (Louvre, Paris; Nationalmuseet, Stockholm); Meoni 1998, pp. 46–47; Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, p. 298.
68. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 7, p. 28.
69. Adelson 1990, pp. 179–80.
70. Meoni 1998, p. 44.
71. Adelson 1990, pp. 205–62; Meoni 1998, pp. 172–85.
72. Adelson 1990, pp. 258–59.
73. Ibid., pp. 80–81; Meoni 1998, p. 41.
74. Adelson 1990, pp. 76–77; Meoni 1998, p. 56.
75. Meoni 1998, p. 56.
76. Adelson 1990, pp. 120–30; Meoni 1998, pp. 44, 168–69.
77. Adelson 1990, pp. 77–80; Meoni 1998, pp. 43–44.
78. Adelson 1990, pp. 78–79, 263–79; Meoni 1998, pp. 142–47.
79. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, pp. 454–56.
80. Adelson 1990, pp. 420–22, 428–29, 437–44, 456–59; Meoni 1998, pp. 45, 46.
81. Meoni 1998, pp. 47, 52.
82. Ibid., pp. 48–54, 60, n. 88; Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, pp. 300–305, nn. 121–24.
83. Meoni 1998, p. 54.
84. Adelson 1990, pp. 30–31.
85. Meoni 1998, p. 44.
86. Adelson 1990, pp. 84–87; Meoni 1998, pp. 63–65.
87. Adelson 1990, pp. 332–36; Meoni 1998, pp. 65–66.
88. Adelson 1990, pp. 342–43; Meoni 1998, pp. 63, 67, 86, n. 32.
89. Meoni 1998, p. 67.
90. Ibid., pp. 68, 192–95.
91. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 7, pp. 617–18. For discussion of Stradanus's tapestry designs in the context of his oeuvre, see Baroni Vannucci 1997, passim, esp. pp. 24–29, 333–52.
92. Baroni Vannucci 1997, p. 343.
93. Birke and Kertész 1994, no. 2018; McCullagh and Giles 1997, no. 684; Christie's, London, September 30, 1999, no. 190.
94. Baroni Vannucci 1997, passim, esp. pp. 28–29.
95. Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 8, pp. 1–225.
96. Adelson 1985b, pp. 166–67, n. 76.
97. Ibid., pp. 170–71, nn. 90, 91.
98. Meoni 1998, pp. 68, 87, n. 49.
99. Baroni Vannucci 1997, pp. 92–93.
100. Meoni 1998, p. 68.
101. Ibid., pp. 232–47, nos. 59–68.
102. Ibid., pp. 77–78.
103. Baroni Vannucci 1997, pp. 29, 244–57, 307–28, 371–88.
104. Meoni 1998, pp. 74–76.
105. Ibid., p. 73.

57.

Venus, a Satyr, and Playing Putti

Modello for a tapestry from the *Puttini*
Giulio Romano, 1539
Pen, brown ink, and brown wash on white paper
35.3 x 37.8 cm (13⅞ x 14⅞ in.)
The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees (107)

PROVENANCE: Possibly in the Nicolas Lanière collection; acquired by Sir Peter Lely; acquired by William, second duke of Devonshire; passed to the heirs of the duke of Devonshire.

REFERENCES: Waagen 1854, vol. 3, p. 355; Hartt 1958, vol. 1, pp. 159–60, 300, no. 217, vol. 2, fig. 354; Panofsky 1969, p. 98, fig. 112; Washington and other cities 1969, no. 37; Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 475; Prohaska 1989, pp. 295, 296; Forti Grazzini 1990b, p. 12; Jaffé 1994, p. 106, no. 217; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 174–75, 181, fig. 71.

58.

The Barque of Venus-Fortune

From a fourteen-piece set of the *Puttini*
Design by Giulio Romano, ca. 1540
Woven in the workshop of Nicolas Karcher, Mantua, ca. 1540–45
Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
369 x 424 cm (12 ft. 1¼ in. x 13 ft. 11 in.)
Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon (29a)

PROVENANCE: Ca. 1540–45, made for Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga; 1549, may have been among the sets "woven with gold, silver and silk of many colors" that Ercole hung at the Episcopal Palace, Mantua, for the wedding feast of Francesco III Gonzaga; after 1558, probably used as decoration in the Sala Grande of the cardinal's palace, Rome; 1563, recorded in the inventory of Ercole's goods taken after his death; 1563, inherited by Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga; 1574, exhibited by Guglielmo in the Camerone dei Capitani for the visit of Henry III; 1580, hung in private rooms, called Camera dell'Aquila, in the Corte Vecchia; 1584, hung again in the Camerone dei Capitani for marriage of Vincenzo Gonzaga and Eleonora de' Medici; 1614, 1648, and 1668, recorded in Mantuan court inventories; before 1709, moved to Venice by Ferdinand Carlo Gonzaga; 1709, recorded in an inventory of Ferdinand Carlo's goods taken in Venice after his death; 1709, inherited by Leopold I of Lorraine and the set dispersed; 1878, this piece exhibited with three other tapestries and two vertical fragments at the Palais du Trocadero, Paris; Ephrussi collection; Worms collection; Cahen collection; 1920, purchased by Calouste Gulbenkian.

REFERENCES (for the *Puttini* set of tapestries): Darcel 1878, p. 1007; Müntz 1878–85, pp. 61–68; Galerie Georges Petit 1920, no. 43; Göbel 1928, p. 406; Kendrick 1930; Viale Ferrero 1961b, p. 21; Viale Ferrero 1963, p. 42; Nunes Riso Guerreiro 1966, pp. 8–11; Nunes Riso Guerreiro 1970, pp. 234–35; Jarry 1971; Wingfield Digby 1980, pp. 67–70, no. 66; Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 76–79, 92–93, pls. 100–134; Viale Ferrero 1982, pp. 133–34; Viale Ferrero 1984, pp. 18–19, no. 2; Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988, pp. 110–15; Forti Grazzini 1989, pp. 474–78 (with bibliog.); Pecorari 1989, pp. 418, 421, 424, n. 67; Prohaska 1989, pp. 296–99; Bauer in Vienna 1989, pp. 302–3; Forti Grazzini 1990b, pp. 10–12; Vinti 1995, pp. 42–43; C. M. Brown in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 32, 36, 38, 41; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 174–83, no. 4; Delmarcel 1997, pp. 387–89; Forti Grazzini 2000a, pp. 35–37, 43–44.

59.

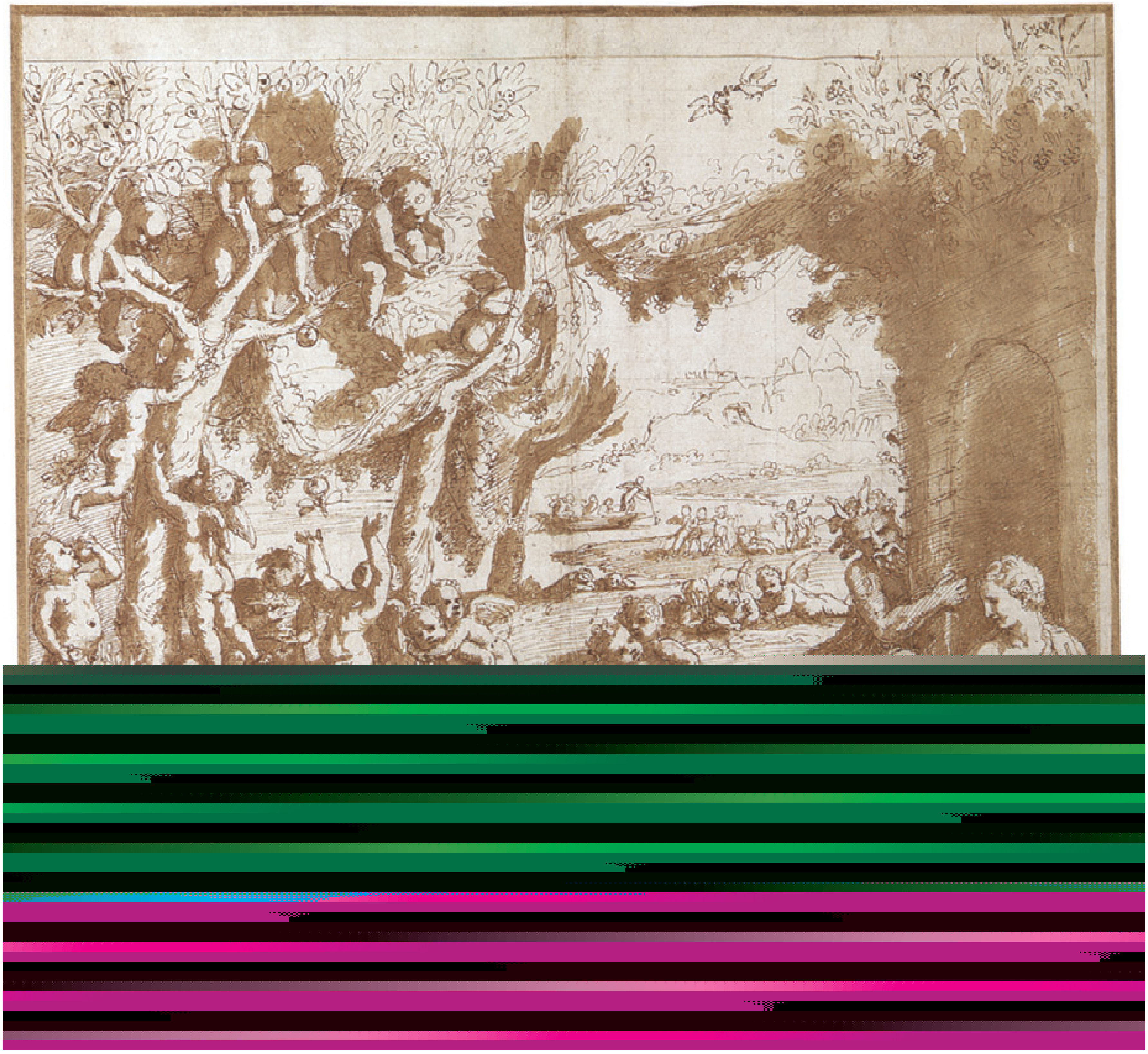
Fortune Leading the Chariot of State

Modello for a tapestry portiere
Giulio Romano, ca. 1540
Pen and brown ink and wash with traces of black chalk
42.2 x 28.3 cm (16⅝ x 11⅛ in.)
Teyler Museum, Haarlem (A* 64)

PROVENANCE: Probably collection of Joachim von Sandrart; 1645, probably acquired by Pieter Spiering van Silfvercroon; 1651, probably sold by Spiering to Queen Christina of Sweden; passed by bequest to Cardinal Decio Azzolino; passed by bequest to Marquis Pompeo Azzolino; 1692, sold by Azzolino to Don Livio Odescalchi; 1713, passed by bequest to Baldassare d'Erba Odescalchi; 1790, sold by Odescalchi to Willem Anne Lestevenon, representing the Teyler Foundation; collection of the Teyler Museum, Haarlem.

REFERENCES: Hartt 1958, vol. 1, pp. 253, 308, no. 363, vol. 2, fig. 521; van Regteren Altena 1966, p. 60; Ward-Jackson in London 1970, no. 81; Martineau in London 1981, p. 204, no. 204; Florence and Rome 1983, pp. 154–55, no. 66; Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988, pp. 112, 172, fig. 85.

This tapestry and the two drawings by Giulio Romano are from the set known as the *Puttini*, one of the most sumptuous and poetic groups of tapestries executed in Italy during the Renaissance. The fourteen-piece set took its subject from the *Imagines*, a classical Greek text by Philostratus, which described real or imaginary paintings of mythological scenes. The *Puttini* set was most likely woven in Mantua by Nicolas Karcher after cartoons by Giulio Romano for two members of the Gonzaga family. The first pieces were conceived and woven for Federico II Gonzaga, duke of Mantua (1500–1540); following his death, the set appears to have been continued, now in richer materials, for his brother Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (1505–1563). The tapestries for Ercole, which include the *Barque of Venus-Fortune*, were executed according to the finest standards of the day, with silver- and gold-metal-wrapped weft threads. They have no borders and bear Ercole's coat of arms at the center top of the scenes. The drawing from Chatsworth representing the goddess Venus, a spying satyr, and playing children is Giulio's *modello* for one of the tapestries in the original *Puttini* set. The drawing from the Teyler Museum depicting Fortune and the Gonzaga coat of arms, also a *modello* by Giulio for a tapestry, is connected stylistically with the *Puttini* set and may have been a design for one of the overdoors mentioned as part of Ercole's set in the 1563 inventory of his goods. Iconographically complex, combining political and religious symbolism, the tapestry set was intended to portray the rule of the Gonzaga family in Mantua as a golden age of earthly peace and prosperity, fortune and abundance, while also promoting Christian virtues and the church's mission to propagate the faith.

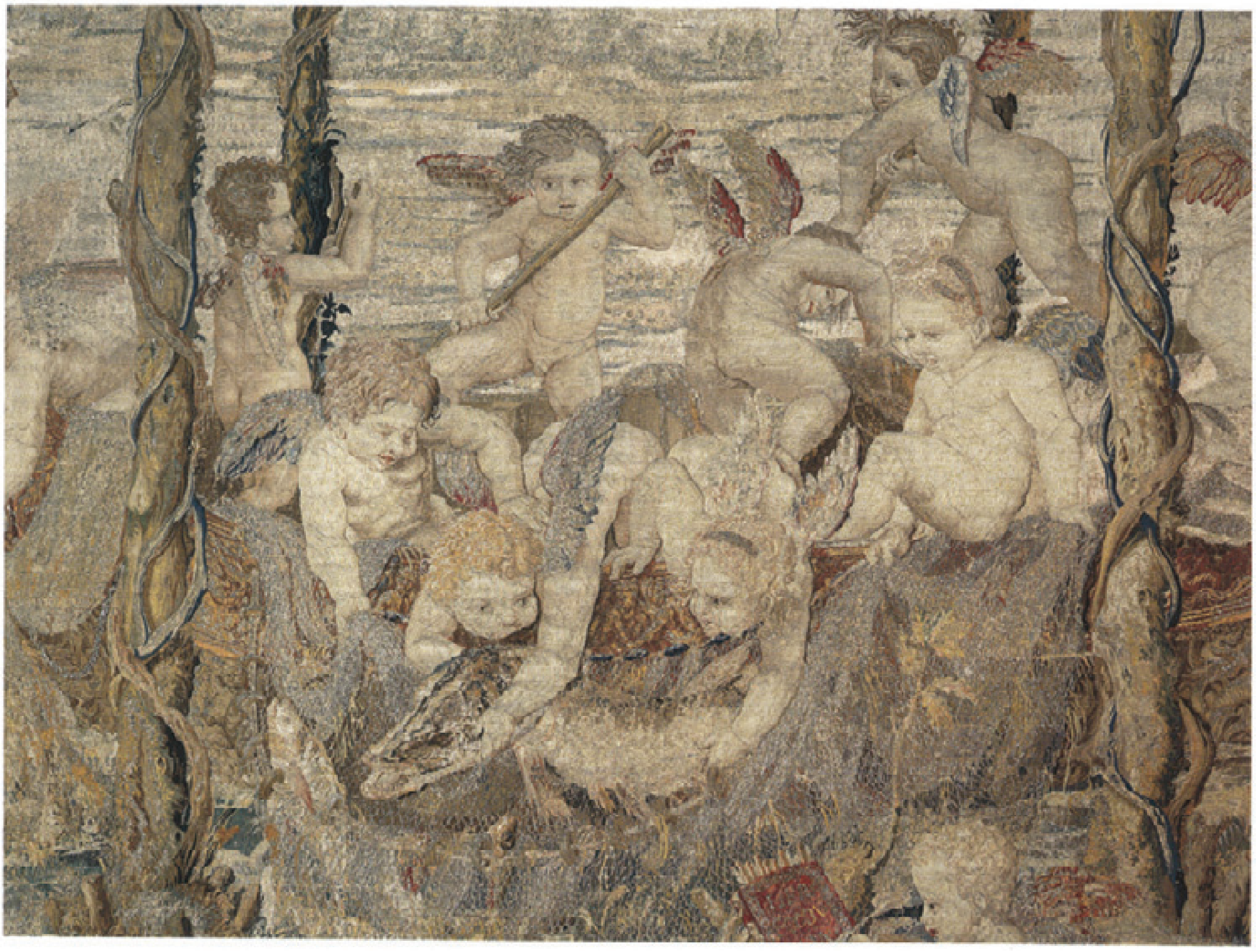


57

Description of the Drawing "Venus, a Satyr, and Playing Putti"

This drawing by Giulio Romano represents, at the far right, Venus Genetrix (Maternal Venus) as a personification of Charity. Seated before a grotto under a trellis of roses, she embraces a putto while two others cling to her body. From behind the grotto wall, a lascivious satyr spies on the innocent group. Under Venus's legs, water gushes from a dolphin's mouth to form the stream that flows across the foreground of the composition. At the left, winged putti play happily. Two catch a snake in the stream while others climb apple trees to pick the abundant fruit. In the background, more putti gambol and frolic as others fish from a boat. The expansive landscape of hills and trees stretches to a distant town, the buildings of which are sketchily represented.

A tapestry based on the present drawing was first published in 1989 (collection of



Detail of cat. no. 58

been rightly noted that the prominence given to the ship, the cranes, and the act of fishing links the *Barque* to the *Miraculous Draft of Fishes,* one of the tapestries from Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* set for the Sistine Chapel. Those cartoons were designed and painted in Rome in 1515–16 by the master and his workshop, of which Giulio Romano was a relevant member.[15] This may force us to envision the putti of the *Barque* as doubles of the apostles in the *Miraculous Draft,* and we can be certain that Giulio, while projecting his cartoon, had Raphael's image in mind and paid homage to it. It is probable that in both tapestries, the act of fishing carried the same metaphorical meaning: "fishing for souls," or the propagation of the Word of God and enlargement of the reign of the faith.

Workshop and Date

Neither the *Barque* nor any of the extant *Puttini* tapestries bears marks or signatures, nor is their production documented, but it is highly probable that they were woven by Nicolas Karcher during his first residence in Mantua (1539–45), not in Ferrara as was suggested in the past. Born in Brussels, Karcher was one of the most skilled tapestry weavers working in Italy during the sixteenth century. He was employed in Ferrara in 1536 by Duke Ercole II d'Este, together with his brother Jan Karcher and with Jan Rost. But three years later, he moved to Mantua, in the service of Duke Federico II Gonzaga.[16] He is first documented there on October 8, 1539, when he obtained tax exemptions for himself and for his eleven workers. The court would have given him models to be copied for the tapestries, and on November 14, 1539, he was already making the border of a ducal piece. On May 28, 1540, Nicolas was in Casale for family affairs, but surely his manufactory continued the work for the duke, who died on June 28, 1540.[17] Therefore, the first of the *Puttini* tapestries, the Zeri piece, showing

Detail of cat. no. 58

Federico II's *imprese,* must have been woven in Karcher's workshop between October 1539 and June 1540. Its *modello* in Chatsworth must be dated 1539, as also must be a fragment of the original cartoon by Giulio Romano conserved at the Louvre.[18] The drawing and cartoon offer conclusive evidence that Giulio, the first artist of the Mantuan court and a skilled tapestry cartoonist, had the commission to design the *Puttini.*

Patron

The *Puttini* set was begun by Nicolas Karcher for Federico II after Giulio's cartoons, without using metallic weft threads. If all three or four of Karcher's looms (for eleven workers) were devoted to the task at the same time, the workshop could have started weaving two or three other pieces before the death of the duke. Another *Puttini* tapestry of wool and silk, the *Stag,* with the image cut along the upper and lateral edges and inserted in a spurious Netherlandish border, is in London (Victoria and Albert Museum).[19] The scene is copied, with variations, from designs by Giulio Romano in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Nottingham Art Museum, and the Pouncey collection.[20] To the same designs is connected another wool-and-silk *Puttini* tapestry in the collection of the marquis of Northampton at Compton Wynyates, this one completed with a border (not the same as that on the Zeri piece) and bearing the Gonzaga arms.[21] The origin of these two tapestries is still to be clarified: the one in London is presumed to be a replica of a lost piece by Karcher after the original edition. But they (or at least the one in London) might well be other remnants from Karcher's first *Puttini* set for Federico II.

After the death of Duke Federico, his brother Cardinal Ercole, now regent of Mantua, evidently continued the production of the *Puttini* set, but with the addition of metallic weft threads. This followed the technical standards of the best tapestries made in Brussels, of which Ercole was a generous buyer. The four tapestries and three fragments in Lisbon and Milan result from this "second act" of the production of the *Puttini.* No designs or cartoons by Giulio for this second group survive, though the style, form, and brilliant inventions of the woven scenes determine that he was again the inventor, just as Nicolas Karcher, though unrecorded, was probably their weaver. But when, exactly, were these new tapestries woven? Archival records attest that on July 3, 1541, Ercole had a project under way for new tapestries to be made in Mantua. Nicolas Karcher worked continuously for him during the second half of 1541 and throughout 1542, although the finished pieces mentioned in the documents are only a "woven picture" of *Moses in the Desert* (January 24, 1542) and four portieres (January 28, 1542). After this, no other works by Karcher for Ercole are recorded before the weaver left Mantua for Florence in 1545, though the existence of good relations between the patron and the weaver is demonstrated by a small gift Karcher received from the regent in November 1544.[22] In 1545 the *Puttini* were surely finished, but it is possible that Ercole's tapestries were woven immediately after the first pieces made for Federico II, probably using cartoons already painted by Giulio Romano. It is thus conceivable that the set was completed as early as 1541–42.

Description of the Drawing "Fortune Leading the Chariot of State"

In this drawing by Giulio Romano, a personification of Fortune drives a chariot drawn by the four heraldic eagles of the Gonzaga family.[23] She holds a rudder and bears a scroll with the motto RENOVABITUR UT AQUILAE JUVENTUS ([T]hy youth is renewed like the eagle's), from Psalm 103. Above the chariot, protecting it, are Ercole's insignia, the Gonzaga coat of arms and a cardinal's hat, both carried by flying putti. The composition is framed by an arched trellis formed on both sides by trees interwoven with vines heavy with grapes. In the background is a wooded, hilly landscape, extending far into the distance. As Delmarcel and Brown have rightly surmised, the ambiguous politico-religious message evident in the *Barque* tapestry, with its image of Fortune steering the metaphorical Ship of Love under the protection of Ercole Gonzaga, is also evident in this composition. Here, too, the Gonzaga rule ushers in a golden age of fortune and plenty, which is "framed" by the Vintage of the Lord (and the Christian church). Stylistically, this drawing, together with a pendant preserved in New York which depicts the chariot driven not by Fortune but by a putto (fig. 224), appears to be connected with the *Puttini* tapestries.[24] The two designs have long been identified as *modelli* for tapestry cartoons. They might have served as models for a set of twelve lost tapestries called the *Spalliere della Fortuna,* owned by Ercole Gonzaga and made in the Netherlands after designs sent from Mantua;[25] or, alternatively, for the two woven overdoor pieces that, according to the inventory of Ercole's goods taken after his death in 1563, were included in the *Puttini* set.

NELLO FORTI GRAZZINI

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1. Forti Grazzini 1989, pp. 475–76; Forti Grazzini 1990b, p. 12; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 174–75, 181, fig. 72; Forti Grazzini 2000a, p. 43.
2. For detailed reproductions of these tapestries, see Forti Grazzini 1982b, pp. 162–88; the best analyses of the pieces are in Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988 and Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 174–83, no. 4.
3. See Viale Ferrero 1984, pp. 17–18, no. 2, pls. 9–12, and Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 174, fig. 79.
4. Wethey 1975, pp. 146–48, no. 13.
5. Quednau in Vatican City 1984, pp. 357–58, no. 135; Cordellier and Py 1992, pp. 334–36.
6. Forti Grazzini 1990a, p. 57 (with bibliog.); Chambonas 1995; T. Campbell 1996e; Gnann in Mantua and Vienna 1999, pp. 238–39, nos. 165, 166.
7. Gentili 1980, pp. 65–71, figs. 44, 45.
8. Ekserdjian 1997, pp. 268–74, pl. 280.
9. British Museum, London (1946-7-13-567), ca. 1542–43; Parma Armani in Mantua 2001, p. 309, n. 176.
10. Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 475.
11. Viale Ferrero 1982, pp. 133–34; Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 179–82.
12. See Erkelens 1962a, p. 125; Paris 1965a, no. 28.
13. Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988, pp. 112–14; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 179–81, with numerous bibliographic and visual references.
14. Shearman 1972, p. 74.
15. Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988, p. 114; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 182.
16. On the matter of Nicolas Karcher's summons to Mantua, it should not be forgotten that his father, Louis, also a tapestry weaver, lived and worked in Casale, Piedmont (where he wrote his will in 1536). That city, which had been under the Paleologhi family (Federico II Gonzaga married Margherita Paleologa), became part of the Gonzaga state in 1533. Also, after going to Florence in 1545 and before returning to Mantua in 1555, Nicolas maintained contacts with the court of the Gonzaga in Mantua, where his children lived under ducal protection.
17. See C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 86–87, doc. 9 (with bibliog.).
18. Louvre, Paris (3566), showing the same image of three putti holding a hare that may be seen in the background of the design in Chatsworth: see Paris 1983a, pp. 52–53, no. 56; Forti Grazzini 1990b, p. 12.

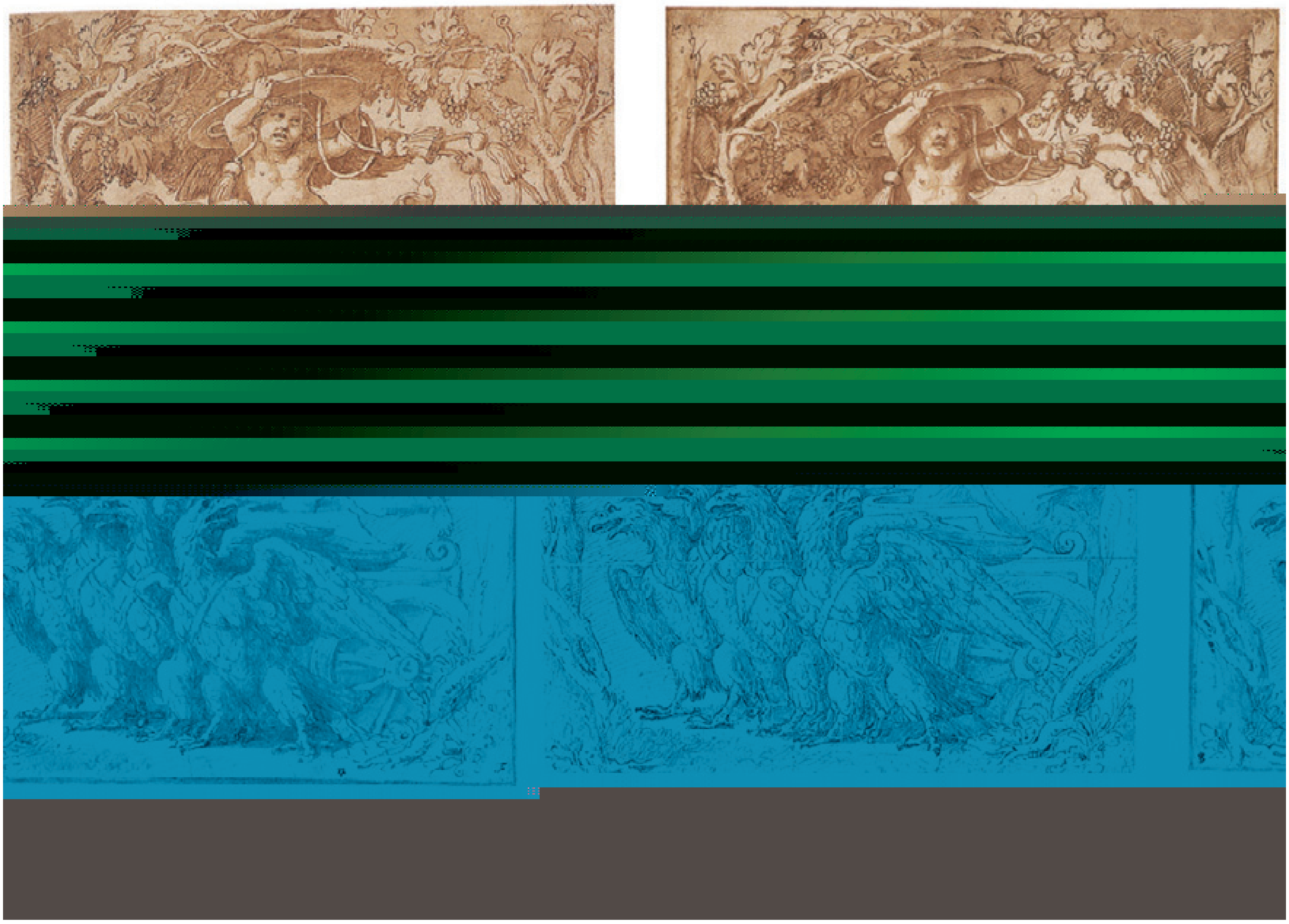

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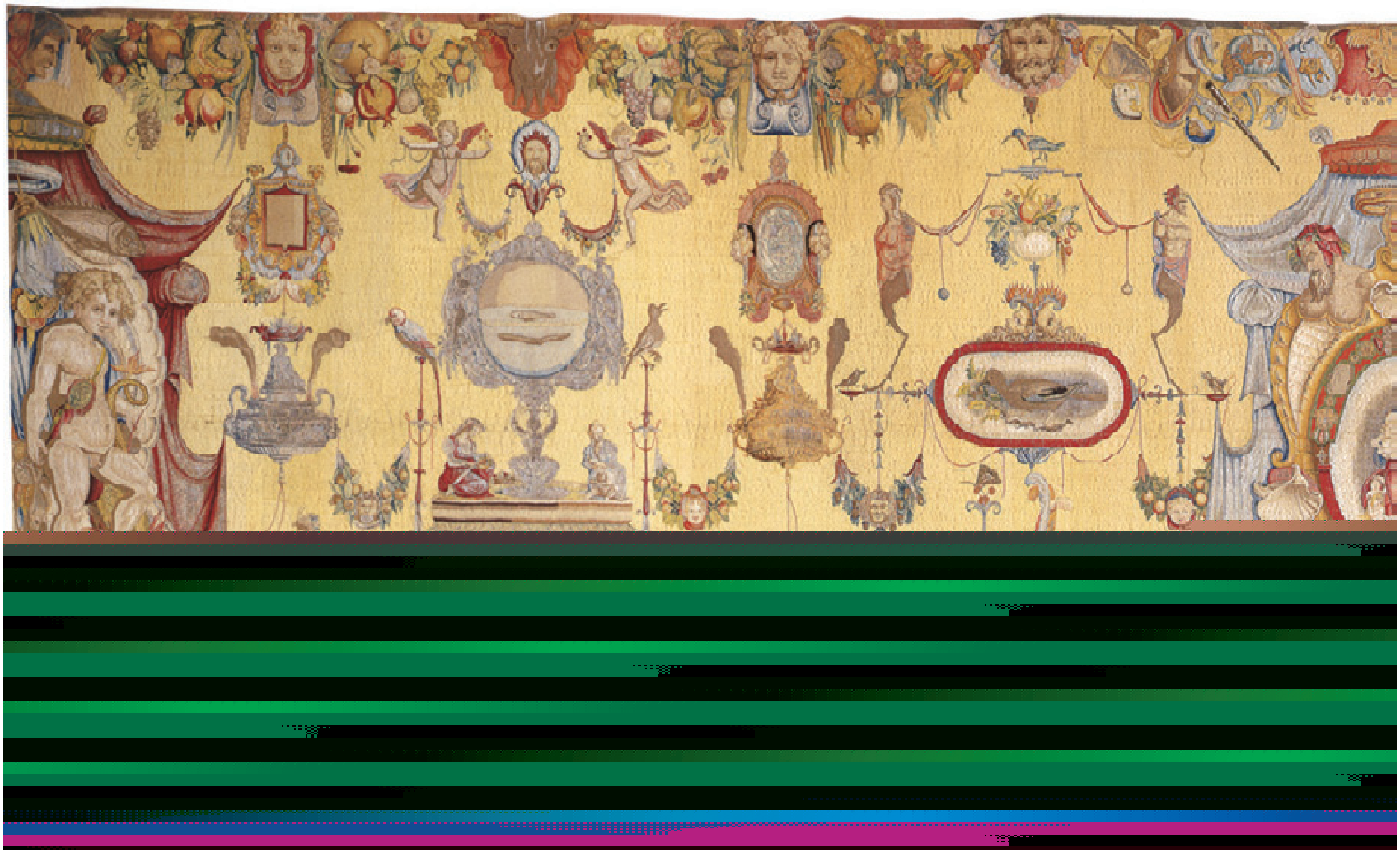
Fig. 224. *Modello* for the *Allegory of the Regency of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga*. Giulio Romano, 1540–45. Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk, with traces of red chalk at lower edge, 42.7 x 28.8 cm. Private collection, New York

19. See Wingfield Digby 1980, pp. 67–70, no. 66, pl. 94B.
20. British Museum (1928-4-17-5); Victoria and Albert Museum (E 4586-1910); Nottingham Art Museum (91–198); Pouncey collection: see Kendrick 1930; Pouncey and Gere 1962, pp. 67–68; Ward-Jackson 1979, pp. 74–75; Forti Grazzini 1989, pp. 476–77. Another of Giulio's *Puttini* designs for a lost tapestry of the set, retouched by Rubens, is in Copenhagen (see Jaffé 1964–65, p. 390, pls. 17, 18). The theme of the *Puttini* and of the *Children in the Vine* had already been adopted by Giulio and his collaborators for the decoration of rooms of the Palazzo Te: two drawings with putti in a vine by Giulio Romano (Národní Galerie, Prague), preparatory for ceiling frescoes, are connected with the lost frescoes of the apartment of the Giardino Segreto: see Bazzotti 2000.
21. Kendrick 1930; Wingfield Digby 1980, p. 67.
22. See C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 90–93 doc. 12, 95 doc. 17.
23. See Florence and Rome 1983, pp. 154–55, no. 66; Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988, p. 112; Forti Grazzini 1989, p. 478; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 181; M. Schwartz in New York 1999, pp. 72–73.
24. Private collection, New York: see M. Schwartz in New York 1999, pp. 72–73, no. 16 (with bibliog.).
25. Delmarcel and C. M. Brown 1988, p. 112; Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, p. 181. On the lost set of twelve "spaliere della Fortuna condotta da quatro Aquile" mentioned in Mantuan inventories from 1563 to 1627, see Delmarcel in C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 68–69. The tapestries were of vertical format but small dimensions, so they were also mentioned as "portieres"; as such, they might correspond to the set of twelve portieres Ercole Gonzaga received from Flanders in 1542 (see C. M. Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 93–94, doc. 13).



60.

Charity

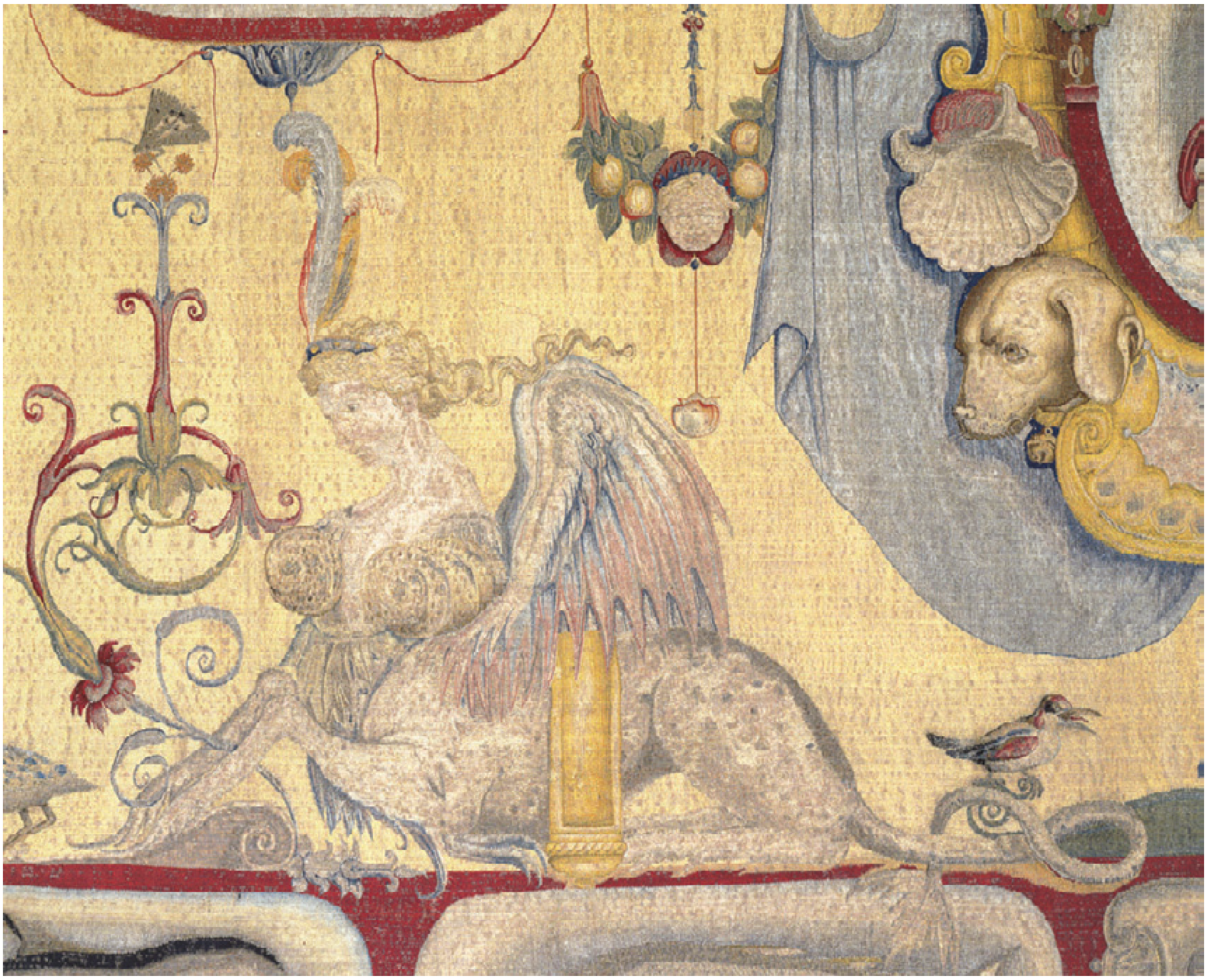
From a ten-piece set of the *Grotesque Spalliere*
Design and cartoon by Francesco Ubertini, known as il Bachiacca, 1545
Woven in the workshops of Jan Rost (this piece) and Nicolas Karcher (other pieces in the set), Florence, 1546–53
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
227 x 735 cm (7 ft. 5⅜ in. x 24 ft. 1⅜ in.)
9–10 warps per cm
Inscribed with the rebus trademark of Rost: a roast on a spit (lower right, above the last fish scroll); FATTO·IN·FIORENZA (on the left)
Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Firenze, Arazzi 1912–25, 499)

PROVENANCE: July 15, 1549, in the Guardaroba (Wardrobe) of Cosimo I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio; 1553–1624, in the Palazzo Vecchio, in the wardrobe or hanging in the Sala dell'Udienza; 1663, described as being in the apartment of the grand duchess in the Palazzo Pitti; 1720, 1769, 1804–16, recorded in inventories of the Guardaroba Generale of the Palazzo Vecchio; 1882 to 1922, exhibited in the Regia Galleria degli Arazzi, Florence; 1956, hung in the Museo di Palazzo Davanzati; 1998, moved to the Depositi Arazzi (Tapestry Depositories) of the Palazzo Pitti.

REFERENCES: Conti 1875, pp. 14–15, 48–50; Rigoni 1884, pp. 7–10, 73 doc. 2, 85 doc. 5, 87 doc. 6; Tinti 1920–21; Tinti 1925, pp. 8–11, 19–22, 29–31; M. Viale in Turin 1952, pp. 79, 82; Amsterdam 1955, p. 158; Viale Ferrero 1963, pp. 76–77; Adelson 1980, pp. 141–200, doc. 6; Adelson in Florence 1980a, pp. 47–50; Adelson 1983, pp. 907–8, 912–13; Adelson 1990, pp. 47–55, 71–87, 205–62, 391–405; Meoni 1998, pp. 41–45, 57, 172–85, 174, no. 24; Meoni 2000, p. 236.

CONDITION: Good. The high percentage of silk makes the fabric fragile. The tapestry was restored in 1998–2001 in Padua.

Charity is one of ten tapestries of the *Grotesque Spalliere,* all still extant, which Duke Cosimo I de' Medici commissioned for the decoration, on special occasions, of the lower portion of the walls of the Sala dell'Udienza (Audience Hall) in the Palazzo Vecchio.[1] The series was woven from cartoons by Francesco Bachiacca, in the workshops of Jan Rost and Nicolas Karcher between 1546 and 1553.[2] The kaleidoscopic imagery of the set is replete with Medici emblems and secular and Christian allegories containing a variety of fish and animals. One of the first works of the nascent Florentine tapestry manufactories of Jan Rost and Nicolas



Detail of cat. no. 60

of red drapery and inside a large dentellate seashell, a cherub rests its foot atop the head of a fantastical fish. When the series is hung in sequence, the half-canopies represented at the far ends of some of the tapestries come together to form a whole with the adjacent weaving.

Although these decorative elements were novel in their manner of conception, the idea behind them may nevertheless derive from the frescoes in the Sala di Costantino at the Vatican, where there are portraits of popes sitting under round canopies inside trompe l'oeil niches at the far ends of the walls. This echo of a decorative project commissioned by Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) and executed by Raphael's workshop corresponds above all to Cosimo I's desire and intent to reaffirm a continuity with the great figures of his bloodline.[7]

The garlands across the top of *Charity* and the animals and lozenge shapes with fish running along the entire lower edge seem derived from prints by Domenico del Barbiere.[8] Other important sixteenth-century Roman precedents also come to mind, such as the lost paintings of Giovanni da Udine's *Aviary* for Leo X or the same artist's more famous grotesques of "fishes and animals of the water" for the Vatican Loggia, or those for the loggia of the Palazzo Medici in Via Larga, Florence, also lost.[9]

The real novelty of Bachiacca's grotesques lies in the realistic manner with which various species of fish in the borders and the birds and other animals above them are depicted, as if prepared for a scientific manual. This particular skill on the painter's part may have been a deciding factor for Cosimo I in awarding the commission; his passion for the natural sciences is evidenced by the botanical and medical treatises he took delight in consulting during this period. The republication of Pliny's *Natural History* in Cristoforo Landino's translation was revised in 1543 by Antonio Brucioli, and the *Five Books of Medicinal History and Matter* of Dioscorides, in which Cosimo had a very keen interest, had been translated by Andrea Mattioli in 1544. Bachiacca's oil-painted wall decoration for Cosimo's study in the mezzanine of the Palazzo Vecchio—unfortunately barely legible today—features animals praised as "alive" by the historian and humanist Benedetto Varchi in 1546, because of their fidelity to nature; this decoration is from the same years as the *Grotesque Spalliere*.[10] The sources were indubitably given to Bachiacca by Cosimo himself, since on July 25, 1553, the painter returned to the duke a cartoon "of a fishing haul, to be woven," as well as "two books of portraits of various fishes and animals and two large sheets and two fishes and two portraits of animals."[11] Subjects of this sort seem suited above all to banquets, the occasion for which the tapestries were intended.

Commission

The *Grotesque Spalliere* formed part of a comprehensive project for decorating the Sala dell'Udienza, which began with Francesco Salviati's frescoes depicting Furius Camillus, completed in September 1545. The decorative project also included the lost stained-glass windows by Battista dal Borro d'Arezzo featuring the armorial bearings of Cosimo I and Emperor Charles V.[12] The ultimate goal of glorifying the figure of Duke Cosimo I and his bloodline as well as Bachiacca's and Salviati's use of some of the same iconographic sources—such as the prints of the school of Fontainebleau—help give the room's decoration as a whole a sense of harmony.[13]

Cosimo seems already to have decided upon the weaving of the *Grotesque Spalliere* and the *Story of Joseph* (see cat. no. 62) by August 28, 1545, shortly after the arrival in Florence of the tapestry weaver Jan Rost. On this date the duke ordered that measurements be taken not only of the Sala dei Duecento—for which the *Joseph* tapestries were destined—but also of the "sala dove si fanno li pasti" (hall in which meals are taken), identified as the Sala dell'Udienza, where the *Spalliere* were to be hung.[14] These are, in any case, the only series described in the inventories of 1549 and 1550, the first to include the works commissioned from Rost and Karcher.[15] The hall in the Palazzo Vecchio for which Salviati's frescoes were commissioned had been destined for use for Audiences of Justice by the government of the Florentine republic.[16] This does not preclude the room being used also for banquets with illustrious guests, as the August 28 document suggests.[17] Adelson proposed that the tapestries were made for the *zoccoli* (lower sections) of the walls, beneath Salviati's frescoes of *Furius Camillus*, a conclusion she reached by comparing the dimensions of the tapestries with those of the hall.[18] This is confirmed by the inventory compiled between July 3 and 9 of 1574, in which it is noted that they "parano dalla pittura in giù" (extend from the painting down).[19] The preciousness of the materials used did not allow them to be hung in the hall for long periods, and thus they must have been conceived to adorn it only on important occasions. Indeed, inventories record them almost always in the cabinets of the palazzo's wardrobe.[20]

Cartoonist and Weaver

Francesco Ubertini, known as il Bachiacca (1494–1557), author of the cartoons for the *Grotesque Spalliere*, was assigned the task as early as October 6, 1545, when he negotiated the terms under which he was to make the cartoons for the set. It is likely, as the ducal commission to the Rost and Karcher workshops attests, that the painter started with the larger, more important pieces in the series—such as those depicting the figures of Charity and Fortune (?) in the center—which were the only ones that would include the crowned Medici-Toledo coat of arms over the central medallion. *Charity* was woven by Rost, whose rebus trademark—a roast on a spit—can still be seen today in the lower right-hand corner. In the list of tapestries commissioned from Rost up to July 15, 1549, it can be identified with the fourth one described, "la charità," the measurements of which coincide with those of the *spalliera* mentioned in the list of completed tapestries drawn up on September 27, 1553.[21] Smyth's hypothesis concerning the chronology of the weaving of the *Story of Joseph* set was based on the way the emblem of the city of Florence appears in the selvages—initially it was written in full, and later it was abbreviated. This led Adelson to conclude that the *Charity* and *Fortune* (?) panels of the *Grotesque Spalliere*, which are inscribed FATTO·IN·FIORENZA, were the first of the series to be woven.[22] The abbreviated emblem seems to occur after October 1546, so these two pieces may already have been executed by this date.[23] The figure of Charity was inspired by that in *Abundance* (*Dovizia*) (fig. 216), the portiere designed by Bronzino that was woven by Rost to demonstrate to Cosimo his technical expertise and that was probably the first tapestry woven in the Florentine workshop. This appears to further confirm the attribution of an early date to *Charity*.

In the absence of specific documentation on the commissioning of each piece in the set, the only certain dates are those of the reports provided to Cosimo in 1549, 1550, and 1553, in which are listed the tapestries that Rost and Karcher had woven for the duke's wardrobe from the start of their activity in Florence up until each of these dates. However, based on information in these documents and on comparisons of the measurements of the *Grotesque Spalliere* with the space of the Sala dell'Udienza, the order in which the cartoons were probably painted would follow approximately the arrangement of the series, which begins with *Charity*, to the left of the eastern door leading into the Sala dei Gigli, and ends with *Fortune* (?), to the right of the same door.[24]

LUCIA MEONI

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[1] The set of ten *Grotesque Spalliere* belongs to the Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici of Florence. Since 1933, six of them have been with the Italian Embassy in London and currently hang in the ambassador's residence.

[2] Adelson 1990, pp. 205–18. This scholar's extensive studies on the early years of tapestry manufacture in Florence, published in various essays in the 1980s, culminated in her 1990 Ph.D. thesis, to which I refer here.

[3] Meoni 1998, pp. 172–85; Meoni 2000, p. 236.

[4] Meoni 1998, pp. 432–35 nos. 185–87, 460–61 no. 198.

[5] Adelson 1990, p. 251.

[6] Ibid., p. 249.

[7] Ibid., pp. 255–62.

[8] Ibid., pp. 248–49.

[9] Vasari 1568 (1906 ed.), vol. 6, pp. 553–57; Vasari 1568 (1966–87 ed.), vol. 5, pp. 449–52.

[10] Vossilla 1993, pp. 382–86.

[11] "[D]i una pescagione, per tesser"; "Il libri di ritratti di varii pesci et animali et dua fogli grandi et 2 pesci et 2 animali ritratti"; Meoni 1998, p. 172.

[12] Adelson 1990, pp. 208–9.

[13] Ibid., pp. 246–52.

[14] Ibid., pp. 46–48.

[15] Ibid., pp. 579–81, doc. 141.

[16] Cecchi in Allegri and Cecchi 1980, pp. 40–44.

[17] Meoni 1998, p. 172.

[18] Adelson 1990, pp. 206–7.

[19] Meoni 1998, p. 172.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Adelson 1990, pp. 213–16.

[22] Smyth 1971, pp. 98–99.

[23] Adelson 1990, pp. 52–53, 215–16.

[24] Ibid., pp. 68–87, 215–18; Meoni 1998, pp. 172–73.

61.

Justice Liberating Innocence

Design and cartoon by Agnolo Bronzino, early 1546
Woven in the workshop of Jan Rost, Florence, before April 22, 1546
Wool, silk, and silver and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
247 x 170 cm (8 ft. 1¼ in. x 5 ft. 7 in.)
7–9 warps per cm
Inscribed with Rost's mark, a roast on a spit (outer margin of lower border on right)
Depositi Arazzi, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Firenze, Arazzi 1912–25, 539)

PROVENANCE: April 22, 1546, delivery of the portiere to Cosimo de' Medici's Guardaroba at the Palazzo Ducale (known as the Palazzo Vecchio from 1549); 1548–74, recorded in the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Vecchio; 1638, 1663, 1688, in the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Pitti and occasionally hung; 1761, recorded in the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Pitti; 1882–1922, exhibited in the Regia Galleria degli Arazzi, and, after its closing, transferred to the Palazzo Pitti, where it was hung in the royal apartments in the Galleria Palatina; 1980, in the Depositi Arazzi of the Palazzo Pitti.

REFERENCES: Conti 1875, p. 50; Müntz 1878–85, pp. 66, 94; Rigoni 1884, pp. 61–62, 73, 85; Venturi 1901–40, vol. 9, pt. 6, pp. 53, 70; Göbel 1928, p. 382; McComb 1928, pp. 25, 165; Berenson 1936, p. 98; Panofsky 1939, pp. 84–86; Smyth 1955, pp. 66–67, 173–74, 271–72; Viale Ferrero 1961a, p. 29; Panofsky 1962, pp. 84–91; Berenson 1963, pp. 1, 42; Viale Ferrero 1963, pp. 27–28, 63; Heikamp 1968, pp. 23, 25; Heikamp 1969, pp. 34, 36, 62, 69; Cox-Rearick 1971, pp. 8, 13; Forster 1971, p. 65; Smyth 1971, pp. 20, 26–27, 54, 67–68, 71, 87–92, 100; Panofsky 1975, pp. 114–32; Monbeig-Goguel 1976; Gaeta Bertelà 1980, p. 138; Gaeta Bertelà in Florence 1980b, p. 85, no. 121; Viale Ferrero 1982, p. 139; Adelson 1983, p. 905; Bosch 1983; Cox-Rearick 1984, pp. 285–86; Cox-Rearick 1989, pp. 44, 49; Adelson 1990, pp. 99–101, 113–19, 128, 180, 182, 258, 329, 349–51; Calvesi 1992; Meoni 1998, pp. 162–64; D. Parker 2000, pp. 130–31, 145–47.

CONDITION: Fair. The tapestry was extensively restored in 1975–76 in Florence.

The portiere of *Justice Liberating Innocence* is the second tapestry woven by Jan Rost from a cartoon by Bronzino for the ducal wardrobe of Cosimo I de' Medici, where it was delivered on April 22, 1546.[1] It seems to have been conceived as a counterpart to another portiere, *Spring* (fig. 217), by the same artist and workshop.[2] The fact that *Justice Liberating Innocence* was sent to Rome, along with a panel from a set of the *Months,* to showcase Rost's skill to Pope Paul IV, gives us a sense of how prized this portiere has been since the time it was made.[3] It is perhaps one of the best-known and appreciated works of Florentine tapestry production. Art historians, starting with Panofsky and continuing up to the most recent studies, have for the most part focused on its allegorical meaning. Its erudite and not entirely decipherable symbolism reflects the inventions and tastes of *la Maniera,* in which ambiguous meanings, both political and philosophical, are intertwined.[4]

Description and Iconography

According to Panofsky, the tapestry shows Justice, represented by a woman holding a sword and scales, rescuing Innocence, a kneeling female figure. Innocence is being menaced by the powers of evil, symbolized by four animals, a snake, lion, dog, and wolf, which, in accordance with the interpretation in Cesare Ripa's 1603 *Iconologia,* represent, respectively, Perfidy, Rage, Envy, and Avarice. Behind Innocence is Time, a bearded old man with wings and an hourglass on his shoulder, who seizes and removes the veil from a young woman who is identified as the personification of Truth. Panofsky also connected the subject represented with the description by Lucian of the famous *Calumny* by the Greek painter Apelles.[5]

Because the borders and dimensions of this portiere are identical to those of *Spring,* many scholars previously believed that *Justice Liberating Innocence* was conceived as a pendant to *Spring.*[6] Panofsky, however, pointed out the compositional and iconographical inconsistencies between them and suggested that the two pieces were instead conceived as the first of two distinct sets, one of moral allegories and the other of the seasons. He postulated that aside from *Justice Liberating Innocence*, an *Allegory of Love and Time,* which was never realized, was also to have belonged to the first series, and that the painting by Bronzino of this allegory in the National Gallery of London might have derived from a cartoon that was never woven. (According to Panofsky, the painting was supposedly sent in 1545 as a gift from Cosimo to the French king, Francis I.[7] Forster, on the other hand, maintains that it was given to Henry II in 1548.)[8]

The identification of the four figures as Justice, Innocence, Time, and Truth is no longer questioned by art historians, but the symbolism of the four animals, along with the general meaning of the composition, has been variously interpreted as possibly a glorification of Cosimo I and the Medici dynasty or a counterpart to *Spring*. Bosch, in her rereading, rejects the interpretation propounded by Panofsky and his adherents, which takes Ripa's codification of symbolic meanings—with its implicit Christian values—as its point of departure, considering it inconsistent with Cosimo I's humanistic culture. (The possible influence of the Council of Trent (1545–63), which Bosch does not discuss, may not yet have left any mark on Cosimian iconography.) As alternative sources, Bosch suggests a number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century iconographical texts, including the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) and the *Hieroglyphica* of Valerian (1556), or those of Giraldi (*De deis gentium,* 1548), Conti (*Mythologiae,* 1551) and Cartari (*Immagini,* 1556), while proposing that the subject might have

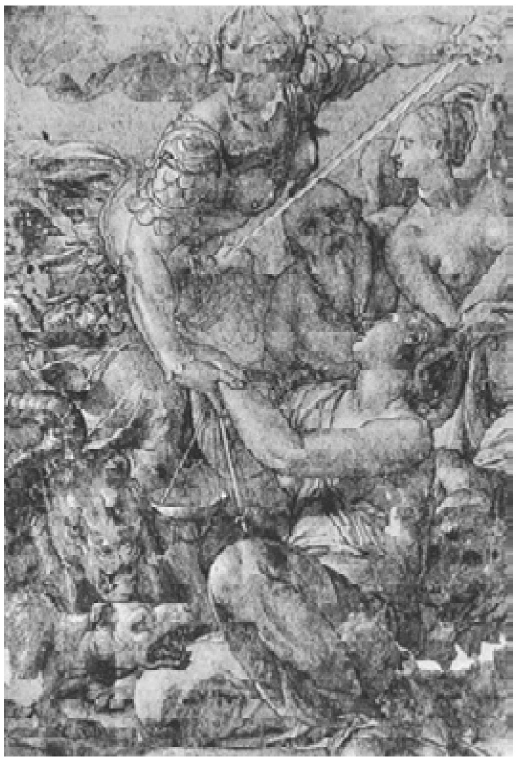
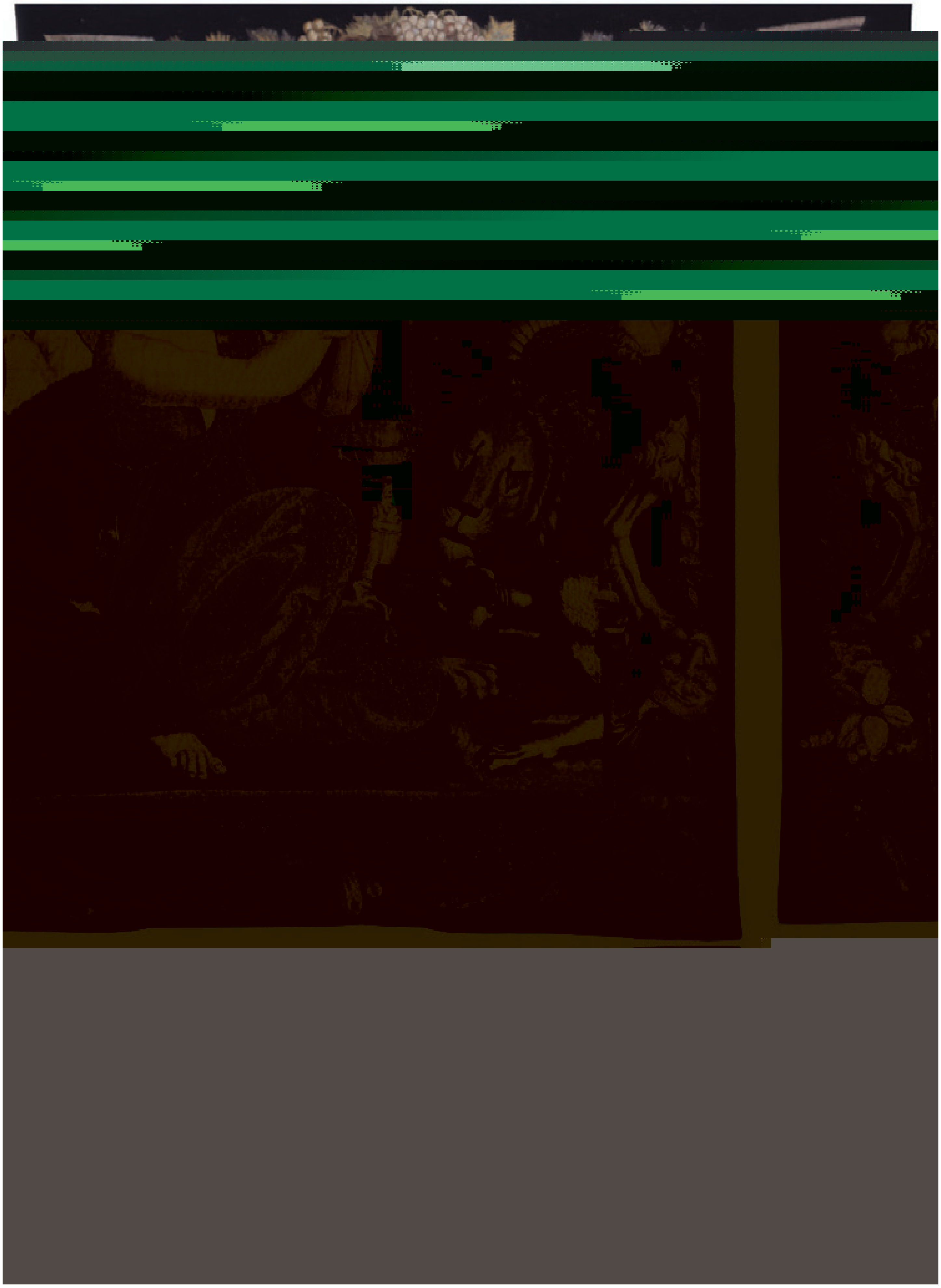
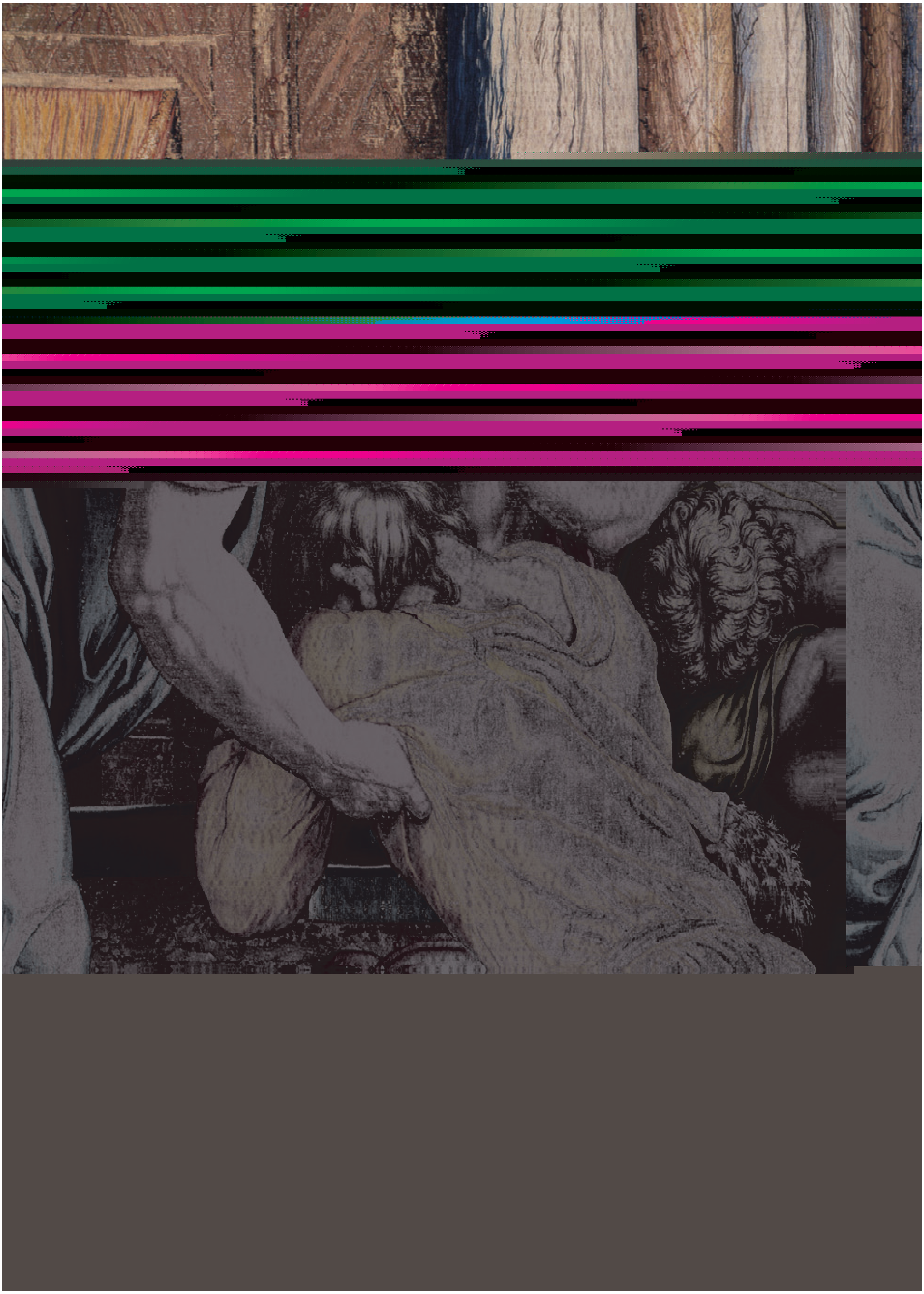


Fig. 225. *Modello* for *Justice Liberating Innocence.* Bronzino, ca. 1545–46. Ink and brown wash over black chalk heightened with white, on paper, 31.8 x 21.8 cm. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (Resta Codex, fol. 61)





date of the previous inventory, February 6, 1550.[10] Nor has any document been found concerning the commission of the cartoon, unanimously held to be by Agnolo Bronzino.[11] Payments for the series were made out to Bronzino's workshop, and they mention materials used and collaborators, among whom are listed Raffaellino dal Colle, Alessandro Allori, and Lorenzo Zucchetti. Raffaellino, whose help Bronzino had requested to speed up the execution of the cartoons for the *Story of Joseph,* arrived in Florence on May 15, 1548, and remained there at least until October 17, 1551 (his departure probably provides an indication that the designs and cartoons had all been completed by this date). Payments for the studies of the borders are documented as of 1549 and after, and are made out to Allori and Zucchetti.[12] Thus the cartoon for the present tapestry may include contributions by the artists then working in Bronzino's studio. Here, the work of Raffaellino dal Colle was probably limited to details of some figures. Generally speaking, the plastic vigor of the bodies in the foreground, in perfect harmony with the setting and elaborate decorative details in the background, indicates Bronzino's direct involvement in the conception and execution of the design and cartoon.

No drawings related to this tapestry have thus far been found, although the monkey portrayed on the step at the bottom left has been connected to one on a sheet at the British Museum in London, which Heikamp first identified as a study for the borders of the series and attributed to Bronzino.[13]

Like the other tapestries in the *Story of Joseph* set, this one displays a judicious rather than extravagant use of metallic threads. In this respect, the comments of Pier Francesco Riccio, in charge of the Florentine tapestry works, concerning the use of gold threads, are significant: "too much gold . . . does not last and quickly turns black," so it should only be added to "those parts that most seek it."[14] Riccio's words provide a rare glimpse of the sort of practical considerations and experience that underpinned high-quality tapestry production in all the leading centers of the day. As the surviving tapestries demonstrate, the *Story of Joseph* set achieves a remarkable balance between such formal and decorative considerations and the ambitious pictorial effects demanded by the cartoons. It marks the crowning achievement of the Florentine manufactories, providing a remarkable testament of the vision and ability of Bronzino and his collaborators and the skills and expertise of Nicolas Karcher, Jan Rost, and their weavers.

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1. The set of twenty tapestries of the *Story of Joseph,* all still extant, was kept intact and occasionally hung, even outdoors, for the festivities of San Giovanni but otherwise almost always remained in the wardrobe of the Palazzo Vecchio until 1865, when Florence was briefly the capital of the Kingdom of Italy and the set was broken up. Ten tapestries were given on consignment by the royal galleries to the city of Florence and hung in the Sala dei Duecento. The other ten went to the Palazzo Pitti as an endowment to the crown, and, when the capital was moved to Rome in 1871, they were transferred to the Palazzo del Quirinale, into whose collections they were incorporated on July 14, 1882, and where they are still on exhibit today.
2. Adelson's extensive studies on the early years of Florentine tapestry manufacture, published in various essays in the 1980s, culminated in her 1990 Ph.D. thesis.
3. Rigoni 1884, p. 86, doc. 6; Adelson 1990, pp. 385–86, no. 25.
4. Adelson 1990, pp. 385–86, no. 25; G. Smith 1982, p. 185.
5. G. Smith 1982, pp. 185, 188–92.
6. Meoni 2000, p. 236.
7. Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 160, 291–92.
8. Adelson 1990, pp. 74, 505–6, 560, 579–81; Meoni 1998, pp. 138 no. 8, 472, 475, 477.
9. See note 3.
10. Adelson 1990, pp. 579–81, 659–60; Meoni 1998, pp. 138–39 no. 8, 478, 482.
11. Adelson 1990, pp. 385–86, no. 25; Meoni 1998, pp. 138–39, no. 8, both with bibliographies.
12. Geisenheimer 1909, pp. 142–43; Adelson 1990, pp. 169–70, 551–52, 562–65, 578, 581, 588, 591, 596–97, 611–14, 622–23, 643; Meoni 1998, pp. 474–79.
13. Heikamp 1968, p. 22, fig. 1.
14. "[T]roppo oro . . . che dura poco e in breve si fa nero"; "quelle parti che più lo ricercano"; Ricci, letter to Christiano Pagni in Pisa, December 8, 1545, transcribed in its entirety by Adelson 1990, pp. 517–18, doc. 40.

63.

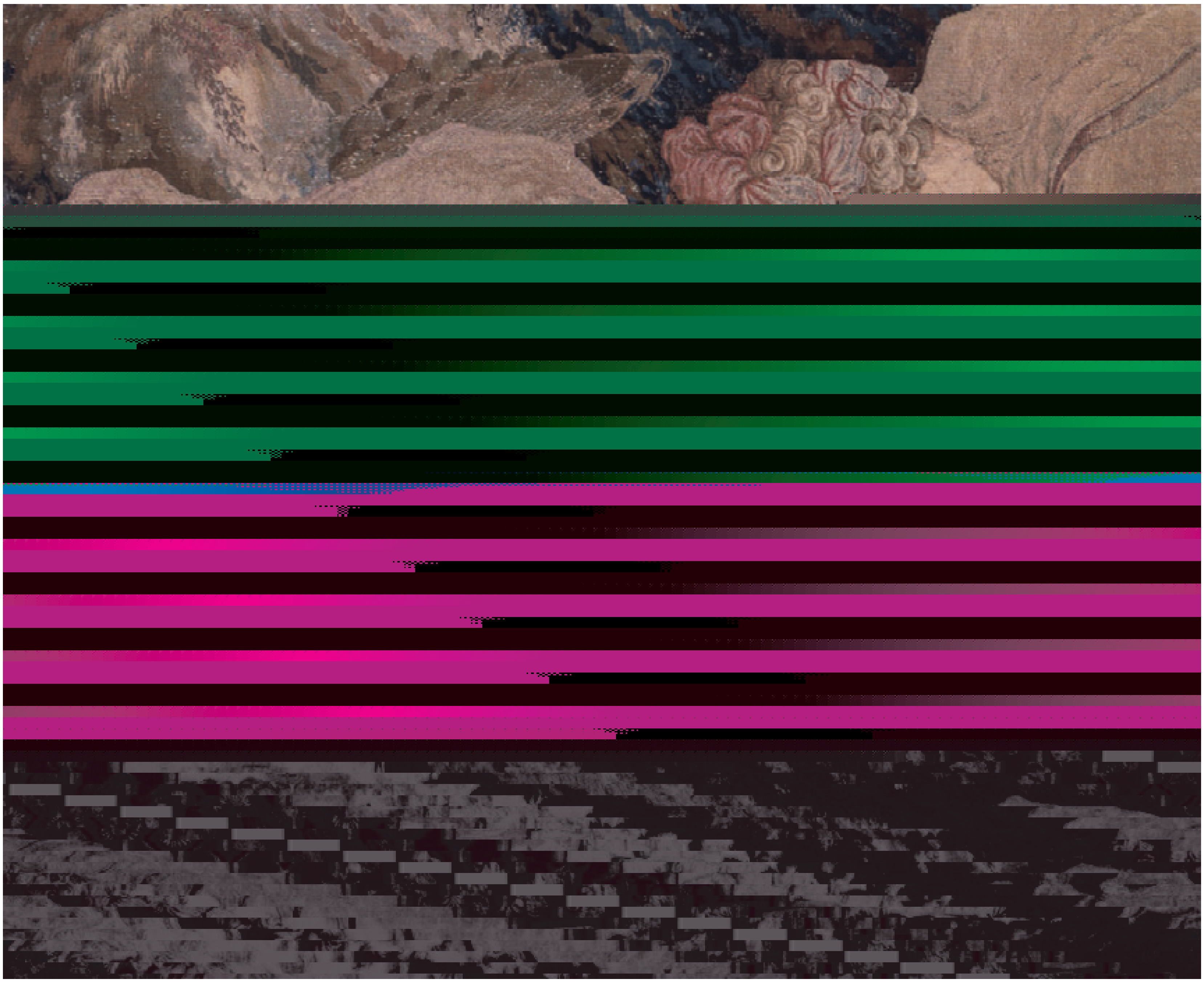
The Lamentation

Design and cartoon by Francesco Salviati, first half of 1546
Woven in the workshop of Nicolas Karcher, Florence, before July 31, 1546
Wool, silk, and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread
202 x 200 cm (6 ft. 7½ in. x 6 ft. 6¾ in.)
8–9 warps per cm
Depositi Arazzi, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Firenze, Arazzi 1912–25, 773)

PROVENANCE: July 31, 1546, delivered to Cosimo de' Medici's Guardaroba at the Palazzo Ducale (known as the Palazzo Vecchio from 1549) and may have been exhibited subsequently, on certain ceremonial occasions, in the chapel of Eleonora, and probably in the Cappella dei Priori; 1549–74, registered in the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Vecchio and occasionally hung; 1638, 1663, 1688, recorded in inventories of the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Pitti; 1689–1741, probably in the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano, near Florence; 1882, exhibited in the Regia Galleria degli Arazzi; 1922, transferred to the Uffizi; 1987–93, in the Depositi Arazzi of the Palazzo Pitti; 1993–97, underwent restoration at the Palazzo Vecchio; December 2000, returned to the Uffizi.

REFERENCES: Müntz 1878–85, pp. 63, 94; Rigoni 1884, pp. 59 no. 119, 75 doc. 3, 87 doc. 6; W. G. Thomson 1906, p. 252; Voss 1920, pp. 1, 248, 252; Giglioli 1922; Göbel 1928, p. 381; Battistini 1931, p. 40; Mallé 1953, p. 130; Amsterdam 1955, p. 159; Viale Ferrero 1961a, pp. 30–31; Cheney 1963, vol. 1, pp. 191–93, vol. 2, pp. 376, 649–50, docs. 22, 25; Viale Ferrero 1963, p. 28; Carroll 1971, pp. 15, 28; Smyth 1971, pp. 91–92;

Detail of cat. no. 62



Detail of cat. no. 63

Gaeta Bertelà 1979, pp. 1054–55; Gaeta Bertelà 1980, p. 139; Viale Ferrero 1982, p. 140; Adelson 1983, pp. 905, 908; Adelson 1985b, pp. 150, 160, 161; Adelson 1990, pp. 49, 51, 68, 70, 127, 131–37, 140, 142–45, 312–13, 329, 342, 355–57; Adelson and Landini 1990, pp. 59–62; Mortari 1992, pp. 36, 290, 291; Cox-Rearick 1993, pp. 10–11, 82–83, 155, 365, 376; Voss 1994, p. 170; Bacci and Innocenti 1996; Bacci and Innocenti 1997–98; Meoni 1998, pp. 42, 43, 44, 58, 148–51 (with bibliog.); Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, pp. 292–93; Caneva 2000, pp. 20–25; Innocenti and Bacci 2000a; Innocenti and Bacci 2000b; Innocenti et al. 2000.

Condition: Fair. The tapestry was restored in 1993–97 in Florence.

The *Lamentation* was woven by Nicolas Karcher before July 31, 1546, from a cartoon by Francesco Salviati as a trial sample for artist and weaver by the Medici court. It was probably intended for the altar of the Cappella dei Priori in the Palazzo della Signoria, even though for the first few years it may have been hung in Eleonora's private chapel in the same palazzo.[1]

Returning to a composition he had already employed twice before, Salviati adapted it to the demands of tapestry by heightening the chromatic tones and replacing the background figures with an arid, rocky landscape leading to Golgotha.[2] The elaborate costumes and variety of textures allow for a virtuoso demonstration of the art of weaving in this first tapestry woven for Cosimo I de' Medici by Karcher's workshop.

This altar cloth expresses a sense of drama unmatched by any other Italian tapestry of the period. Yet the refined chromatic passages and sophisticated weaving techniques temper the emotional intensity, placing the representation squarely within the rarefied intellectual realm of *la Maniera*.

Description and Iconography

All the inventories record the subject of this tapestry as a Pietà, a devotional theme usually represented by the Virgin meditating over the body of Christ, as described in the *Meditations* of Pseudo-Bonaventura and the *Revelations* of Saint Bridget of Sweden.[3] The presence of the Magdalen and Joseph of Arimathea (or perhaps the younger Nicodemus) has more recently prompted suggestions that the work depicts the Lamentation, even though the manner in which Joseph or Nicodemus is supporting the body seems more in keeping with the Deposition, as recounted in the Gospels.[4] One of the two Salviati paintings with the same composition was made for the church of Corpus Domini in Venice and is today in Viggiù, while the other (probably also for Cosimo) is now in the Galleria Palatina of the Palazzo Pitti.[5] Aside from the image reversal resulting from production on a low-warp loom, one notable difference is that the instruments and other symbols of the Passion—along with the Medici-Toledo arms and Capricorn, Cosimo's ascendant sign—appear in the inner border rather than in the scene itself. The festoons of fruit and ribbons in the outer border recall those commonly represented in the borders of Netherlandish tapestries during the first third of the sixteenth century, while the geometrical decoration seems to derive from the so-called chessboard motifs typical of rugs from the eastern Mediterranean or perhaps from Egypt, which made their appearance in Florence about 1545.[6] The square format, derived from that of fifteenth-century altarpieces, is typical of the small devotional tapestries common in sixteenth-century Europe.[7]

Patron

Karcher delivered the *Lamentation* to the wardrobe of the Palazzo della Signoria on July 31, 1546. The sixteenth-century inventories mention its destination as the "chapel" of the palazzo, which clearly must be the Cappella dei Priori, the principal chapel. The tapestry was probably used on special occasions to replace or cover an altar painting. In the first years after it was made, it may have been hung in Eleonora's private chapel in the same palazzo, to replace Bronzino's *Deposition of Christ* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon), which had been given to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a minister of Charles V.[8]

The *Lamentation* was the first cartoon that Salviati painted for the newly instituted Florentine tapestry workshop of Cosimo I, as well as the first figurative tapestry woven by Karcher for the Medici court, for which he had already executed a bedcover.[9] Considered a trial sample for artist and weaver, it was eagerly awaited by Pier Francesco Riccio, the duke's majordomo and the person in charge of the tapestry works. By appraising it in light of works already completed by Rost, Riccio could establish how much future weavings by the two workshops would cost and thus determine the contract terms for the two Netherlandish masters. The postponement of the agreements with Rost and Karcher, which were not finalized until October 20, 1546, indeed seems due to the lateness of the delivery of the *Lamentation*.[10]

Cartoonist and Workshop

Described on July 15, 1549, as one of the tapestries woven by Karcher from a "drawing" by Francesco de' Rosso, known as il Salviati (1510–1563), the work was dated to about that year by Rigoni.[11] Smyth suggested to Cheney that it might be identified with the *Pietà* delivered by the same weaver on July 31, 1546. Recognizing the painter's style in the tapestry, Cheney accepted this hypothesis and confirmed it with the publication of a document dated October 15, 1545, in which Salviati is mentioned among the first painters to be working on cartoons for the fledgling Florentine workshop.[12]

The composition is the same as that used by the artist in two paintings already mentioned. For these, and likewise for the tapestry, the model may have been a drawing in the Uffizi of the figure of Christ (Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 1210 E).[13]

Of the tapestry designs made for Cosimo I, Salviati's contribution was limited to one piece for the *Story of Joseph* set, and several small devotional tapestries. He did more significant work as a cartoonist for other patrons, especially the Salviati family (hence the derivation of his surname), for whom he tackled such themes as Dante's Meeting with Virgil, from the *Divine Comedy*, and the Seasons and the Ages of the World. That his drawings and designs even inspired Bronzino may be seen in the portiere *Justice Liberating Innocence* (cat. no. 61).[14]

In its materials and techniques, the *Lamentation* is perhaps the most sumptuous tapestry produced by the workshops of Rost and Karcher during their first eight years. All these works were realized with a high percentage of precious yarns—silk and silver- and gilt-metal-wrapped thread—and with refined weaving techniques that create striking effects of light and relief. All are in fact recorded in 1553 as being in the "secret Wardrobe," where Cosimo kept the most prized pieces of his collection; in the sixteenth-century inventories they are almost always in the depository. Their use only for special occasions and the great care given to them also seem dictated by the fragility of their materials.[15]

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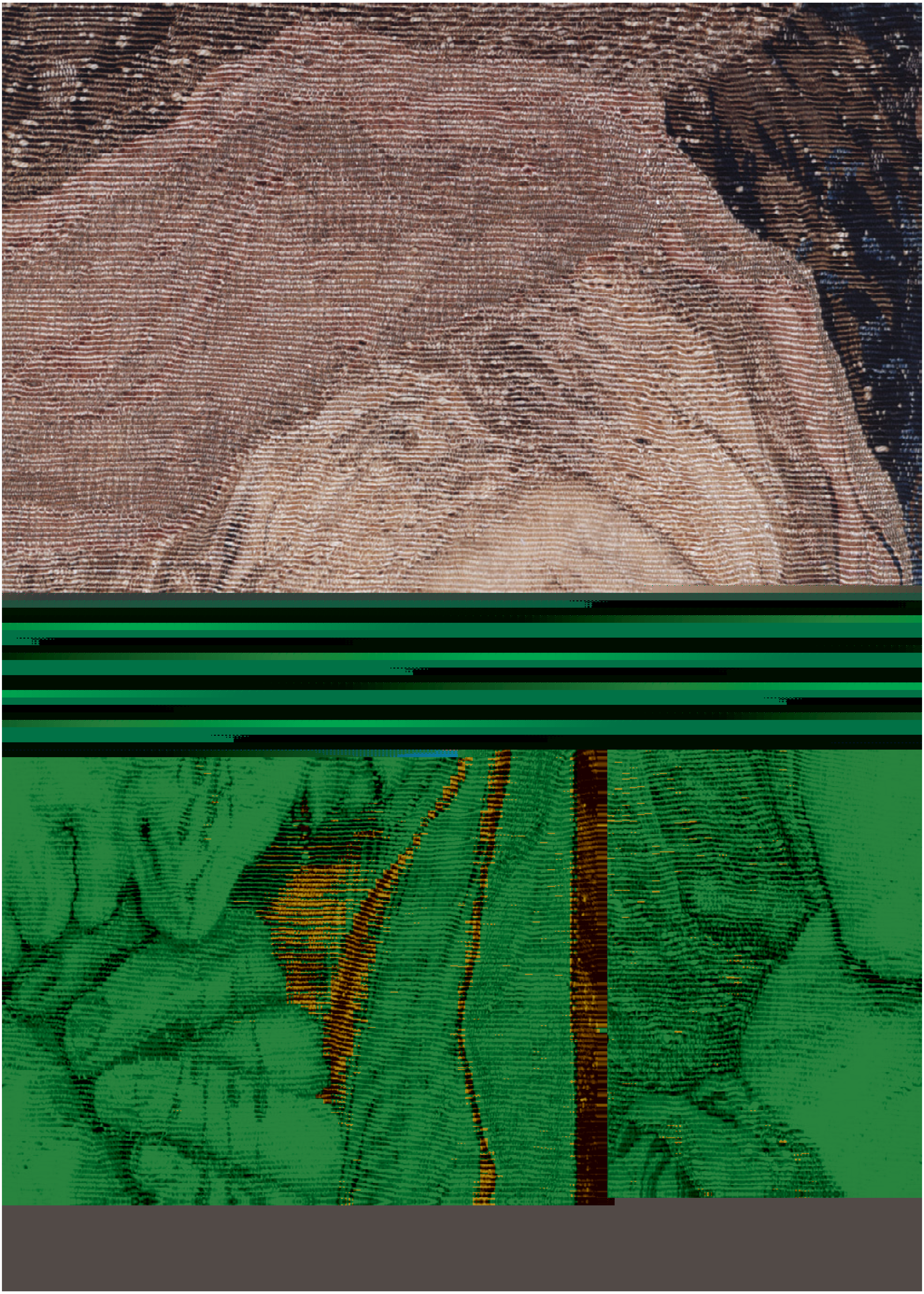
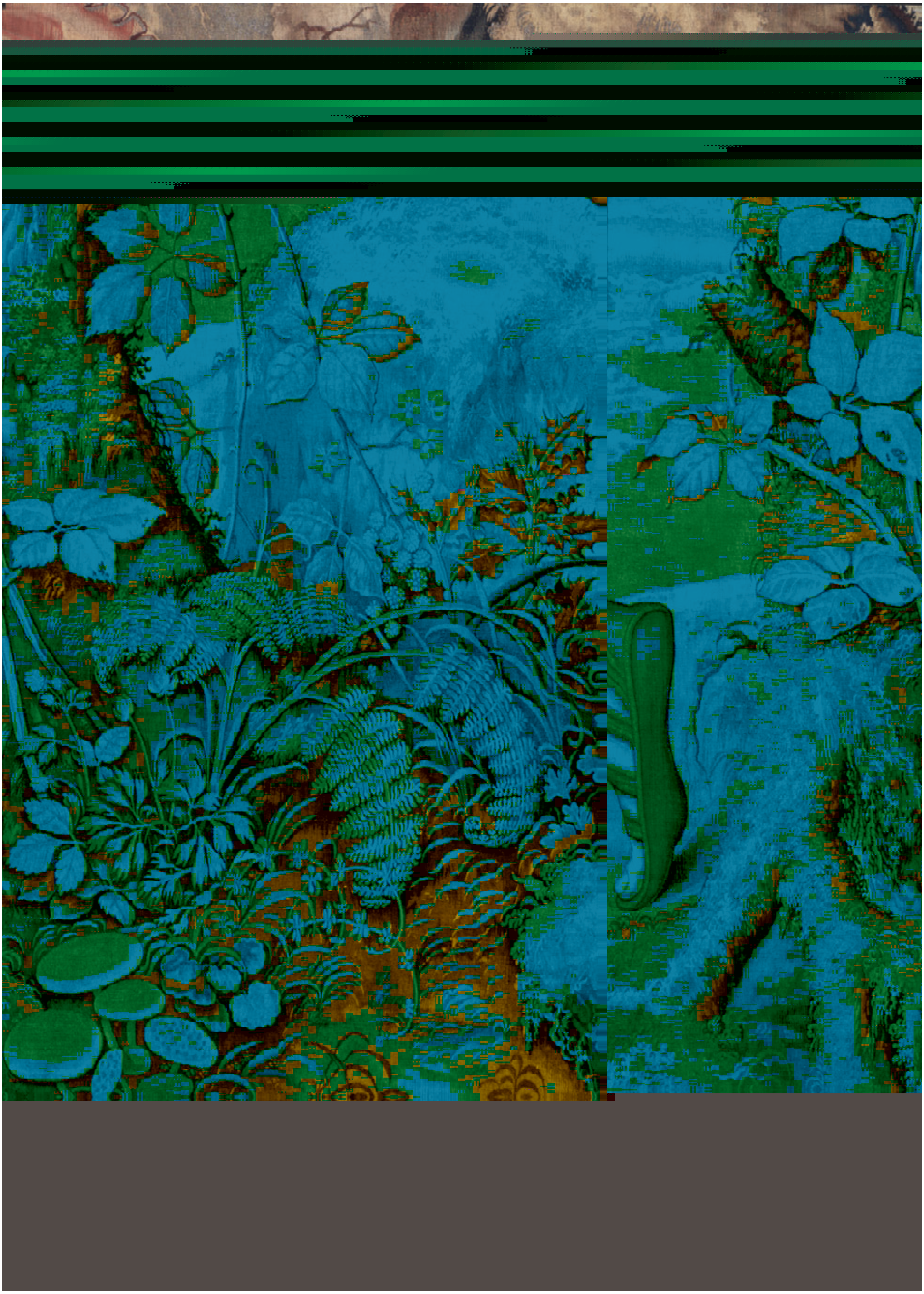
1. Adelson 1990, pp. 132–33; Meoni 1998, pp. 44, 148, no. 15; Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, p. 292.
2. Adelson 1990, pp. 134–35, 356; Meoni 1998, p. 148; Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, p. 292; see also the discussion of Florentine tapestry workshop production above, pp. 496–97.
3. Meoni 1998, p. 148.
4. Adelson 1990, pp. 356–57; Matthew 27:57–58; Mark 15:42–46; Luke 23:50–54; John 19:38–40; cf. Meoni 1998, p. 148.
5. See note 2.
6. Adelson 1990, pp. 140–41, 356; Adelson and Landini 1990, pp. 59–62.
7. Göbel 1923, p. 412; Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, pp. 292, 294.
8. Adelson 1990, pp. 132–33; Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, p. 292.
9. Adelson 1990, pp. 51–52, 356.
10. Ibid.; Meoni 1998, pp. 44, 148.
11. Rigoni 1884, p. 59, no. 119.
12. Cheney 1963, vol. 1, pp. 191–93, vol. 2, pp. 376, 649–50, docs. 22, 25; Smyth 1971, pp. 91–92.
13. Carroll 1971, pp. 15, 28, fig. 9.
14. Monbeig-Goguel 1976; Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, p. 292.
15. Meoni 1998, p. 44.

Detail of cat. no. 63





Epilogue: The Netherlandish Tapestry Industry after 1560

The scale of the Netherlandish tapestry industry by the early 1560s has never been surpassed. At its center lay Brussels, which, through its dominance of high-quality production from the beginning of the sixteenth century, had attracted an unprecedented volume of lucrative commissions, ensuring a steady financial flow into the hands of the leading merchants and manufactory owners, which in turn encouraged and facilitated ever more ambitious projects and the participation of cartoonists and weavers who were more and more experienced and specialized in their skills. Writing a description of the Netherlands in 1567, the Florentine ambassador Ludovico Guicciardini stated that the Brussels tapestry trade was the most profitable metier of the town and that Brussels tapestries made from silk, silver, and gold were universally admired.[1]

If Brussels dominated high-quality production for more than six decades, Antwerp exercised a similar command over trade and dispersal. Described as the most opulent city in Europe under Charles V, Antwerp had a population in excess of 125,000 inhabitants at its apogee in 1560, with more than 1,000 resident foreign merchants. The volume of trade it handled was staggering. Guicciardini claimed that on occasion as many as 500 ships entered the port in a day, and that about 2,000 carts entered the city each week. Contemporary documentation confirms the enormous volume of staple and luxury products that did, indeed, flow through Antwerp, including a major portion of the tapestries woven in the Netherlands.[2] There were tensions between those involved in the tapestry trade in Brussels and in Antwerp, with the Antwerp authorities encouraging artists, cartoonists, and weavers to resettle in Antwerp from the 1540s, and the Brussels guild of weavers vehemently objecting to the way in which the Antwerp authorities delayed promulgating the 1544 imperial regulations regarding the tapestry trade. However, it is evident that the links between the tapestry communities in the two towns were extremely close: the Antwerp Pand acted as a focus for the supply of raw materials and cartoons and the negotiation of sales and commissions; the Brussels workshops provided the bulk of the high-quality goods traded there.

The social and economic circumstances on which the high-quality tapestry industry depended were devastated by the religious strife and military combat that roiled during the 1560s, 1570s, and 1580s. Persecution of reformers had cast its shadow over the tapestry industry as early as the late 1520s when Bernaert van Orley and various leading Brussels merchants and weavers were fined for attending sermons preached by the Lutheran Claes van der Elst. The punishments imposed on that occasion were commuted or reduced, and for the most part, van Orley and his colleagues continued their trades relatively unaffected by these events. Nonetheless, continuing persecution of reformers resulted in a steady stream of weavers migrating to foreign countries during the 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s. Jan Rost was persecuted for heresy in 1534, and this must have been a factor in his relocation to Italy in 1536. Other weaver-entrepreneurs set up workshops in the Germanic states, resulting in the belated development of a Renaissance pictorial tradition in Germanic tapestry production. The workshops established during the late 1540s and 1550s by Seger Bombeck in Torgau and Leipzig and by Peter Heyman in Stettin are especially noteworthy for both the quality and the Reformation iconography of their products.[3] During the second third of the century, however, the impact of persecution and migration on the high-quality tapestry industry was relatively slight. In part this was because many of the key weavers and merchants in Antwerp enjoyed a privileged position. Although the number of foreigners resident in Antwerp and the constant traffic passing through it made it an especially fertile ground for the Reformation movement, the dependency of the Habsburg regime on financing from the Antwerp merchant community ensured that religious persecution and the Inquisition were not enacted as rigorously there as in other centers. Indeed, after 1520 the city enjoyed certain privileges that shielded merchants from Protestant regions from persecution for their faith.[4] This tolerance must have been among the factors that encouraged large numbers of Brussels weavers to relocate to Antwerp during the second third of the century.[5]

Fig. 226. Detail of cat. no. 48: *The Sacrifice of Isaac* from the *Story of Abraham*

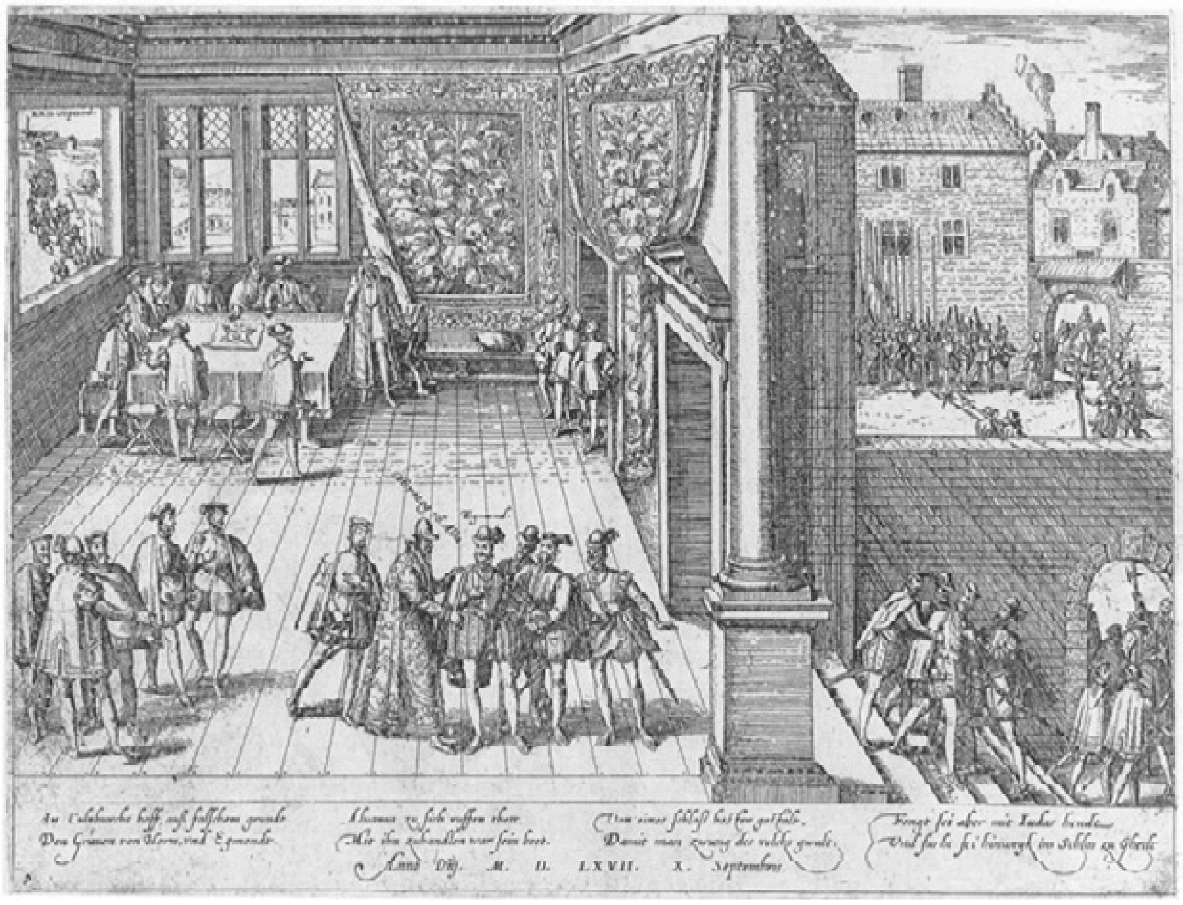

Anno Dni. M. D. LXVII. X. Septembris

Fig. 227. *Arrest of the Duke of Egmont* from *Events in the History of the Netherlands, France, Germany, and England between 1535 and 1608*. Engraving by Frans Hogenberg. 20.7 x 27.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.570.200[77])

The situation changed following Philip II's accession to the throne in 1556. Philip's attempt to turn the Netherlands into a Spanish dependency governed by Spanish ministers during the early 1560s generated considerable discontent among the leading members of the council of state that were only briefly allayed when Cardinal Granvelle left the Netherlands in 1564. Philip's determination to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent resulted in renewed opposition, culminating in the embassy of Lamoral, count of Egmont, to Spain in January 1565 to discuss the state of affairs. Philip received Egmont warmly, but the rigors of the Inquisition continued unabated in the Netherlands, resulting in widespread unrest during 1566 and 1567, the so-called Wonderyear, during which Antwerp became a Calvinist stronghold. In response to this situation, Philip dispatched Fernando Álvaraz de Toledo, the duke of Alba, to the Netherlands in 1567 at the head of an army of ten thousand soldiers. Alba was granted unlimited powers to root out heretics, and on his arrival he established a tribunal, the Council of Troubles, to try those who had been involved in the disturbances. Egmont and Philip de Montmorency, count of Hoorn, popular leaders of the Protestants, were arrested in September 1567, imprisoned, and executed in June 1568. They were followed to their deaths by large numbers of their fellow citizens.

Obviously, these events had a devastating impact on the tapestry industry. Many weavers and tapestry merchants were sympathetic to the Reformation movement and had already chosen to emigrate before these grim developments. For example, in 1562, at the invitation of Frederick III, the elector of the Palatinate, more than fifty-eight weavers and their families relocated to Frankenthal, where they were housed in a former Augustinian abbey.[6] Other weavers traveled to Cologne, Hamburg, Stuttgart, and Württemberg, or into the northern provinces of the Netherlands.[7] Among the artisans who left Brussels in 1566 was Nicolaas van Orley, who, like his uncle Bernaert, was an important tapestry designer and cartoonist. Nicolaas van Orley subsequently worked in Stuttgart, Strasbourg, and Cologne before he settled with the community of Netherlandish weavers in Frankenthal sometime before 1574.[8] Those Protestants who had not fled before Alba's arrival were given considerable incentive thereafter. In Brussels, even leading figures with close links to the Spanish crown were not exempt from religious persecution. Despite his close relationship with both Granvelle and Alba, Willem de Pannemaker came under Alba's suspicion in 1568, but the accusation of heresy made against him was not proved and he appears to have successfully reingratiated himself with the duke.[9] Jan van Tieghem was not so successful. One of the leading Brussels

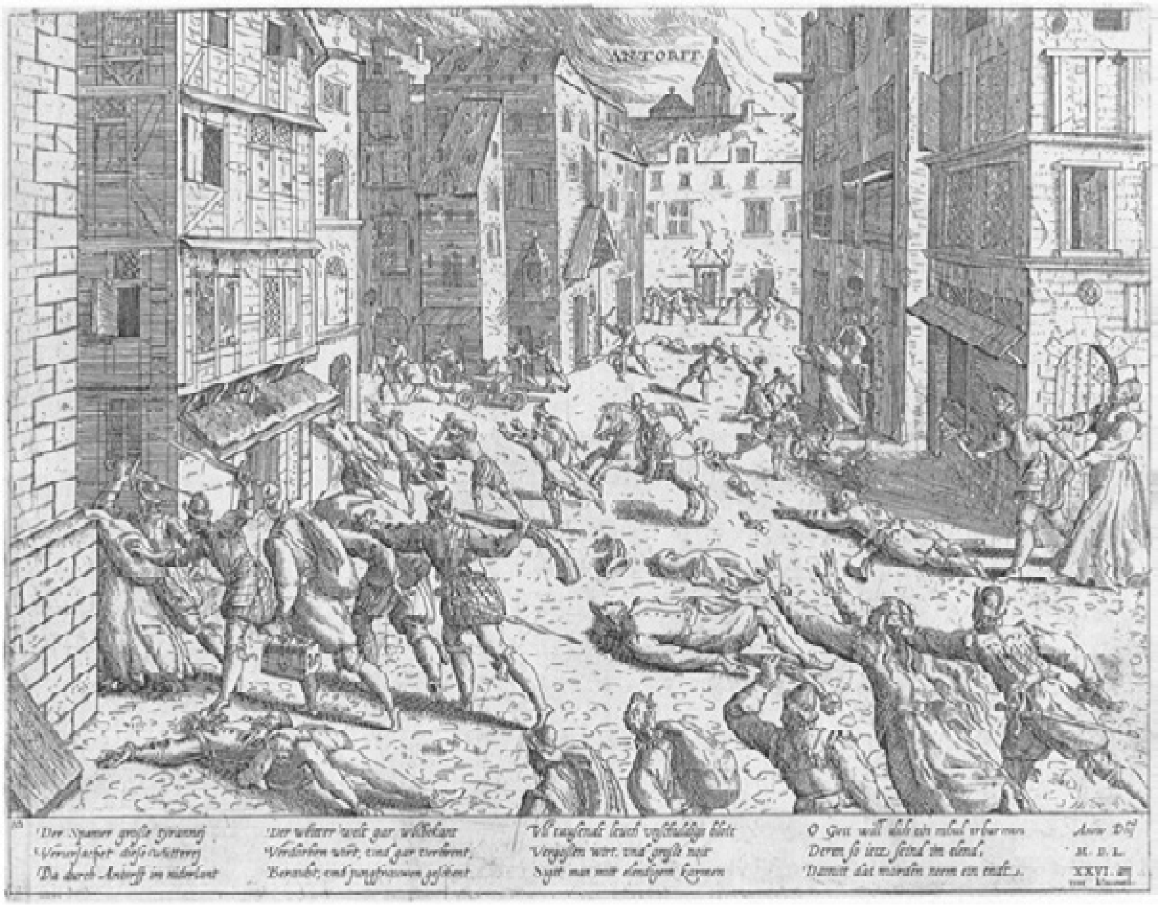


Fig. 228. *The Sack of Antwerp,* from *Events in the History of the Netherlands, France, Germany, and England between 1535 and 1608.* Engraving by Frans Hogenberg. 20.8 x 27.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.570.200[26])

merchant-entrepreneurs, whose mark appears on many of the finest products of the period including various sets purchased by Philip II, van Tieghem was expelled from the Netherlands by Alba's council in 1568. He subsequently established a workshop in Cologne, where he wove tapestries for Landgrafen Wilhelm von Hessen-Cassel, and by 1576 he was running a workshop in Wesel.[10] It seems likely that van Tieghem's fate was typical of that suffered by many less well-known weavers and merchants. For example, information regarding the Oudenaarde community reflects the large numbers of tapestry weavers who were active Protestants there, the torture and execution of some of the more prominent figures, and the large numbers who fled.[11]

The situation got even worse in the following twenty years. Alba's merciless actions encouraged the resistance and organization in the Northern Netherlands of anti-Catholic forces, who defeated the Spanish fleet and gained power in North Holland and Mons. Other towns declared their support for the rebels, and the States General, assembled in Dordrecht, declared themselves against Alba's government and rallied under the banner of William I, prince of Orange. Alba's army proceeded to reclaim the provinces, with the exception of Zeeland and Holland, but was repulsed in its attempts to take Alkmaar. Philip recalled Alba, enfeebled in health, to Spain in December 1573, but the vicissitudes of war were to continue.

In 1576 the poorly paid and mutinous Spanish troops launched a carefully planned attack on Antwerp. On November 4, five thousand soldiers from garrisons in Maastricht, Aalst, and Lierre descended on the town, which they proceeded to sack over the following week. Six thousand citizens were massacred, eight hundred houses burned, and indescribable deprivations and abuse inflicted on the citizens of the town. One group of troops made straight for the Tapestry Pand under the direction of Francisco de Ontoneda, a Spanish merchant from Bruges, who was well acquainted with the tapestry industry. Over the succeeding days, they looted hundreds of tapestries from the booths of the principal tapestry merchants, transporting them to the nearby residence of a certain widow Aranda, who was Ontoneda's mother-in-law. Adding insult to injury, the soldiers forced various tapestry workers to organize, pack, and in some cases, value, the tapestries. During the next month, the majority of these goods were carted and shipped out of Antwerp, traveling via Lierre and Maastricht to Paris and Spain, although some remained in the hands of the soldiers who had assisted in the looting.[12] Antwerp was regained by the prince of Orange in 1577, and in the following two years many of the merchants who had suffered at the hands of the Spanish troops sought to track down and reclaim the goods that had been stolen from them. The activity of the weaver-entrepreneur Francis

Spiering is particularly well documented in this respect. In pursuit of looted goods, he traveled to Maastricht and Paris.[13] Although he and some of his colleagues succeeded in reclaiming a portion of their goods, others were totally ruined.

Further impoverishment and misery was inflicted on many of the traditional Netherlandish weaving centers with the renewed military campaign led by Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma (r. 1578–92), during the late 1570s and 1580s. Tournai, Bruges, and Ghent were all reoccupied by the Spanish forces. Oudenaarde fell in 1582 after a three-month siege, while Antwerp was taken in August 1585 after a long and bitter blockade, which brought the population close to starvation. According to Parma's peace terms, Protestant citizens were given two years in which to leave the city, a further blow to both the weavers and the merchants on whom the success of the Antwerp tapestry trade had depended.

The cumulative effect of these events on the tapestry industry was profound. The steady migration of merchants and weavers turned into a flood during the 1570s and early 1580s, with many going to towns such as Middelburg and Gouda in the northern provinces, and others following their compatriots to Protestant cities in Germany. Still others traveled to England, France, and even farther afield.[14] Quite apart from the drain on the pool of skilled labor available, the economic stability was disrupted as the dependable volume of demand, previously channeled through Antwerp, was now dispersed. Rich patrons from the Protestant countries turned instead to workshops in territories under Protestant rule. In response to this situation, Francis Spiering relocated his workshops from Antwerp to Delft by 1582, perhaps followed by a spell in Cologne. In 1593 he settled permanently in Delft where, with the encouragement and support of the town authorities, he established a sizable workshop in the former convent of Saint Agnes, which catered to the demands of many of the Protestant courts of northern Europe for the next thirty years.[15] Another leading weaver-entrepreneur, Joost I van Herselle, moved his workshop first from Brussels to Antwerp in 1580, and then about 1586 to Hamburg, where his son Joost II continued the enterprise well into the second decade of the seventeenth century.[16]

While tapestry weaving and trade unquestionably continued in Brussels and Antwerp throughout the 1560s and 1570s, and the 1580s, the overall impact of the social and economic disruption was that the combination of circumstances that had supported large-scale, high-quality production and trade for so long was irrevocably disrupted. The volume of highly financed commissions plummeted, many of the merchants who had provided funding were compromised financially, and many of the most skillful artists, cartoonists, and weavers emigrated. A significant volume of tapestries continued to be produced in the traditional Netherlandish centers during the last third of the century, but this production is characterized by tapestries woven from simplified versions of older cartoons, in coarser materials, by less skillful weavers. In particular, the well-modeled large, muscular figures and beautifully delineated physiognomies of the greatest sixteenth-century Brussels tapestries, which required a level of artistic and technical skill and material quality (and thus funding) that no longer existed, became a thing of the past. Meeting the need and making virtue of necessity, many of the best tapestry cartoons of the last third of the sixteenth century featured small figures in elaborate but somewhat simplified gardens and landscapes, with whimsical architectural features drawn from contemporary prints.[17] Conceived in terms of line and decorative colors rather than illusionistic verisimilitude, these designs did not require the exacting and expensive re-creation of realistic full-scale figures or tonal atmospheric effects that had characterized high- quality Brussels production during the first two-thirds of the century. This decorative formula, which lent itself to the complex narratives of contemporary literature, was to enjoy great success during the following two decades. Some of the finest examples of this genre were the mythological and romance subjects designed for the Spiering manufactory by Karel van Mander the younger (1579–1623) during the 1590s.[18]

During the 1610s and 1620s, the high-quality tapestry industry in the Netherlands was revived as the result of legal and financial incentives that the archdukes Albert and Isabella gave to the Brussels tapestry industry, and the success of new large-figure tapestry cartoons by Peter Paul Rubens, Jacob Jordaens, and their contemporaries.[19] Nonetheless, the grip that the Netherlandish industry held over high-quality production during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had been loosened, and the character of European tapestry production was to change irrevocably during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as new centers of commercial production, many staffed by Netherlandish weavers, now developed in England, France, Italy, Germany, and elsewhere—in some cases aided by the benevolent patronage of rulers like Henry IV, king of France, and James I, king of England, who saw the establishment of native tapestry industries as a means of developing their local economies.[20] While the Brussels industry would again attain great success from the mid-seventeenth century through the 1730s, it was never to achieve the heights of quality and volume that had characterized independent commercial production in the first half of the sixteenth century, when tapestry was, truly, the art form of kings.

1. Guicciardini 1567, p. 58.
2. Schneebalg-Perelman 1981; Ewing 1990; Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 96–100.
3. Göbel 1933–34, vol. 2, pp. 43–56, 137–38; Heinz 1963, pp. 295–301, 304; Bauer 2002.
4. Marnef 1996, pp. 14–22 (with bibliog.).
5. Ibid., pp. 69–72.
6. Göbel 1933–34, vol. 2, pp. 8–15; E. Duverger 1995.
7. For details, see Göbel 1933–34, passim; Heinz 1963, pp. 286–307; and the essays in Delmarcel 2002.
8. Göbel 1933–34, vol. 2, pp. 8, 11, 12; E. Duverger 1995, pp. 87–88; Bauer 2002.
9. Steppe 1981a, p. 131.
10. Göbel 1923, p. 327; Schneebalg-Perelman 1972, pp. 428–34.
11. Göbel 1923, p. 469–70; Vanwelden in Oudenaarde 1999, pp. 59–66.
12. Donnet 1894.
13. Ibid., pp. 449, 454, 459–62.
14. Much information regarding emigration of Netherlandish weavers during the 1560s and 1570s will appear in Delmarcel 2002.
15. Göbel 1923, pp. 539–43; E. Hartkamp-Jonxis in Amsterdam 1993, pp. 316–17, 420–23 (with bibliog.); E. Hartkamp-Jonxis in New York and London 2001, pp. 512–19.
16. Göbel 1933–34, vol. 2, pp. 113–17.
17. For examples, see Göbel 1923, fig. 152; E. Duverger 1969; and Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 172–74.
18. E. Hartkamp-Jonxis in New York and London 2001, pp. 514–19.
19. Delmarcel 1999a, pp. 209–50.
20. For an overview of the development of the European tapestry industry in the seventeenth century, see Lefébure in Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, pp. 138–205, and Heinz 1995, pp. 11–199. For more detail, see Göbel's comprehensive survey of European tapestry production, published in three parts each of two volumes; Göbel 1923, 1928, 1933–34. For discussion of the role that Netherlandish weavers played in the development of tapestry industries in other European countries, see the studies forthcoming in Delmarcel 2002.

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